

# HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1526 TO 1951 MADE EASY

## PART I

### INDIA UNDER THE MUGHALS (1526—1707)

#### LIST OF RULERS TO BE COMMITTED TO MEMORY MUGHAL EMPERORS (1526-40)

Babar	...	...	...	...	1526-1530
Humayun	...	...	...	...	{ 1530-1540 (1 ng) { 1540-1555 (nderesi) { 1555-1556 (nderegi)

#### THE SUR DYNASTY (1540-56)

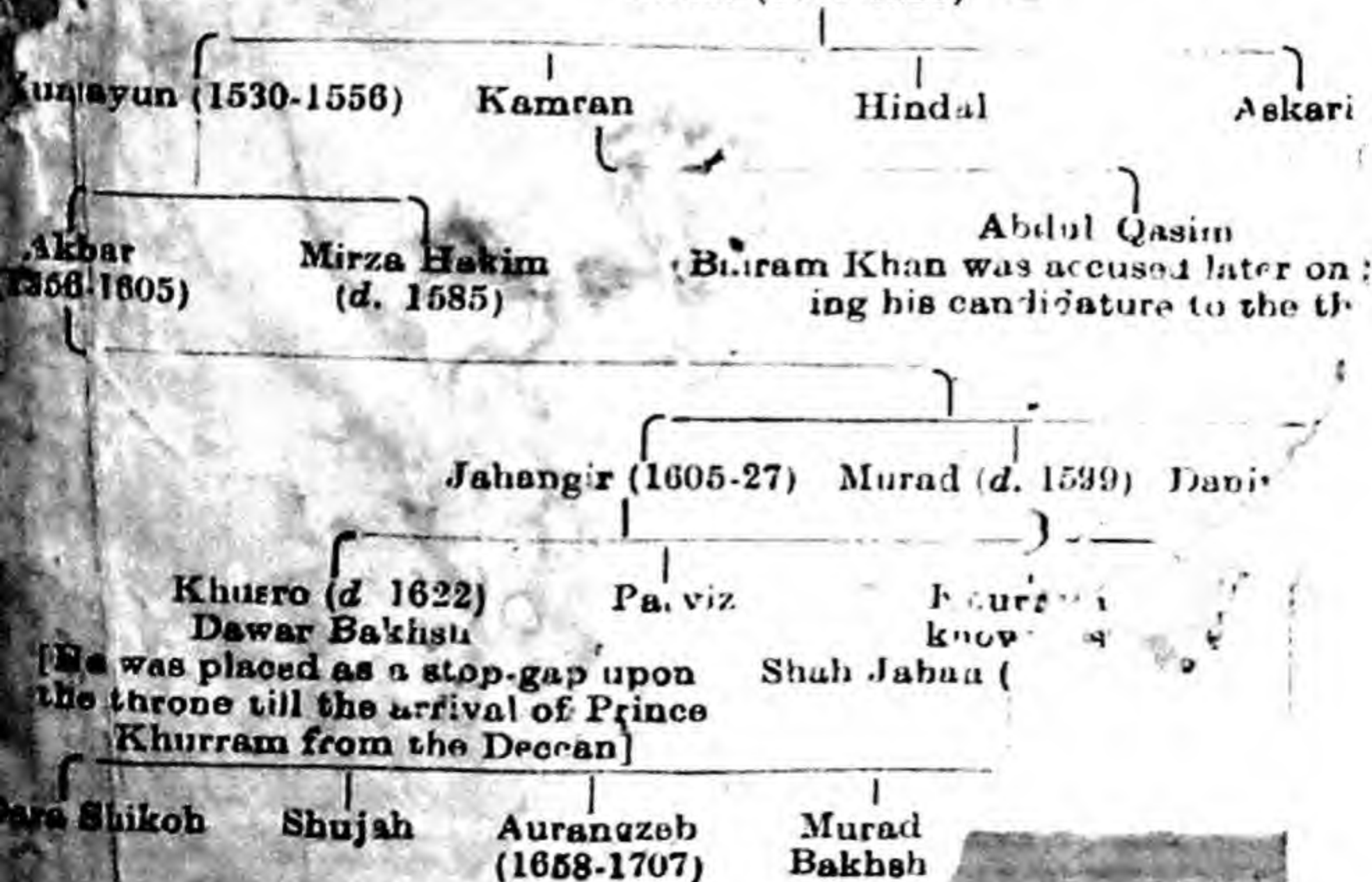
Sher Shah	...	...	...	...	1540-1545
Salim Shah	...	...	...	...	1545-1555
Adal Shah	...	...	...	...	1554-1556

#### MUGHAL EMPERORS (1556-1707)

Akbar	...	...	...	...	1556-1605
Jahangir	...	...	...	...	1605-1627
Shah Jahan	...	...	...	...	1627-1658
Aurangzeb	...	...	...	...	1658-1707

#### GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MUGHALS (1526-1707)

Babar (1526-1530)







# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

justify the truth of the statement that "the sixteenth century history of India marks a period of transition from the Modern Age."

Point out the salient features of the 16th Century in India.  
**SIXTEENTH CENTURY IN INDIA MARKS A PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM THE MIDDLE TO THE MODERN AGE"**

Or

**SALIENT FEATURES OF THE 16TH CENTURY IN INDIA**

**Salient Features.** The advent of the 16th century marks the beginning of new forces in the country, which changed the course of her future. They laid the foundation of modern India. The *first* of these was the religious revival or the so-called Bhakti Movement. The *second*, in order, was the discovery in 1498 of the sea-route to India by the Portuguese, and the consequent advent of the European nations. The *third* was the beginning of the Mughal rule at Delhi, which followed the victory of Babar over Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat in 1526.

### (1) The Bhakti Movement

The Vedic religion, on account of its contact with foreign forces, had begun to have faith in the plurality of gods by adoption of incarnation. The old belief in the oneness of God was lost. Moreover, the Vedic religion had lost its spiritual character and had become a mere mass of superstitions and unmeaning rituals.

It was under these circumstances that Hinduism, the indigenous religion, came in contact with Islam during the 15th century, the result of which a new school of spiritual thought came into existence.

In the next few centuries spread gradually all over India. This school is designated as the Bhakti movement or cult.

The Bhakti movement means attachment or devotion to God. Its advocates of this movement preached that true religion lies not in the practice of meaningless rituals and ceremonies but in the feeling of love for God. For them, Ram and Rama, Krishna and Puran, Veda and Kitab very often go together in the same way.

**Causes which favoured the growth of this movement.—**

(1) Hindus and Muslims began to realize that the one could not exist without the other.

(2) Royal patronage and sympathy won by the movement helped to win Hindus and reconciled them to Muslim rule.

(3) The tolerant and thoughtful men on either side began to stand in place of dissension and discord.

Prejudices tended to lessen the force of prejudice.

Views were listened to by all classes with respect.

And religious differences were forgotten.

A bond of sympathy in all classes.

The Muslim doctrine of the unity of God.

The Muslim doctrine of the unity of God.

The Muslim doctrine of the unity of God.



of Godhead was not new to the Hindus. But its emphatic assertion in Islam affected the Hindu teachers as well who preached the equality of all religions.

## ITS EXPONENTS

**Ramanuja.** *Ramanuja* was the earliest of the Bhakti movement. Having received his education at Copjeveram, he preached the Bhakti cult. He, in opposition to the religious views of Shankracharya, preached the unity of God under the name of Vishnu. His followers are mostly in the south, but there are very few of them in the north. Vishnu and his wife, Lakshmi, are the objects of worship for his followers.

**Rama Nand (1400-70).** *Rama Nand* was the next most famous Vaishnavite teacher. During his wanderings, he preached in vernacular the worship of Rama and Sita. Banaras was his head-quarter. He was against idol worship and caste system. He admitted to his discipleship all men irrespective of castes and creeds.

**Kabir (1440-1518).** *Kabir*, whose origin is shrouded in mystery, was a disciple of Rama Nand. He preached about Rama, and was a great preacher of the Bhakti movement. He made no distinction between the Hindus and the Moham-madans, and was the founder of the *Kabir-panthi sect*. He was exiled by Sikandar Shah Lodhi from Banaras. He was against the meaningless rites of the Hindus, and is sometimes called "the pioneer of Hindi literature and the father of Hindi hymns."

**Guru Nanak (1469-1539).** *Guru Nanak*, the founder of Sikhism, was born at Talwandi, a village in Lahore district. He had a religious bent of mind from his infancy. Like Kabir, he was against idolatry and the caste system. He also preached the unity of God. He advised his followers to give up hypocrisy, selfishness, worldliness and falsehood. According to him, purity of life is regarded as the highest object of man's endeavour.

**Chaitanya (1485-1533).** *Chaitanya*, a Bengali saint, was a great preacher of the Bhakti movement. He was born at Nuddia in 1485, left the world at the age of 25 and preached the doctrine of the love of one God. He denounced caste, proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man and the inefficiency of mere karma. He enjoined the worship of Sri Krishna. He had much following in Bengal and Orissa. He was neither a great organiser nor a writer. He recommended mendicancy and started the institution of celibate monks. He assigned an important place to women in his order.

**Tulsi Dass (1532-1623).** *Tulsi Das*, a Brahmin of Kanauj, is the most celebrated name in Hindi literature. His literary work *Ramacharitamansa*, is considered to be far superior to that of Valmiki. He preached the love of a "personal God," who loves and cares for his children and makes himself understood through his incarnation, Rama. Under Tulsi Das, the Rama cult reached the pinnacle of its glory. He did not found any sect.

**Dadu (1544-1603).** *Dadu* was born in Ahmedabad in 1544. Like Kabir and others he raised his strong voice against idol worship and the popular practice of worshipping at the shrines of the departed saints. He was a great poet and like the preceding teachers of the Bhakti cult he composed verses in the vernacular of the country where he lived. His poetry is held in great veneration throughout western India even to-day. His followers, Garib Das and Madho Das, spread their master's creed in Ajmer and other big cities of Rajputana.

**Tuka Ram.** *Tuka Ram* was one of the advocates of the Bhakti cult in Maharashtra. He called upon the people to free themselves from the bonds of ritualism and caste distinctions and unite in the common love of man and faith in one God. His hymns full of morality are sung with devotion in the country. His teachings created a united Maratha nation under the leadership of Shivaji.

**Effects.** The effects of the Bhakti cult were many. (1) The rise of the Sikhs in the Punjab and that of the Marathas in the south were the outcome of this movement. These two nations later on came into conflict for political power with the English, who ultimately triumphed. (2) The teachings of these reformers tended to uplift the lower and the despised classes when they were being driven to the Muslim fold by the



oppressive Hindu Caste System. (3) The Bhakti movement led to the development of Indian vernaculars as all saints preached their dogmas in the vernacular of the country they happened to flourish in. (4) On account of the preachings of these saints, people began to have tolerant views regarding each other's religion.

## (2) The Advent of European Nations

**Discovery of the Sea-route to India.** The year 1498 is a landmark in world history. The discovery of the sea route to India transformed the relations between the East and the West not only commercially but also politically and culturally, for it brought India into contact with the renaissance western world. The history of modern commerce in India also begins after this date. The European nations, like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English, came in large numbers to India and caused the growth of new markets for Indian raw materials and manufactures and for some time India became the supplier to the whole world of a number of commodities. It was also from this time that Portugal, which looked upon India as "a second Peru", thought of establishing a dominion in India by employing disciplined and modernised Indian troops and by making use of Indian succession contests. *The Dutch looked upon India as a big trade market, the French as a big theatre for gains and fame, the English as a market with many trade facilities.* The growth of the Mughal Empire after 1556 held such schemes in abeyance during nearly two hundred years. After the fall of the Mughal Empire, there ensued a struggle among these four European rivals whence the English ultimately emerged as the sovereign power in India.

## (3) The Mughal Rule

The establishment of Mughal rule in India meant a fresh victory for the cause of Islam in India, while its forces had achieved notable triumphs in other parts of the world. It did not, however, prove quite a constructive factor in Indian history, but ultimately became an agency for the prolongation of mediævalism. It is true that up to the end of Akbar's reign the forces of modernism were all preserved, by his peaceful methods and beneficial legislation, by reconciliation and universal toleration, but after his death the characteristics of mediævalism, such as religious persecution and fanaticism, re-appeared once more and all chances of modernism were lost in India and the way was being prepared for the rise of a new power in the country which was destined finally to modernise India in another way.

**Critical Note.** The word "Mughal" is a misnomer. Babar and his descendants were Turks and not Mughals. It is a mistake to call them so. Taimur, the ancestor of Babar, was deadly against the Mughals. It were they who turned out Babar from his paternal home. The Mughal was the term used for all those adventurers who hailed either from Persia or Central Asia and they were the bitterest foes of Taimur and his descendants. The arabic form is Mughul, but in India, by a change of the second vowel, the form retained is 'Mughal.' 'Mogor' was the form used by the Portuguese. Like all other misnomers such as the Industrial Revolution in English History and the Slave Dynasty in India, the mistake has been allowed to continue and it now appears to be too late to correct it.

**Q. 3. What was the political condition of India on the eve of the Mughal Empire? Illustrate your answer with the help of a sketch map.**



Q. 4. Show that India was a Congeries of states at the opening of the sixteenth century. (Ishwari Prasad)

Or

Q 5 Explain :—"Political India in the first half of 16th century was divided into four well-defined zones."

### POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

On the eve of Babar's invasion in India, the political condition of India may briefly be summarized as consisting of four well-defined zones, out of which two were Hindu and two Mohammadan.

(a) **First Mohammadan zone.** It extended from the river Indus to the Bay of Bengal, and included the following states : (1) Delhi :—The authority of the foolish and tactless Ibrahim Lodhi, the last ruler of the Lodhi dynasty, did not extend beyond Delhi, Agra, the Doab, Biyana and Chanderi. (2) The Punjab :—The Punjab was under Daulat Khan Lodhi, his relative, who resisted the authority of the Delhi ruler and similar was the case in other parts of India. (3) Bihar had declared its independence under Darya Khan Lohani. (4) Jaunpore had become independent under the Afghan nobles, Nasir Khan Lohani of Ghazipore and others. (5) Bengal which had become independent in the time of Firoz Shah Tughlak, was, at the opening of the 16th century, under the sway of the Husaini dynasty, the first ruler of which dynasty was Ala-ud-Din Hussain Shah (1493-1509). (6) Just on the eve of Babar's invasion of Hindustan, Sind was in a distracted state owing to the struggle between the Samma dynasty and the Arghun dynasty for supremacy in that region. In 1516 Shah Beg Arghun conquered it. His son Shah Hussain annexed the kingdom and increased the power of the dynasty.

(b) **Second Mohammadan zone.** It included the following states :— (1) The kingdom of Malwa, which first became independent in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlak under Dilwar Khan Ghor, fell in 1435 into the hands of the Khiljis. In 1531, it was conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. (2) The kingdom of Gujrat secured its independence in 1396 under Zafar Khan, the son of a Rajput convert, who ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shah. Mahmud Begara (1458-1511) was the most notable ruler of this dynasty and was followed by Muzaffar Shah II (1511-1525), after whose death Bahadur Shah ascended the throne towards the close of 1526. (3) The kingdom of Khandesh which had become independent in 1388, was at the time of Babar's invasion under the rule of Miran Muhammad. (4) In the south, the Bahmani kingdom, founded in the days of Mohd. bin Tughlak, was split up into five independent states after the cruel execution of the famous minister Khawaja Mahmud Gawan in 1481. The five states were : (i) The Imad Shahi dynasty founded by Fatehulla Imad Shah, a Hindu convert, with its capital at Berar ; (ii) The Adil Shahi dynasty founded by Yusaf Ali Shah in 1489-90 with its capital at Bijapore ; (iii) The Nizam Shahi dynasty founded by Malik Ahmad in 1489-90 with its capital at Ahmadnagar ; (iv) The Qutub Shahi dynasty founded by Quli Qutab Shah, a Turki officer under Mahmud Gawan, between 1512-18 with its capital at Golkanda ; and (v) The Barid Shahi dynasty founded by Qasim Barid and his son Amir Ali in 1526 with its capital at Bidar.



This last kingdom, Bidar, was annexed by the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapore in 1609.

(c) **First Hindu zone.** In the extreme south was the kingdom of Vijayanagar founded in 1336 by two brothers Hari Har and Bukka in the reign of Mohd. bin Tughlak. At that time this Hindu kingdom under Krishna Dev Raya was carrying on a useless and incessant struggle against its Muslim neighbours in the north. (2) In the east was the insignificant Hindu principality of Orissa striving to maintain its independent existence by serving as a check against the expansion of Muslim power from the Bengal side.

(d) **Second Hindu zone.** There were some Hindu states in Rajputana with such strongholds as Marwar and Mewar. The principality of Mewar was ruled over by Rana Sangram, a man of great military prowess. Besides these, there were the kingdoms of Gondwana and Bundelkhand.

**Babar's Description.** Babar gives an account of Hindustan on the eve of his invasion. "He speaks of five Muslim and Hindu kings of substance. The greater part of Hindustan, says he, was in the possession of the empire of Delhi, but in the country there were many independent and powerful kings. The leading kingdoms noted by him are :— "The Afghan kingdom which extended from Behreh to Bihar ; of Jaunpore and Bengal in the east ; of Malwa in Central India : of Gujrat with the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan which arose out of the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom...The five kings who have been mentioned are great princes and are all Mussalmans, and possessed of formidable armies and rulers of vast territories."

**Dr. Ishwari Prasad's View.** In the words of Dr. Ishwari Prasad "*India was thus a congeries of states at the opening of the sixteenth century and likely to be the easy prey of an invader who had the strength and the will to attempt her conquest.*"

**Critical Note.** On the break up of the Delhi Sultanate under Ibrahim Lodhi, there was a revival among the Hindu states (Vijayanagar in the south and Mewar in Rajputana) and these came forward with a bid for supremacy in the south as well as in the north. Some of the Muslim states, spread all over India and ruled either by foreigners or by persons of Indian origin, had a chance of establishing another Mohammadan power by successfully checking the growth of Hindu ascendancy both in the north and in the south. But, as luck would have it, Babar's invasions and exploits destroyed all chances of a native Indian Government, whether Hindu or Mohammadan.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Explain :-- "Political India in the first half of the century was divided into four well-defined zones."
2. Name the various forces which have brought into existence the foundation of modern India and discuss their importance.
3. Describe briefly the political condition of, and the distribution of power in, India on the eve of Babar's invasion. (P. U. B. A. 1940)
4. Define the Bhakti cult. How did it originate ? What circumstances favoured its growth and what were its effects ?
5. Give an account of the preachings of some of the saints of the Bhakti cult.
6. What were the principal Mohammadan kingdoms at the commencement of the Mughal Empire ? Note briefly the history of any two of them.
7. Give an account of the religious condition of India on the eve of Babar's invasion.
8. Critically explain as to how the political condition of India (1398-1526) helped the rise and growth of Mughal political power in India.



## CHAPTER II

### THE REIGN OF BABAR (1526-30)

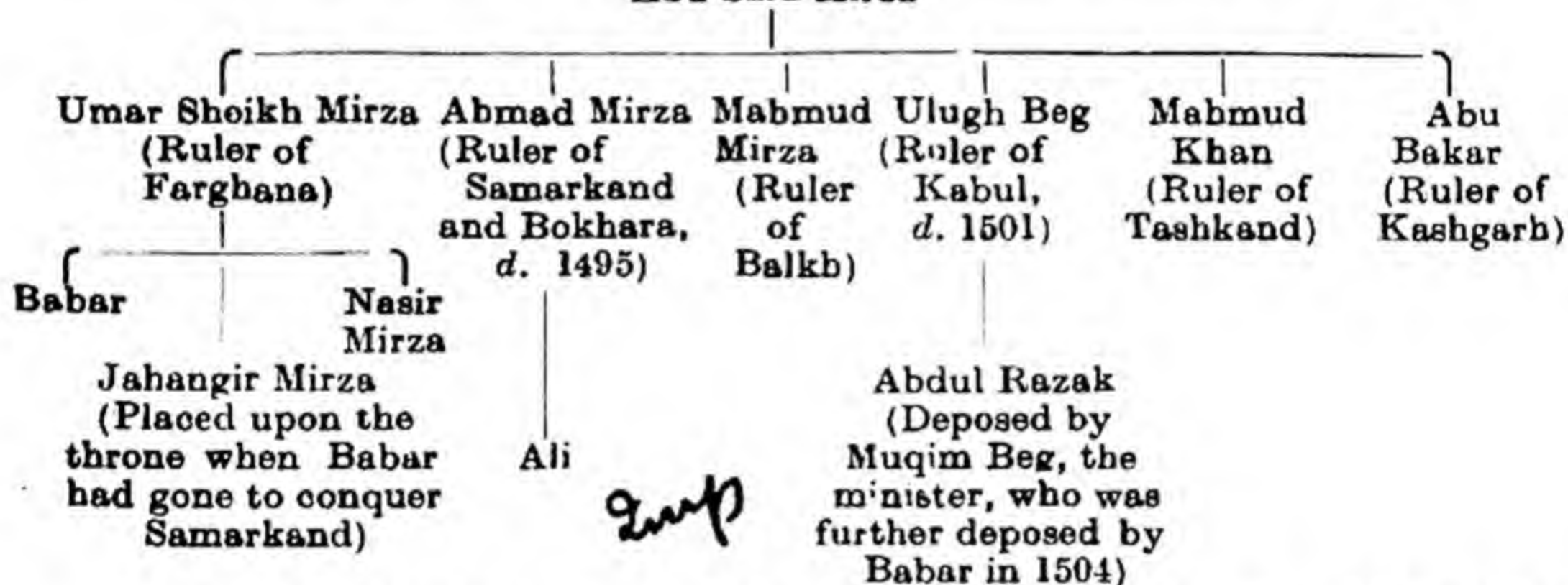
There are four periods of Babar's life :—

- (1) 1483—1494 : Childhood.
- (2) 1494—1503 : Ruler of Farghana.
- (3) 1504—1526 : Master of Kabul.
- (4) 1526—1530 : King of Delhi.

#### GENEALOGY of BABAR

It can be traced back to Amir Taimur, who invaded India in 1398 and died in 1404. He was succeeded by his son Shahrakh (1404—47).

Abu Said Mirza



**Q. 6. Sketch the career of Babar up to the beginning of the First Battle of Panipat.**

**BABAR**

*and Character of*

**Childhood (1483-94).** Zahir-ud-Din, surnamed Babar, the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, who united in his person the blood of Taimur and Chingiz Khan, the greatest conquerors of Central Asia, was called upon to be the king of Farghana\* at the age of eleven after his father's death in 1494.

**Accession and ambition (1494-1503).** Abmad Mirza of Samarkand, his uncle, attacked him in 1495, but failed and died a year later. Amid the confusion that followed his uncle's death, Babar took Samarkand, the greatest ambition of his life. At Samarkand Babar fell ill, and his ambitious minister gave out that he was dead and placed upon the throne Jahangir Mirza, his younger brother. As soon as Babar recovered, he marched post-haste to Farghana from Samarkand but he lost both. After living as a wanderer for a year and a quarter, Babar recaptured his capital, Andijan, in 1499, and Samarkand in 1501. But, as ill-luck would have it, in 1508 he lost both Farghana and Samarkand.

**Ruler of Kabul (1504-26).** Babar now set out to try his luck in Kabul which had been usurped by Mukim Beg, the minister; but there was a strong party in the country which desired to place a prince of the royal blood on the throne. When Babar appeared in Kabul the people rallied round him and made him their king. After the death of his old foe Shaibani, Babar took Bokhara and Samarkand in 1513 with the help of the Shah of Persia. This act of befriending the Shah of

\* Farghana corresponds to Russian Turkistan. It is a pleasant country of vales and mountains lying between the Oxus and the Syr Darya rivers, abounding in roses, melons, apricots and pomegranates and full of game to give sport to the hunter.



Persia was disliked on religious grounds. The Shah of Persia was a Shia, while the provinces under him were Suni. In 1514, he had again to give them up.

**Invasions of India (1519, 1520, 1524, 1525).** It was from Kabul that Babar turned his attention towards India. "If the north was barred to him, why not carve out a fresh empire in the rich valleys of Indus and the Ganges." In the year 1524, when he entered the Punjab, on the invitation of Daulat Khan, the governor of the Punjab and Alam Khan, an uncle of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi, Babar had already made four insignificant invasions in 1519, 1519, 1520, 1524 into north-western India with the object of making a survey of the country. In 1519, he came as far as Bajaur situated to the west of the Indus. But even now he was compelled to retire to Kabul for reinforcement at the speedy defection of Daulat Khan.

**Q. 7. Give an account of the First Battle of Panipat. Why Babar won a victory? What were its results?**

**The First Battle of Panipat (1526).** Babar came for the fifth time in 1525. Daulat Khan gave battle to Babar but was defeated, captured and pardoned. Babar proceeded to Panipat at the head of only 6000 men, where Ibrahim Lodhi met him at the head of a numerous force numbering more than 100000 men. Despite the great odds against him, Babar inflicted a severe defeat on Ibrahim in 1526 A.D. Ibrahim was killed in the battle-field and Babar took Delhi and soon after Agra.

**Why Babar won.** (1) Ibrahim Lodhi, though not lacking in personal valour, was, in Babar's estimation, 'an inexperienced young man careless in his movements, who marched without order; halted or returned without method, and engaged without foresight'. (2) The week when the two armies lay facing each other, went in Babar's favour, for it gave his men time to regain their self-confidence. (3) The Delhi army had come up too hurriedly without a halt from the start. It was not disciplined enough for orderly readjustments to grave situations. A sudden attempt in this direction threw its vast numbers into utter confusion. (4) Babar was, on the contrary, a tried and resourceful commander, and his veterans were seasoned and disciplined warriors. "His men began the battle in no small alarm; it was their Emperor's cool science and watchful tactics that restored their confidence and gave them back their pluck." (5) Ibrahim's war elephants and vast numbers were more a source of weakness than strength against Babar's scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The artillery was used in India for the first time by Babar.

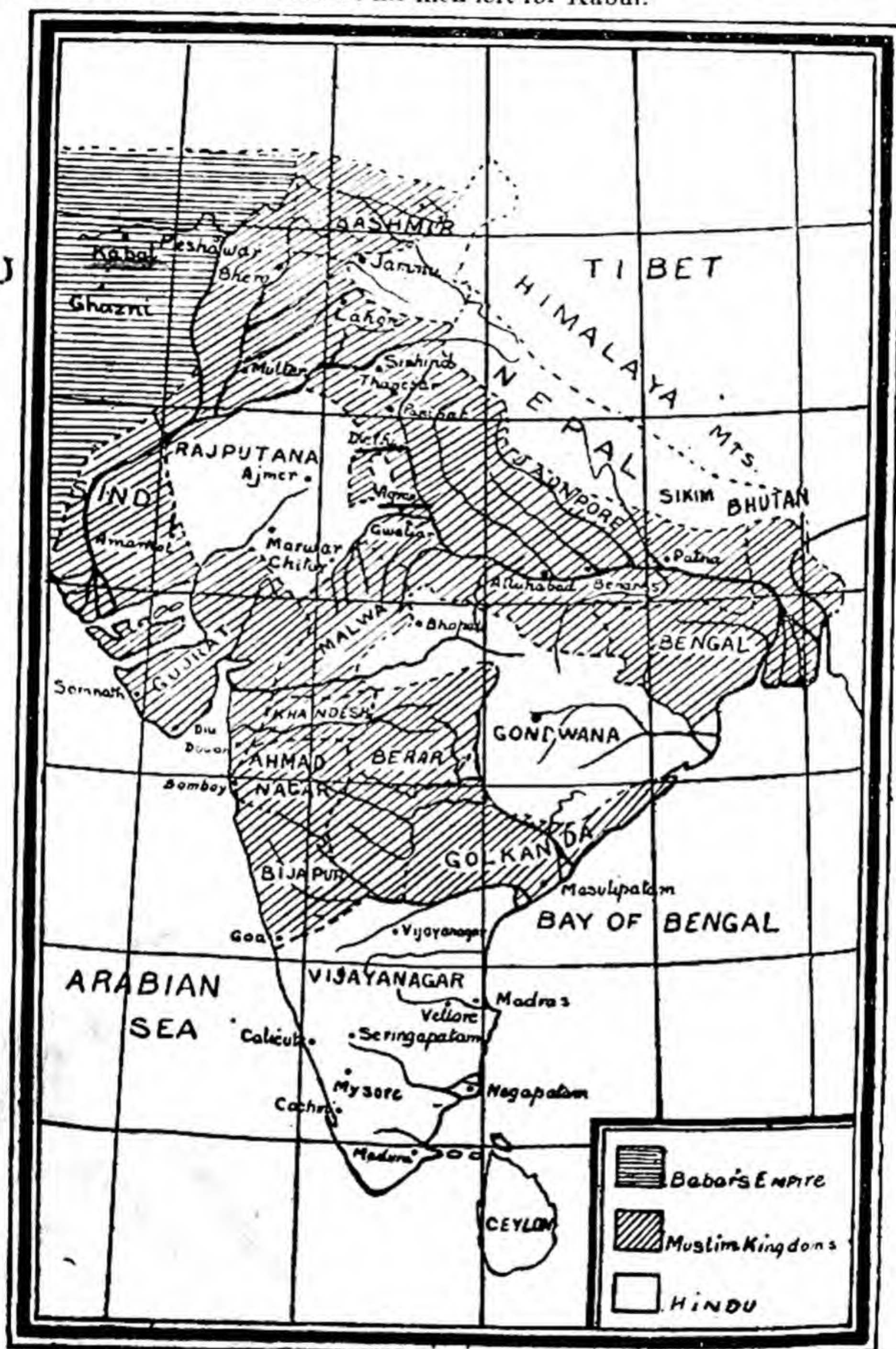
**Effects of the 1st Battle of Panipat.** Ibrahim lay dead on the field, together with Vikram, the Hindu Raja of Gwalior, "who had joined the Muslim Sultan in defence of their common country." To the Afghans of Delhi, the battle of Panipat was the ruin of their dominion, and the end of their power. Moreover the battle of Panipat marks the end of the second stage in Babar's conquest of Hindustan. It not only meant the establishment of the Mughal rule in India, but it also marks the beginning of a new era in history. A large booty fell into his hands. As a token of royal favour, he sent one silver coin to everybody in Kabul.

**Critical Note. The History of Koh-i-nur.** From the great spoils of Delhi and Agra, after the battle of Panipat, Humayun's greatest prize was the diamond now known as the *Koh-i-nur*, "the Mountain of Light", which is 'worth half the daily expenses of the world.' He received this diamond as a gift from the family of Rana Vikramaditya of Gwalior, whom he had protected from the spoiler, and offered it to his father, who generously returned it to him. It was originally brought by Ala-ud-Din Khilji from the Deccan. In 1739, Nadir Shah got it from Mohammad Shah the Mughal Emperor, and took it to Kabul. Ahmad Shah Abdali got it after Nadir Shah's death. It remained in his family up to the reign of Shah Shujah. When the latter was an exile in the Punjab and was staying at Ludhiana, Maharaja Ranjit Singh took it from him. It remained in his family up to 1849, whence it came into the hands of Queen Victoria. At present it is in the possession of the British royal family. It is now cut into parts. One part is set in the Crown of the Emperor and the other in that of the Empress, because of its being heavy (320 *ratis*) in weight.

**Babar's early Difficulties.** Success at the first battle of Panipat did not place the whole of Hindustan under Babar. He had taken only the territory between Delhi and Agra. (1) The Rajputs were not friendly to him. (2) He had still to fight a number of Afghan chiefs in the east who considered their claims superior to his. (3) The people were hostile to the strangers. (4) Having become vexed by



the intolerable heat of India, his followers had begun to manifest signs of discontent and wanted to get back to Kabul. Babar, like Alexander the Great, delivered to his followers a well-worded speech which, unlike his, had the desired effect on the main army, nevertheless a few of his men left for Kabul.



India under Babar (1526)

Q 8. Give an account of Babar's relations with the Rajputs and particularly with the House of Mewar. (P. U. 1941)

## BABAR'S WARS WITH THE RAJPUTS

**Rana Sanga of Mewar.** Babar had still to face a mighty foe in the person of the famous eighty-wounded Rana Sangram Singh, the



'Sun of Mewar', who wanted to found a Hindu Empire in India by driving out the infidel intruders from the sacred soil of India. Under his banner there flocked the Rajput princes and most of the Pathan princes with their forces, so that the Rana commanded 120 chieftains of rank, with 80,000 horses and 500 war elephants.

**Causes of Battle of Kanwah (1527).** (1) After the battle of Panipat, Babar had decided to stay in India despite his promise to return. The Rana complained, therefore, of his broken faith. (2) The Rana claimed Kalpi, Dholpur, Biyana and Agra—all of which had been occupied by Babar. (3) Babar complained that the Rana had invited him for the conquest of India and promised help which he did not give. (4) Nizam Khan of Biyana, after his defeat by the Rana, applied for assistance to Babar which was granted.

**Account.** In 1527, Rana Sanga advanced with a large army to Biyana. Babar also left Agra to meet him and made a halt at Fatehpur Sikri. When the news of the destruction of Babar's vanguard reached the Mughals, their spirits fell. It was at this time that Babar and his 300 nobles renounced wine. Babar's stirring address, which, unlike that of Alexander the Great, raised the drooping spirits of the Mughals who swore one and all by the Quran either to win or die, ran as follows :

"Noblemen and soldiers ! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of immorality must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is to die with honour than live with infamy !

With fame, even if I die, I am contented ;  
Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.

The most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs ; if we survive we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

At Kanwah, the enemies met each other. A heavy artillery discharge was opened by Babar and his guns wrought destruction on all sides. Babar adopted Mongol tactics like those adopted against Ibrahim Lodhi. "His waggons were bound together with iron chains, with the cannon at intervals, and, in addition, he had mounted his matchlocks on wheeled tripods which could be moved quickly to any threatened point. His flanks were protected by his deep ditches and entanglements." After an obstinate fight, the Rajputs gave way and the Rana fled away for life. A very large number of Rajputs was killed in the battle-field. A ghastly minaret of heads was erected on the battle-field and Babar took the title of *Ghazni*, or victor in a Holi War.

**Effects of the Battle of Kanwah.** The battle of Kanwah is one of the decisive battles of Indian history. It may be said in the words of Rushbrook Williams that—(1) The menace of Rajput supremacy which had loomed large before the eyes of Mohammadans in India for the last few years was removed once for all. The Rajput Confederacy was shattered by this defeat. (2) The Mughal Empire of India was soon firmly established. Babar had definitely seated himself on the throne of Sultan Ibrahim and thus his days of wandering came to an end.



(3) Henceforth, the centre of gravity of his power was shifted from Kabul to Hindustan where he spent the rest of his days fighting, governing, administering, and striving to put all things upon a sound basis. (4) Babar's conception of kingship also now underwent a transformation. He gave up the title of 'Sultan' and assumed the Persian title of 'Padshah' under Safavi influence.

**Medini Rao of Chanderi (1528).** The defeated Rajputs now gathered together in the hilly fort of Chanderi situated in the south east of Malwa, under the lead of Medini Rao, one of the distinguished lieutenants of Sangram Singh, who aspired for the sovereignty of Hindustan. He at first offered Medini Rao a jagir, in order to win him over, but he refused. Babar crossed the Jamuna and laid siege to the place. The Rajputs put forth a stout resistance. When all hope had left them, they performed the *Jauhar* ceremony and after fighting the Mughals desperately, they fell to a man. This success of Babar's arms utterly destroyed the Rajput opposition. The news of the fall of Chanderi led to the death of Rana Sanga (1528). This victory was due chiefly, to Ustad Ali's heavy artillery. *achievement*

**Ranthambore.** After the fall of Chanderi, Babar proceeded against Ranthambore and captured its strong fortress in 1529.

**The Battle of Ghagra (1529) against the Afghan Pretender and the conquest of Bihar and Jaunpur.** After suffering a defeat at Delhi, the Afghans had come to the east where they acquired some strength. They looked upon Babar as a usurper and espoused the cause of Mahmud Lodhi, the brother of Ibrahim Lodhi, with a view to revive their own supremacy. Babar would know no rest until he had completely broken their power. So he sent his son Askari in advance towards Jaunpur and Bihar and himself joined a little later. He met his foes in the battle of Ghagra near Patna and received their unqualified submission. Here also artillery carried the day. A treaty of peace was concluded with Nusrat Shah of Bengal, that neither would attack the territories of the other and thus "*in three battles (Panipat, Kanwah and Ghagra) Babar had reduced northern India to submission.*" His territory then extended from the Oxus to the Ghagra and from the Himalayas to Gwalior, though considerable gaps here and there had yet to be filled in.

**A Palace Conspiracy, 1529.** Khalifa, an intimate friend of Babar, taking advantage of Babar's dislike of Humayun for some of his actions, wanted to place Mir Mohammad Mahdi Khwaja, the brother-in-law of Babar, on the throne in preference to Humayun. This information leaked out and Humayun's mother came to know of it. She very cleverly managed the whole situation. Humayun was not far from Badakhshan where he was acting as governor. The father and the son were reconciled to each other and thus the whole conspiracy fell through.

**Babar's Death.** Babar survived one year after his last victory and died on Monday, the 25th December, 1530, at the age of forty-seven. Though comparatively young, he had become weak because of hard life and the hot climate of India. The story of his death is well-known. His eldest son, Humayun, fell dangerously ill. A sacrifice of some precious thing was suggested and Babar, by his will power, took the ill-ness upon himself and thus sacrificed his own life, which, he said was more precious than anything else in the world. He went round the sick bed of Humayun, prayed and said, "On me be thy ills, on me be thy ills." Humayun recovered and Babar passed away. His body lies in Kabul among the mountains.



he loved so deeply. He is laid "besides his mother in the sweetest spot which he had chosen—called the "Garden of New Year"—near the running streams and the tulips and roses which he so often longed for in his exile.

**Critical Note .—**Modern research scholars like Professor Rushbrook Williams, Dr. Bannerjee and Prof. Siri Ram Sharma, have rejected the story of Babar's "miraculous death." The story of sacrifice as narrated above is correct, but the miracle, as it is also stated, did not happen. It is alleged that Babar did recover from the illness and even sent away Humayun to Sambhal. He again fell sick and Humayun came back from there. He recovered, but again had a relapse. The court physicians declared that his case was hopeless due to the giving of poison by Ibrahim Lodhi's mother. The contemporary writers like Ferishta and others also support this view that Babar did not die as a result of the sacrifice he performed for saving the life of his son.

### Q. 9. Sketch the character of Babar.

Babar's is a most fascinating personality in the whole range of mediæval history. Both as a prince and a warrior he is ranked with the greatest rulers of mediæval times. The thrilling adventures of his early life when he was only a tender stripling, strengthened every fibre of his bodily frame and developed in him the qualities of patience, endurance, courage, and self-reliance. He was gifted by nature with an extraordinary amount of energy, self-confidence, and the power to instil hope and enthusiasm into the hearts of his men when he saw them falling or faltering before a formidable foe. Cradled in war and a born general, he added to his military abilities the refinements of an accomplished gentleman. He had a complete mastery over Turkey and Persian, the two languages, which he wrote and spoke with great ease and facility. He could compose beautiful Persian odes and was a master of pure and unaffected style in his native Turkey. He was perfectly natural and kind-hearted, and would never allow his soldiers to indulge in devastating the conquered countries. A great disciplinarian, he severely punished those who disobeyed his orders. Though at times he burst into the ferocity of his brutal ancestors, he never executed anybody in cold blood like them. On various occasions he showed clemency, and pardoned offenders unlike the rulers of his time and race. In his religious views he was a staunch Sunni, "but his culture saved him from being a zealot or a fanatic like Mahmud of Ghazni or a ruthless conqueror like his great ancestor, Timur, the Lame.

His temper was frank, jovial and buoyant and he retained his buoyancy to the end of his life. The equanimity of his temper was never disturbed by any distress or misfortune. He was fond of wine, but his drinking bouts were never vulgar debauches but rather an irrepressible overflow of his bright sunny nature. He was a man of strong will power and could master his intemperance in the face of a grave crisis like the one at the battle of Kanwah. He was a man of 'blood and iron' but he was gifted with a tender heart quickly responsive to affections and keenly sensitive to the beauties of nature. He was in fact a born naturalist. The hills, the streams and the meadows of his native land were objects of his love, and the springs, lakes, plants and fruits had all a special charm for him. He had a firm and unshakable faith in God and in the efficacy of prayer. He was himself a lover of truth. Moreover he was an affectionate father.

"Babar was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of India"—Smith.



"His engaging personality, artistic temperament and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islam"—*Havell*.

"Good humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious and frank in his character he might have been a Henry IV if his training had been in Europe"—*Elliot*.

"Babar possessed eight fundamental qualities—lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers and love of justice"—*Rushbrook Williams*.

**Q. 10 Give an account of Babar's Administration. Discuss its merits and shortcomings.**

**Q. 11. Describe Babar as a ruler.**

### BABAR'S ADMINISTRATION

**Merits.** Babar restored the Grand Trunk Road, made his capital at Agra where baths, tanks, palaces and gardens were laid out. He repaired the mosques and old buildings and established post between Agra and Kabul. He personally toured the whole country in order to acquaint himself with its internal state of affairs. He built schools and colleges under the supervision of the Public Works Department.

**Demerits.** After his final grip with the Afghans, Babar spent the year and a half of his life that remained to him chiefly at Agra, endeavouring to set his new empire in order. He had really no time for permanent organization. Unable to desire new land and establish new institutions for the administration of the wide dominions, which he had won by the power of his sword, he contented himself with the system then in vogue in Hindustan. He says, "I had no time to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different parganas and stations". He parcelled out his empire into fiefs which he entrusted to *jagirdars* dependent upon himself. These *jagirdars* levied the land-tax from the cultivators, the duties from the merchants and shopkeepers and the poll-tax from the Hindus and paid fixed contributions in money and military service to the Emperor. Some of them were so powerful that their dependence on the Crown was only nominal and India was still, 'rather a congeries of little states under one prince, than one regular and uniformly governed kingdom.' His reign witnessed a financial deficit, the results of which were seen in the reign of his successor, Humayun, who had to reap the harvest and face the financial breakdown "accompanied by revolution, intrigue and dethronement of his dynasty" and we may agree with Professor Rushbrook Williams when he says that Babar 'bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless and invertebrate.'

**The Confidential Will of Babar to Humayun.** (*P. U. Sept. 1940*).  
 "O my son ! The realm of Hindustan is full of diverse creeds. Praise be to God, the Righteous, the Glorious, the Highest, that he hath granted unto thee the Empire of it. It is but proper that thou, with heart cleansed of all religious bigotry, should dispense justice according to the tenets of each community. And in particular refrain from the sacrifice of cow, for that way lies the conquest of the hearts of the people of Hindustan ; and the subjects of the realm will, through royal favour, be devoted to thee. And the temples and abodes of worship of every community under Imperial sway you should not damage. Dispense justice so that the sovereign may be happy with the subjects and likewise the subjects with their sovereign. The progress of Islam is better by the sword of kindness, not by the sword of oppression. Ignore the disputations of Shias and Sunnis ; for therein is the weakness of Islam.



And bring together the subjects with different beliefs in the manner of the Four Elements, so that body politic may be immune from the various ailments. And remember the deed of Hazrat Taimur Sahib-qirani (Lord of Conjunction) so that you may become mature in matters of Government.

“And on us is but the duty to advise.” 11th January, 1529.

The aforesaid will give a graphic description of Babar's administrative policy. Peace and tolerance seem to be the main ideals of Mughal administration in India. The pursuance of such a noble ideal of kingship is sure to bring about the consolidation of the Empire.

**Q. 12. Give an account of Babar's Memoirs and His description of Hindustan.**

### BABAR'S MEMOIRS AND HIS DESCRIPTION OF HINDUSTAN

**Memoirs.** His *Memoirs* display his undiminished interest in natural history and his quickness of observation. This book contains a faithful account of his life and has been rightly described as one of the best autobiographies. In a pure and unaffected style, Babar portrays all his wisdom and folly. It fascinates all alike with its frankness and jovial nature. He records his cruelties with the same honesty as he shows in describing his outings and wine parties, his enjoyment in pleasure gardens, and his 'minute observation of topography and natural history'. His *Memoirs*, originally written in Turkey, were transcribed by Humayun with his own hands, and were translated into Persian by the Khan-i-Khanan under Akbar's directions. Mrs. Beveridge has published a revised version of his work. The Oxford University Press has also recently brought out a new annotated edition.

**Description of Hindustan.** Babar gives a graphic description of Hindustan yet he did not love the country. He speaks of shedding tears at the sight of a musk melon, which brought back the sense of loneliness and exile from his native land. He does not disguise his feelings of disappointment both with the land and the people of Hindustan. The country and the towns of Hindustan are ugly to him. He says, "Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society. They have no genius, no intellectual comprehension, no politeness, no kindness or fellow feeling, no planning or carrying out their works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, good food or bread in their bazaars, no baths, or colleges, or candles, or torches—never a candlestick." At another place he writes that "the country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look; its gardens have no walls, the greater part of it is a level plain." According to him the chief excellence of Hindustan is that "it is a big country with plenty of gold and silver." "Another convenience of Hindustan," according to him "is that the workmen of every profession and trade are numerous. For any work, or any employment there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages." The dust and heat of India made him home sick, and intensified his yearning for Kabul, the land of melons and cool water.

**Criticism.** Regarding his *Memoirs* Lane Pool says, "He (Babar) would not have written this sweeping and wholly unjust condemnation had he lived longer in India and seen more of its people; and he does indeed admit that there are advantages, such as the abundance of workmen, and the pleasant climate during the rains; but on the whole, to him, "the chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a big country with plenty of gold and silver."

**Estimate of Babar.** We conclude the reign of Babar with a quotation from Lane Poole who writes as follows: "Upon the whole if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes who are entitled to rank higher than Babar in genius and accomplishment. His grandson, Akbar, may perhaps be placed above him for profound and benevolent policy. The crooked artifice of Aurangzeb is not entitled to the same distinction. The merit of Changiz Khan and of Tamerlane, terminates in their splendid conquest, which far excelled the achieve-



**Four Clouds at his Accession.** (1) **Kamran and Humayun.** At the time of Babar's death Kamran was in Kabul. Having entrusted his territories to the care of Askari, he marched towards Hindustan at the head of a considerable force and gave out that he was coming to congratulate his brother on the assumption of royal dignity. Humayun was not to be deceived by such a trick. He sent an ambassador to tell him that he had already decided to add Peshawar and Lughan to the Gief of Kabul. This did not satisfy him. He crossed the Indus and took possession of the Punjab and Humayun quietly submitted. He also gave him Hissar Firoz in the Jhelum District. These cessions were a great blunder, for they deprived Humayun of the resources of Central Asia and also gave him the command of the road from Delhi to Kandhar.

(2) **Wars with the Afghans.** Humayun first turned his arms against the Afghan chiefs who had rebelled in Jaunpur in favour of Mahmud Lodhi, the brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi. He marched against them and easily defeated Mahmud near Lucknow (1531), and drove him into Bihar, where he soon afterwards died. Next he proceeded to the hill-fort of Chunar held by Sher Khan and laid siege to it. A wily fellow, Sher Khan, affected submission to Humayun and was left alone in possession of Chunar. Immediately after this the hostile attitude of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat demanded Humayun's attention.

(3) **Wars with Gujrat. Its Causes.** During the last years of confusion Bahadur Shah of Gujrat had acquired great power. He gave refuge to Alam Khan, the uncle of Ibrahim Lodhi, and to Humayun's cousin Mohd. Zaman who had plotted against the life of the Emperor and refused to dismiss the fugitive when asked to do so. He also lent support to Mehdi Khawaja, Humayun's brother-in-law and a pretender to his throne. Besides he was contemplating the conquest of Delhi. Moreover Humayun had been requested by the Queen of Chittor to protect her infant son from the king of Gujrat. This led to Humayun's invasion of Gujrat. On his way, he found Bahadur Shah besieging Chittor. Like an idiot he let his enemy alone to reduce Chittor. After capturing Chittor, Bahadur Shah met Humayun near Mandesure; but was obliged to fly under cover of darkness to Mandu and thence to Dieu, where he found shelter under the Portuguese. Now Gujrat and Malwa were in Humayun's possession. He invaded the fortress of Champanere and captured it. He had not yet completely reduced Gujrat to subjection when he left it for Bahadur Shah to come out of his place of refuge and regain his power and himself went to meet Sher Khan who had rebelled in Bengal.

**Why he lost Gujrat or the reasons of his failure.** He lost the whole of Gujrat because of his own characteristic inactivity, the treachery of his brother, Askari, who was commanding a portion of the army, the return of Bahadur Shah with a large army, and the rise of Sher Shah in the East which made him abandon all thoughts of conquest in the West.

**Relation with the Rajputs of Mewar.** Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar died in 1528 leaving behind a minor son, Udai Singh. During the period of his minority, in 1535, Bahadur Shah of Gujrat besieged Chittor. Rani Karnavati, the mother of Udai Singh, sent a golden bracelet to Humayun as an indication of the fact that he was appointed as the uncle and protector of her infant son. Humayun accepted



the request and proceeded to Gujrat to protect Mewar by giving up the conquest of Bengal in which he was then engaged. But he reached too late. The fort by this time had fallen and the women had performed the *Jauhar* ceremony. In short, Humayun lost Chittor on account of his habit of delay.

(4) **Wars with Sher Shah.** While Humayun was in Gujrat, Sher Khan had established himself at Sahasram, and acquired possession of the forts of Chunar and Rohtas. Humayun hastened to Bengal and spent the first six months in besieging and taking Chunar. Meanwhile Sher Khan was busy reducing Bengal with its capital at Gaur. Sending an army under his son Jalal Khan to oppose and delay the entry of Humayun into Bengal, Sher Khan quickly removed his treasure, artillery and his family to the strong fort of Rohtas. When all these things were secure at Rohtas Jalal allowed Humayun to enter Bengal and occupy Gaur where Humayun spent a long time during 1538 thinking of pleasure rather than of business. Now that Humayun was in Bengal, the rains set in, which made him inactive. His army became dispirited and thinned by sickness and desertion. Meanwhile Sher Khan came back to Bihar, and recovered Chunar thereby cutting off all Humayun's communications with Northern India. Next he defeated Humayun at Chaunsa in 1539 and compelled him to fly for his life. (Sher Khan now assumed the title of "Shah" or king.) After meeting many advantages, Humayun reached the capital in safety and succeeded in raising another army, which encountered Sher Shah near Kanauj in May, 1540. Here again Humayun suffered a defeat and had to fly back to Delhi and thence to Lahore with a view to get help from his brother Kamran, but to no purpose.

(b) **The period of Humayun's wanderings (1540-45).**

(P. U., B. A., Sept 1939)

**Wanderings.** After having suffered a defeat at *Bilgram*, Humayun crossed the Ganges, and proceeded towards *Agra*. The quarrels of his brothers and their mutual jealousies made his stay at *Agra* impossible. Taking possession of his family and a part of treasure, Humayun went to *Delhi*; but finding it impossible to hold the city, he left for *Sirhind*. The victorious Afghans pursued him so far. He then left for *Sind* and laid siege to *Bhakkar*, but here also, fortune went against him. During his wanderings in the desert land of *Sind*, he was married to *Hamida Banu Begum*. Finding no sympathy from his brothers, Humayun next tried to secure the help of *Maldeva*, the *Rajput Chief of Jodhpur*, who promised to help him with a contingent of 20,000 *Rajputs*. For fear of Sher Shah, the *Rajput Chief* failed to keep his words. He then sought refuge in *Amarkot* the *Hindu Raja* of which place promised to help him in conquering *Thotta* and *Bhakkar*. It was here that *Akbar* was born on the 23rd of November, 1542.\* Soon after this Humayun proceeded towards *Bhakkar*, the *Raja* of which place entered into treaty with him and agreed to supply him with boats, grains and camels, so that he should be in a position to proceed to *Kandhar*. His brother, *Kamran*, refused to give him shelter. He came also with a large body of cavalry to capture Humayun. Even *Askari* and *Hindal* went over to *Kamran's* side. He left his infant son *Akbar* behind and he was properly brought up at *Kandhar* by *Sultan Begum* wife of *Askari*. Being

\*At the time of *Akbar's* birth, Humayun was penniless. He performed the following ceremony. He broke a pod of musk over a plate and distributed the grains among his personal followers. "This is all the present, I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will I trust one day be expanded over all the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this tent." What a prophetic wish! It came out to be literally true. *Akbar's* fame spread throughout the whole world. In fact, "the child born in poverty and flight in the desert of *Sind* became *Akbar the Great Mughal*, one of the great men of the world."



completely disappointed at the hands of his brothers, he turned his attention to Tahmasap, Shah of Persia, who through the mediation of his sister, lent him an army on the condition that Humayun would turn a Shiah, have Shah's name proclaimed in the Khutba and give Kandhar to Tahmasp after conquering it.

**(c) Circumstances that favoured the restoration of Humayun.**

**Restoration (1545-46).** In 1545-46, Humayun, who got an army of 14,000 men from Persia, succeeded in conquering both Kabul and Kandhar, which served as a base for other conquests. He seized his brother, Kamran, put out his eyes and sent him to Mecca. Mirza Hindal was killed in a night encounter and Mirza Askari was also allowed to proceed to Mecca after he was defeated. In this way he became free from the treachery of his brothers. By the year 1554, Humayun was secure in the territory of Afghanistan, a place once held by his ancestors. In India also the affairs had now taken a favourable turn. The gallant Sher Shah had passed away and there was a dispute regarding succession among his three successors. People were tired of confusion. He was fortunate in having the services of an able officer like Bairam Khan at his disposal. Some friends invited Humayun. He came, defeated Sikandar first at Machhiwara in Ludhiana and then at Sirhind in 1555, occupied Agra and Delhi and was once more king after fifteen years of wanderings. But he was not destined to enjoy himself after experiencing the ups and downs of life. He had scarcely ruled for seven months after his restoration when he died in 1556, by an accidental fall from the stairs of his library while listening to the call of the Azan of the evening prayer. Mr. Kennedy also rightly sums up the reign of Humayun and remarks that "he left behind him an enemy still unsubdued, a minor son and a mercenary army."

Lane Poole remarks, "His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling, Humayun was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life and he tumbled out of it." (B.A., P.U. 1938)

**Q. 14. "Humayun was weak both as a king and as a man." Support the statement.**

**Q. 15. "Humayun's worst enemy was himself." Explain.**

**HUMAYUN WAS WEAK AS A KING AND AS A MAN**

**Character.** It was no easy throne that Babar left to his eldest son Humayun in December, 1530, nor was Humayun strong enough to fill it. Though only twenty-three he was not without experience, having served under his father as governor of Badakhshan. Mr. Lane Poole writes, "The young prince was indeed a gallant and lovable fellow, courteous, witty and accomplished like his father, warm-hearted and emotional, almost quixotic in his notions of honour and magnanimity, personally brave and capable of great energy on occasions. But he lacked character and resolution. He was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eater's paradise, whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind he forgave when he should have punished; light-hearted and sociable he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure.



His name means 'fortunes,' but never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled."

**Q. 16. Give an account of the system of Government under Humayun.**

### THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER HUMAYUN

At his accession to the throne, Humayun found great defects in the system of Government of the Empire and he began to find ways and means to improve it. He divided the Empire into six great divisions, each of them was to have a local capital and a board of administrative for directing local affairs and a considerable military force to maintain peace and order. The officers and the inhabitants of the state were divided into three classes: (i) *Ahl-i-Daulat* (officers of the state), (ii) *Ahl-i-Sa'adat* (good men) and (iii) *Ahl-i-Murad* (people of pleasure). The ranks of all the people composing the three classes were divided into twelve orders and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. He had also fixed up days for work to each of the three classes. He divided the affairs of the Government into four departments viz., *Atashi*, *Hawai*, *Abi* and *Khaki*, and these departments were put under the charge of four Ministers, who were considered as the best and the most learned.

(i) *Atashi*.—To this department belonged the artillery and the work of making arms. (ii) *Hawai*.—Under this department were placed the management of kitchens, stables and wardrobe. (iii) *Abi*.—The digging of canals was under this department. (iv) *Khaki*.—Agriculture, and the construction of buildings were under this department.

**Q. 17. Give an account of Humayun's political blunders.**

**Q. 18. Account for the sudden overturn of the Mughal power during the time of Humayun.** (P. U., B. A., Sept., 1935)

(1) **The foolish partition of the Empire.** The first act of indiscretion committed by Humayun was that he tried foolishly to appease his brothers, Kamran, Hindal and Askari, as desired by his father, instead of bringing them under control. Thus he imperilled the integrity of Babar's Empire by dividing it between himself and Kamran to whom he gave Kabul, Kandhar and later on, the Punjab. To Hindal, he gave Mewat, and to Askari, he gave Sambhal. This act further deprived Humayun of the vast resources of Central Asia. He was in fact cut off from the west. The great blunder in this distribution was in leaving the perfidious Kamran in charge of the most vital part of Babar's dominions. By his beautiful but unwise clemency, Humayun was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been also retained. "It was a mistake on Humayun's part", writes Ishwari Prasad, "to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghan hills. Kamran could hence-forward, as Professor Rushbrook Williams observes, cut the tap-root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hissar Firoz was a blunder, for it gave Kamran command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Kandhar."

(2) **Irresolute Nature.** His second political blunder was that he was always in the habit of doing things by halves. He never brought them to completion. This lack of character and resolution is evident from his dealings with Sher Shah and Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujrat.



(3) **Extravagance.** Humayun wasted the already depleted treasury on extravagance which he could ill-afford at this moment of crisis, when he had to fight enemies on all sides. When he returned victorious to Agra after subduing Mahmud Lodhi, he held a great festival and honoured the nobles with robes of honour and Arab horses. 12,000 persons received robes, and 2,000 were given outer garments of gold brocade and gilt buttons. Rustbrook Williams says, "There is a repetition of the old story of the financial breakdown in the time of Humayun, accompanied by revolution, intrigue and dethronement of a dynasty."

(4) **Lack of foresight.** Humayun did not care to win over the Rana of Malwa as a perpetual friend, who might have acted as a bulwark against Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. It was a double mistake. By rendering timely assistance to the Rana, when he was attacked by Bahadur Shah, Humayun might have won him as a perpetual ally. Moreover attack at this hour might have crushed Bahadur Shah at the first blow. Bahadur Shah took advantage of this blunder, and conquered Chittor.

(5) **Want of settled government.** Humayun never cared to introduce settled government in the provinces he conquered. He would at once assign them to governors whose loyalty was doubtful and would devote himself entirely to pleasures. After conquering Malwa and Gujrat, he went back to Agra and enjoyed life for a year. During this period both the places were lost.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Account for the sudden overturn of the Mughal power during the time of Humayun. (1935 Sept.)

2. "He tumbled through life and he tumbled out of it." Explain this verdict on Humayun with reference to his campaigns against Sher Shah Suri and Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat. (1937 Sept.)

Or

Discuss the above statement with reference to the chief events of the career of Humayun. (1938)

3. Briefly describe Humayun's wars with Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Sher Shah Suri, and explain the reasons for Humayun's phenomenal successes and failures. (1939 Sept.)

4. Explain :—"Humayun's worst enemy was himself."

5. Explain ;—"Humayun was eminently merciful."

6. Examine carefully the position of the Mughal Empire at the death of Babar, and account for the temporary eclipse and subsequent restoration. (P. U., B. A. 1941)

7. Narrate the circumstances that favoured Humayun's attempts to recover India.

[Hints :—For circumstances :—(1) His riddance from his treacherous brothers who had been removed out of his way ; (2) the conquest of Afghanistan served as a base for the conquest of India ; (3) the rivalries amongst the Afghan chiefs after the death of Sher Shah in Northern India, and (4) the help given by his loyal and faithful officer Bairam Khan.]

8. Discuss Humayun's plan for the conquest of Bengal, and Show its defects. (B. A. 1922 Sept.)



## CHAPTER IV

### SHER SHAH SURI AND HIS DYNASTY (1540-45)

#### Q. 19. Sketch the career of Sher Shah Suri (1540-45).

##### CAREER OF SHER SHAH SURI

**Early Career.** Sher Shah was an Afghan by birth belonging to the Suri family of Roh in the Suleman Mountains. His grandfather Ibrahim Khan Sur had come to India in the time of Bahlol Lodhi. Born about the year 1486 to Hasan, a *jagirdar* of Sahasram, in Bihar, Sher Shah's original name was Farid. Due to the ill-treatment of his mother and himself at the hands of the youngest of Hasan's four wives, Farid left for Jaunpore, where Jamal Khan, the benefactor of his father, resided. Under him, the precocious boy applied himself diligently to the study of Arabic and Persian and became a great scholar. He could reproduce from memory the *Gulistan*, the *Bostan* and *Sikandar Nama*. Impressed by Farid's talents, Jamal Khan recommended to his father that his son deserved a better treatment.

**The Battle of Surajgarh (1530).** Hasan having been reconciled, he entrusted his *jagir* to his ambitious son, who managed it well; but before long he was again driven into voluntary exile through the jealousy of his step-mother. He took up service under Bahar Khan Lohani, the governor of Bihar, who impressed by his talents conferred upon him posts of trust and responsibility, both in the civil and revenue departments. On one occasion during one of Bahar Khan's hunting expeditions, Farid got the title of Sher Khan for killing a lion single-handed. He helped his master in his revolt against the Lodhi Emperor of Delhi. Due to some differences, he left Bahar Khan's service, and went to Agra where he was introduced to Babar, who restored him to his father's *jagirs* of Sahasram and Khawaspur in recognition of his meritorious services in reducing south Bihar. Babar restored Jalal Khan, the son of Bahar Khan, to his father's possessions after the death of the latter. But Jalal Khan being a minor, Sher Khan acted as his regent. Coming of age, Jalal Khan conspired with Mahmud Shah, the usurping ruler of Bengal, with a view to throw off the galling tutelage of his grasping deputy, Sher Khan. But the latter defeated the forces of the two allies at *Surajgarh* (1530). He then luckily got the fortress of Chunar, whose ruler, Taj Khan, was killed by his own eldest son and the widowed lady, Lad Malika, married Sher Khan and delivered the fortress of Chunar to him with vast wealth.

**Its Importance.** Sher Khan remained neutral in the Afghan rising of 1531 against Humayun. When Humayun besieged Chunar, he saved himself by submission. He in fact was the dictator of Bihar. In 1535 Sher Khan conquered a large tract of Bengal as far as Monghyr, appeared before the very walls of Gaur, but being bought off by Mahmud, returned to Bihar of which he had become the master after the battle of Surajgarh. The victory at Surajgarh marks a turning point in the career of Sher Khan. It was a great military achievement and politically was far-reaching in its results. The next year Sher Khan again marched to Gaur, captured it and took Rohtas.

**Sher Khan and Humayun.** Humayun, who was at this time busy in reducing Gujrat, realized the peril of allowing the ambitious and gallant Sher Khan to extend his power and hastened towards Bengal to meet him. But Humayun committed a tactical blunder at the very beginning, because instead of marching straight to Gaur where, in combination with the Bengal king, he might have inflicted a crushing defeat on Sher Khan, he besieged Chunar and took it. Sher Khan retreated to Bengal. But when Humayun entered Bengal and took Gaur, Sher Khan came back to Bihar and recovered Chunar. Now the rains conspired with Sher Khan to cut off Humayun's communications with his capital. Humayun's forces were reduced by fever and desertion and were in low spirits when Sher Khan took them by surprise and inflicted upon them a defeat at Chaunsa near Buxar in 1539. By the victory at Chaunsa, "the horizon of Sher Khan's ambition was immensely



widened" and Humayun's power and prestige sank low. He legalized his conquest of swords by assuming the title of Shah and by ordering coins to be struck and the Khutba to be read in his own name. Humayun swam across the swollen Ganges with the help of a water-carrier and got back to Agra with much difficulty. Here he raised a fresh army and marched again eastward to meet the advancing forces of Sher Shah. The hostile forces met each other at the battle of the Ganges or Bilgram, commonly known as the battle of Kanauj, in 1540. As a result of this victory, the throne of Delhi passed into the hands of the Afghans and the Mughal Emperor was reduced to the position of a helpless fugitive running from place to place seeking help.

**Other Conquests of Sher Shah.** Sher Shah conquered the Punjab from Kamran and put down the Gakhars occupying the territory between the Jhelum and the Indus while he was pursuing Humayun. He also tried to expel the Mughals from Kashmir. He built a second Rohtas in the district of Jhelum, and left his deputies in the Punjab, and retired to Gaur to organize his empire. He conquered Malwa in 1542, and reduced to subjugation Gwalior and Sarangapur. After conquering the fort of Raisin from Puran Mal in 1544, he proceeded against Marwar, the present state of Jodhpur. Mal Deva, the ruler of Marwar, also submitted. He then took possession of Mount Abu and Ajmer. Afterwards he marched against Chittor which was also conquered.

**Death (1545).** Sher Shah's brief reign was brought to an end in May, 1545, when he was fatally injured by the bursting of a tumbril on the siege of Kalinjar where he had gone after the conquest of Chittor.

**Q. 20. Give an estimate of the character of Sher Shah.**

### CHARACTER OF SHER SHAH

**Generosity.** Sher Shah has been described as a veritable father to his people; stern to the unruly, but all kindness and love to the weak, the disabled and the destitute. He was so considerate to the needy and the poor, irrespective of caste or creed, that he settled allowances upon the blind and the helpless of every place, village and city. He made it a rule that no one should go without food and starve in any place where he chanced to be.

**Just Nature.** He was a mixture of the lion and the fox. With enemies of equal strength he was prone to play rather the fox than the lion, and to this principle he owed his triumph over Humayun. But in his dealings with his subjects and nobles, he was the terrible lion of justice, a characteristic feature of his character. He called himself the just monarch and throughout his short reign of 5 years and 6 months, we do not find a single instance of his deviation from this principle. While punishing his own son Adil Khan for a certain act of misbehaviour towards the wife of a townsman of Agra, he said that he knew no difference between a prince and a peasant; and it should not be said that a man, because he was a king's son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. Such ruthlessness in punishing great offenders was one of the causes of his success as an administrator.

**Untiring love for work.** His untiring industry and minute attention to details deserve praise. He looked personally into the details of every department, and gave oral instructions which were taken down by his officials for future guidance. He had divided both night and day into portions for each separate business, such as the inspection of forces, the audit of accounts the hearing of reports from Amils and the reading of the Quran. He thus remained engaged the whole day. Whether on a march or at home, there was no violation of these rules.

**A Humane and Conscientious Ruler.** He was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and had no passion for fight. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy. He was, in fact, one of the most humane conquerors. He gave strict orders to the army that it should cause no injury to the cultivation of the people and the transgressors were heavily punished. Despite this severity, no general was more beloved of his soldiers. His personal magnetism was great, which animated his soldiers and made them cheerfully perform their onerous duties. This was due to the fact that he never shrank from work and never hesitated to handle the spade like his meanest soldier as at Chaunsa, where Humayun's envoy found Sher Shah, then called Sher Khan, with his sleeves rolled up digging a trench with a spade in the hot sun.



## Q. 21. Give an account of Sher Shah's Administration.

## SHER SHAH'S ADMINISTRATION

**Principles of his Administration.** Autocratic, as Sher Shah's government was, it was nevertheless vigorous and enlightened, but it "was based on the principle of union" as Mr. Keene observes. Besides establishing peace and order, Sher Shah reconstructed the machinery of administration, which was marked by a policy of religious toleration towards the Hindus. He personally looked into the pettiest details of administration, and set the public weal as the goal of his life. If any one infringed his laws and rules, he was openly punished irrespective of his rank or relation with the king. The Afghans paid him their sincere homage and goodwill, for they looked upon him as the saviour of their race, and appreciated his liberal administrative reforms. His government was based on the king's supreme power. The ministers were mere secretaries and carried out the orders of the Sultan, who attended to every business and issued all farmans or orders himself.

**Civil Administration.** Sher Shah divided the whole of his empire into 47 parganas, or units of administration. Each pargana had (1) a shikdar, a military officer, whose duty it was to enforce the royal farmans and to give all sorts of military aid to the Amin when he needed it; (2) an Amin, a civilian, who was responsible for assessment and the collection of land revenue. As a principal civil officer, he was accountable to the Central Government for his actions; (3) a treasurer; (4) a munsif; (5) a Hindu writer and a Persian writer to keep accounts. Several parganas put together formed a Sarkar or District, the next higher administrative unit, with Shiqdar-i-shiqdaran (a military officer) and Munsif-i-munsifan (a civil officer) at its heads. They supervised the work of the subordinate parganas and punished acts of lawlessness. The Amins were frequently transferred after a year or two from one place to another and special favour was shown to the loyal and experienced officials. Sher Shah extended his personal supervision over every branch of the administration. He attended to every detail of government and personally supervised all the revenue operations of the kingdom.

**Land Revenue.** The revenue system of Sher Shah, designated as Todar Mal's bando bast, was followed by the Mughals in Northern India and was adopted by the English in all its essential features under the Ryotwari settlement in the Madras Presidency. His experience as manager of his father's jagirs at Sahasram had taught him the traditional methods of the hereditary revenue officials, who deprived the state of a large amount of its dues. He, therefore, regulated the assessment of his land revenue by an exact system of land measurement by means of hempen ropes, and fixed the government share at one-fourth of the produce, which was payable either in kind or in cash through mugaddams, preference being given to the latter method. The ryots were sometimes encouraged to pay direct to the pargana treasury with the object of minimizing the importance of the headman and drawing the ryots into closer relation with the state officer. Assessments were made annually. He insisted on strictly punctual and full payment of the amount assessed and enforced it where necessary. His general



instructions to his officers were "Be lenient at the time of assessment but show no mercy at the time of collection."

**Treatment of the Cultivators.** Sher Shah was very careful about the interests of the cultivators. The rights and liabilities of ryots were fixed; he took from every individual ryot an agreement (*kabuliyat*) and gave him a title deed (*patta*) in return. All unauthorized demands and other illegal exactions from the industrious ryots were strictly prohibited. During the days of famines and the failure of crops, advances were made to the cultivators to relieve their distress. He gave strict orders to his army not to do any injury to the cultivation. When he entered into an enemy's country, he never destroyed the cultivation of the people or enslaved, or plundered the peasantry.

**Army.** In organizing the army, Sher Shah accepted the main principle of Ala-ud-Din's military system, and made it stronger and more efficient. Instead of relying on the services of a feudal army, he maintained soldiers each of whom directly owed allegiance to him and was bound to the immediate commanding officer by an official tie and not by one of personal and feudal attachment. The soldiers as a rule were personally recruited by the king and the provincial governors had no hand in this matter. It is said that "he himself fixed the monthly salary by looking at the man, and in his presence he had the descriptive rolls taken down and the horse branded". Sher Shah maintained his authority in the country by means of a powerful army, which is said to have comprised of 150,000 horse, 25,000 foot, and 5,000 elephants and a grand park of artillery. The army was distributed over different parts of the empire and garrisons were placed in important places like Delhi and Rohtas. There used to be very severe discipline for the army at the time of camping. One division of such army stationed in the empire was known as fauj under a faujdar, whose duties were purely military, having nothing to do with the civil administration. He, like Ala-ud-Din, introduced the scheme of branding the horses in the government service and prepared descriptive rolls in order to check fraudulent musters. The soldiers were directly recruited by the king himself and their salaries were fixed after personal inspection. Hindus were allowed to hold positions of importance in the army. Some of his best generals were Hindus. The cavalry formed the most important section of the army, but the infantry was not neglected. The infantry and match-lockmen were exclusively Hindus.

**Justice.** Sher Shah made no distinction between the Hindus and Mohammadans, and the posts of state service were open to both. His desire was to see peace restored throughout the land, and he took such vigorous steps against the robbers, thieves, and the turbulence of the people that nobody dared even to lift his hand against his neighbour. Regular law courts called the Dar-ul-Adalat were set up in which the Quazi and the Mir-i-Adil settled civil cases and administered justice. The criminal law was very severe; punishments were harsh and their object was not to reform the culprit but 'to set an example.'

**Police.** The police organization of Sher Shah, though simple, was very efficient. If a theft or robbery occurred within the jurisdiction of an Amir or Shiqdar and the culprits were not traced out, the



Muqaddams had to make good the loss Even in murder cases if the murderers were not found out, the Muqaddams were put to death. In view of the above orders, the Muqaddams used to protect the limits of their own villages, lest any thief or robber or enemy of their enemies might injure a traveller, and so be the means of their destruction and death. Besides the regular police, there were mohtasibs whose duty it was to prevent crimes such as drinking and adultery. Sher Shah also maintained a highly efficient espionage system, which kept him in touch with every thing that was going on in his dominions. In fact, "his system was a severe school of moral discipline which taught the lawless to respect the laws and made useful citizens out of them." He planned fortresses in every district so that they might serve as places of refuge for the people in times of danger.

**Trade and Commerce.** Sher Shah also encouraged trade by improving the coinage and keeping the highways in good order. Custom duties were levied only at two places, viz., at Gharri on goods from Bengal, and at the frontier on goods from Khurasan. A duty was levied at the place of sale and no other levy was permitted. Officials had to buy the goods at the usual bazar rates. Foreign goods were allowed to enter Bengal free of import duty as there was no convenient place on the east where customs could be easily collected. Smuggling was effectually guarded against.

**Currency.** The currency at the time of Sher Shah's accession to the throne was in a disorderly state. He overhauled the coinage by abolishing the old mixed metal currency. "He issued in very large numbers a new copper coin, known later as *dam*, with its sub-divisions of halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths." He also struck well-executed pieces in gold, silver and copper to a fixed standard of both weight and fineness. His coins were both square and circular in shapes. The inscription on the coins was *bilingual*, the king's name being written in Persian and Nagari. Orthodox Sunni as he was, his coins bore the name of the first four Khalifas of Islam.

**Its importance.** The coins of Sher Shah have proved extremely useful from the historical point of view. The extent of Sher Shah's empire is known from the coins, which also tell us how rapidly he conquered countries after countries. His coins also tell us about the founding of a number of towns after his own name. His currency reforms were followed not only by the Mughal Emperors, but also by the East India Company up to 1835. They are the basis of the existing British Currency.

**Charitable endowments and grants.** Sher Shah made liberal grants for charitable purposes but he supervised them personally. To guard against the fraudulent practices of the Imams he ordered the *munshis* to prepare the *farmans*. He examined and sealed them himself and then sent them to his *shiqdars* for distribution. *Madarsas* and mosques were set up and stipends were granted to the teachers and the taught.

**Sher Shah's works of public utility.** Sher Shah will always be remembered by the posterity for his public works. He constructed a number of admirably well-planned-out roads from one part of the empire



to the other, the most important was the Grand Trunk Road from Sonargaon in Bengal to the Punjab, another was from Agra to Burhanpur, a third from Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan, for various purposes, defence of the country being the primary one. For the convenience of travellers, he built serais at a distance of every two kos, where he made separate lodging arrangements for Hindus and Mussalmans, and every sort of convenience was provided, (including water, food, and fodder for horses) by the government according to his rank free of all charges. For the satisfactory management of every serai officers were appointed by the state. Villages were established all round the serais. Each serai had a well and a *masjid* of its own under an *Imam*, a *muezzin*, and several watchmen. Two horses were kept in every serai for carrying news to him in one day from a great distance. These serais were also used as *dakchaukis*, i.e., postal outposts. The news from the different parts of the Empire were received through these postal outposts. The roads were shaded by trees on both sides. (*B.A. Punjab, Sept. 1934.*)

**Sher Shah's Buildings.** Sher Shah left an indelible impress of his personality in his buildings as well. The Purana Qila in Delhi with the city around was built by Sher Shah. His nice taste in architecture is especially manifested in the noble mausoleum of Sahasram in Bihar where he was buried after his death. He also built a second Rohtas in the Punjab. Fergusson has praised the palace he had constructed in the Fort of Agra.

**Q. 22. On what grounds is Sher Shah entitled to rank among the greatest sovereigns of India ?**

#### SHER SHAH—A GREAT MONARCH

**Ideal of Kingship.** Sher Shah has rightly been called one of the greatest rulers of India. He cherished a lofty ideal of kingship and used to say that it behoves the great to be always active. He lived for the state and worked hard for the welfare of his subjects. He looked into every detail of government and supervised the activities of the various departments with incessant care. He rose early in the morning every day to begin the business of state. After breakfast he rested for a while, and then again turned to business of state. The evenings were set apart for reading the Quran, and for attending the public prayer. No branch of the administration was neglected, and the ministers were asked to report to him everything. He hated corruption and injustice, and severely punished those who made unlawful gains. The interest of the peasantry was well protected and any damage to crops was visited with a drastic punishment. To the poor and the destitute, he was particularly generous, and at all hours, the royal kitchen distributed food to those who were in need of it. His greatness as a ruler has been likened to that of Peter the Great of Russia, or Frederick the Great of Prussia and even to that of Napoleon and Julius Caesar.

**Toleration.** As a soldier, he was superb. In strategy and tactics, he out-generalled the Mughals. His soldiers reposed confidence in him and served with devotion and loyalty. His methods of war were mild and humane, and the soldiers were never allowed to commit plunder. At times he was cunning and perfidious. But probably like



other men of his age, he believed that nothing was wrong in war. Although a strict Sunni, he was well disposed towards the other sects and religions. The 'jezia' was not abolished, but the Hindus were treated with justice, and with toleration. To encourage education among his subjects, he granted them *waqfs* and allowed them a free hand in their management. For this liberal and beneficent policy, he was liked by his subjects irrespective of caste and creed.

**Forerunner of Akbar.** By his political reforms and the policy of religious toleration, he unconsciously laid the foundation of Akbar's greatness. His organization of the land revenue system was a precious legacy to the Mughals, who followed his plans and perfected them. Todarmal and others adopted his methods of administration.

**Administration.** Sher Shah divided his Empire into 47 divisions, or parganas. Each pargana had a Shiqdar, an Amin, a Treasurer, a Munsif, a Hindi writer and a Persian writer to write accounts. Besides these officers of state, there were the patwari, the chaukidar, and the muqaddam who acted as intermediaries between the people and the state. The parganas were grouped into sarkars each of which had a Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran and a Munsif-i-Munsifan, who looked after the work of the pargana officers in their division.

**Revenue Reforms.** Before the time of Sher Shah, the land was not measured, and the present, past and probable future state of a pargana was ascertained from the qanungo. Sher Shah ordered an elaborate survey of all land in the Empire. The land was measured at harvest time and the state demand was fixed at  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the expected produce. It was payable in cash or kind. The land revenue was realised through muqaddams. Sher Shah was very careful of the interests of the cultivators. The revenue officers were instructed to be lenient at the time of assessment, but to show no mercy at the time of collection. When there was drought or any unforeseen calamity, advances were made to the cultivators to relieve distress.

**Sense of Justice.** Sher Shah dealt out even-handed justice to the high and the low and no man could escape punishment because of his birth and rank. There were courts called the Dar-ul-Adalat in which the Qazi and the Mir Adal tried civil cases and administered justice. The police organization of Sher Shah though primitive was highly efficient. He tried to enforce the principle of local responsibility in the matter of preventing crimes.

**Works of Public Utility.** Sher Shah was the first Muslim ruler who undertook the construction of roads on a large scale for public convenience. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads, and serais were built at intervals of every two kos, where he made separate lodging arrangements for the Hindus and Mohammadans. In these serais every sort of convenience was provided, including water, food and fodder for the horses. Every 'serai' had a well and a *masjid* for its own. Two horses were kept in every serai for carrying news. For the upkeep of the serais, villages were granted by the state. Road traffic was absolutely secure, so much so that it is said that a woman with a load of jewels on her person could travel by night without any fear of being molested.

**Patronage.** Sher Shah made liberal grants for charitable purposes.



He patronized art and letters and held that it was the duty of the kings to afford relief to the poor and the destitute. All those things combined made Sher Shah's reign one of the most glorious periods of mediæval Indian History.

**Q. 23. Explain that "Sher Shah was the first who attempted to found an Indian Empire broadly based upon the people's will."**  
(Crooke) (P. U., B. A., 1936 Sept.)

**Q. 24. Give an account of Sher Shah as a statesman.**

### SHER SHAH AS A STATESMAN

**Policy of Tolerance.** Sher Shah accomplished this by making a departure from the dominating political maxim of his age that political unity was impossible without religious uniformity in a state. He was wise enough not to follow the policy of converting the whole Hindu population to Islam by putting their religion under a ban. He adopted a liberal religious policy. Neither the zeal of his bigoted admirers nor the envy of the unsympathetic detractors could set the destruction of a single temple or image against the name of Sher Shah. His policy was not only a policy of toleration, but a policy of religious neutrality, if the removal of direct pressure of the state to propagate Islam be called enough neutrality according to the standard of his age. Indeed jeziya was not abolished, but it was not levied in the spirit commended by Qazi Mughis-ud-Din of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji's reign. The arrangements at serais for Hindus go to prove that his attitude towards Hinduism was not of contemptuous sufferance but of respectful deference.

**A Strict Disciplinarian.** Sher Shah considered religion as the private concern of the individual, which had nothing to do with his public life. He held out this ideal to his co-religionists to elevate them to a higher plane of thought. He was admittedly a sincere orthodox Mussalman, yet his orthodoxy did not colour his political policy. He even dared to tamper with the sacred law of Islam, which he believed to be unjust and harsh to his Hindu subjects. Like Henry II of England he wanted to introduce the Reign of Law in the land. He was the author of certain laws (*qanuns*) which he himself obeyed and made others obey with terrible severity. Spies were posted throughout the country, who informed whether his regulations were obeyed or not. The breakers of law, and the disturbers of public peace felt the weight of his hand the most. These laws were made 'both from his own ideas and by extracting them from the books of the learned.' Some historians include police and army regulations, appointment of officers and their duties etc., within these '*qanuns*.' From this it appears that he promulgated only the 'administrative laws' of his empire, on the model of which some of the 'Ains' of Akbar were undoubtedly framed. Certain laws were made with the object of dispensing with the interference of the Qazi and the Mufti into the affairs of the state.

**Equal Treatment of all.** In building up his empire Sher Shah utilized all the working forces in the State, and extended his patronage to one and all without making any racial discrimination. He admitted freely into state service the former ruling castes, such as the Turks and the Khiljis. He tried to liberalize the narrow minds of his people, but



was careful not to exalt them into a ruling aristocracy. In short, Sher Shah's idea was to make all classes forget their political past and to prepare the way for the evolution of an Indian nationality with common interests and sentiments.

**Q 25. In what respects can Sher Shah be accepted as a Nation-builder ?**

#### SHER SHAH AS A NATION-BUILDER

**A Nation-Builder.** Sher Shah may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation by reconciling the followers of rival creeds, although he passed no laws of the "abolition of *jeziya*, no edict against cow slaughter, no patronage of Sanskrit literature and the growth of intellectual sympathy between the two races; and no encouragement to intermarriages, which are associated with the name of Akbar." He gave the country a Government, intelligent, vigorous and just, worked for the political regeneration and economic prosperity of the Hindus, compelled both communities to preserve outward amity and work together harmoniously. He fulfilled the primary conditions of the growth of an infant nationality; prepared the ground and sowed the seed; but it was no fault of his if he did not live long enough to see the plant bear fruit. He had wisely perceived that the experiment of the abolition of *jeziya* and cow-slaughter were then a little ahead of the time. Despite this, the relations between the Hindus and Mohammadans were not less cordial at the accession of Akbar than at his death.

**No bar of colour and creed.** During his reign not a single section of the Indian people was obliged to keep aloof from the Government. He made no racial discrimination in extending his patronage and bore no ill-will to the former ruling castes and admitted them freely into his service. His ideal was that all people living under him should forget their political past and prepare the way for the evolution of an Indian nationality strong in common interests and sentiments.

**Q. 26. What place does Sher Shah hold in History ?**

#### SHER SHAH'S PLACE IN HISTORY

**Pioneer of Akbar.** Sher Shah has rightly been styled as the precursor of Akbar in many respects. The ideas on which the Empire of Akbar and his successors rested mostly originated with Sher Shah. He stands in the same political relation to Akbar as does Chandragupta to Asoka. There is no denying the fact that Akbar is justly entitled to a higher place in history than Sher Shah; but "in constructive statesmanship, executive ability, attention to the details of Government, indefatigable industry and thoroughness, unwearied vigilance, sense of justice, purity of personal character, and as a disciplinarian and a strategist, Sher Shah undoubtedly stands above."

**Maker of Modern India.** Of all rulers of mediæval times, Sher Shah stands as the ideal of the new India, the India of Hindus and Mussalmans united in heart and spirit. Akbar and Aurangzeb, the idols of popular reverence to the two communities respectively, cannot claim the homage of the present generation because one did gross injustice to Islam, the other to Hinduism. Their failure is a warning to the future politicians of India. It is only the reign of Sher Shah during which Islam was honoured, yet Hinduism was not slighted. It is a matter of regret that his age could not appreciate him fully; because he sacrificed the favour of his contemporaries for the blessings of posterity.

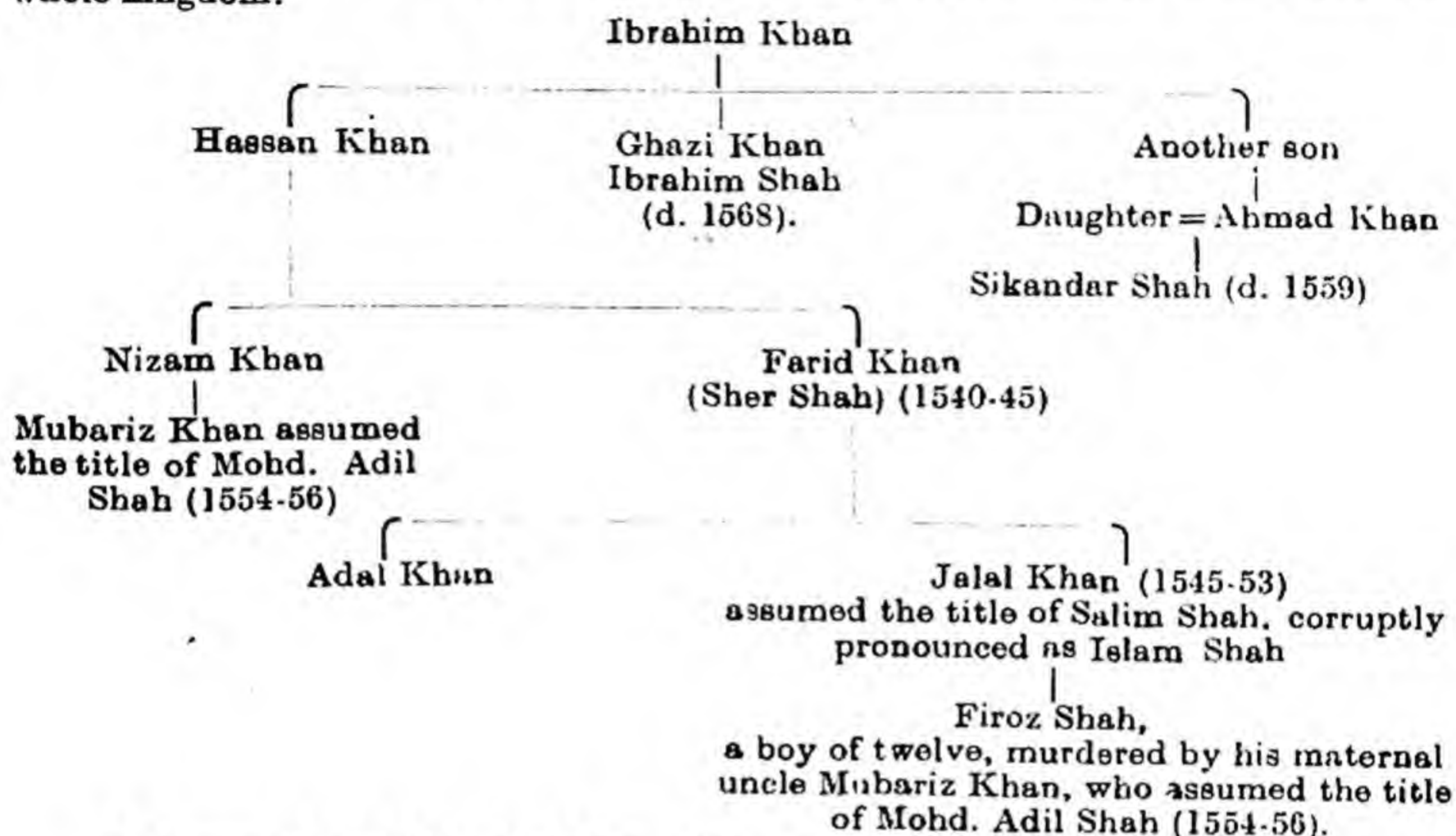
**Q. 27. Give an account of the successors of Sher Shah Suri with special reference to the Second Battle of Panipat (1556).**

#### SHER SHAH'S SUCCESSORS AND THE SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT

**Salim Shah (1545-53).** Sher Shah died on May 22, 1545, leaving behind two sons Adal Khan and Jalal Khan. The Afghan nobles liked the younger son, Jalal who ascended the throne in 1545, with the title of Salim Shah and was proclaimed king because of his arrival in the camp in time on the death of his father. The unruly Afghans began to show signs of independence and in order to suppress them, he made his position strong by either imprisoning some of the Afghan Amirs or



putting them to death. He reduced to submission Shujat Khan, the Governor of Malwa and Azim Humayun, the Governor of the Punjab. He ruled for about eight years. In his reign, there spread a religious movement under Shaikh Alai. The Shaikh did not fear even the Sultan and preached openly from door to door. This movement later on led to a serious disturbance in the Punjab. The Shaikh was, however, executed. The king kept peace and order in the kingdom by crushing down the power of the Amirs and by stationing special troops throughout the whole kingdom.



**Mohammad Adil Shah (1554-56).** Salim Shah was succeeded by his son, Firoz Shah, a boy of twelve, who was consequently murdered by his maternal uncle, Mubariz Khan, who himself caught hold of the throne and assumed the title of Mohammad Adil Shah, nicknamed "Adali" or the foolish. The new king proved himself a profligate debauchee. He did not carry on the administration himself but had appointed Hemu, a clever Hindu officer, to control the country. Rebellions broke out everywhere and the entire machinery of administration collapsed. The king's own cousin Ibrahim took possession of Agra and Delhi, but he was soon beaten by Sikandar Suri, who secured for himself the whole territory between the Indus and the Ganges. Both of them fought against each other to win the throne of Delhi. There were now three Afghan chiefs ruling in Northern India at one time, Mohd. Adil Shah in Bengal, Sikandar at Delhi and Ibrahim in the Sambhal district.

**Restoration of Humayun (1555).** Under such chaotic condition of Hindustan, the ex-Emperor Humayun was invited. He was at this time ruling in Kabul. Watching the situation in India and finding an opportunity, he thought of regaining his lost Indian throne. From Sind he had proceeded to Persia via Kabul, where he was given a cordial reception by Shah Tahmasap, who aided him with men and money to recover Kandhar and Kabul and in return demanded Kandhar. Both the towns were conquered. Kamran was caught and blinded. The three Afghan factions in India were engaged in a murderous struggle for supremacy and the people were tired of disorder. So they urged Humayun to invade. Humayun was joined by Bairam Khan and the forces of Sikandar were defeated at Sirhind. Humayun re-entered Delhi after 15 years' absence. He, however, died in 1556. He was succeeded by his son Akbar but at that time northern and eastern India were still unsettled. Sikandar Suri though defeated was still in the field and thought himself the king from Delhi to the Punjab. In the eastern provinces, Adali was the chief antagonist, with Hemu as his chief minister.

**Account of the Second Battle of Panipat (1556).** Akbar had to face many difficulties. Hemu, hearing the news of Humayun's death, made another effort to save his master's empire. He defeated Tardi Beg,



Humayun's governor of Delhi, and himself became king under the title of Vikramaditya. Hemu was a *banya* by birth and was the right hand of Mohd. Adil Shah, for whom he won battles, and conquered provinces. Tardi Beg, on the other hand, was executed on account of his cowardice for he could not hold Delhi against Hemu. Preparations were then, made to recover Delhi. Ali Kuli Khan was sent with an advanced detachment. Akbar and Bairam Khan kept Sikandar Shah shut up in the north-eastern Punjab and themselves followed Ali Kuli and reached Punjab in 1556. Hemu also collected many Afghans and proceeded to meet the Mughals. In a previous engagement with Ali Kuli, Hemu had lost a considerable portion of his artillery obtained from Turkey, but he had still 1500 war elephants on whom he depended. A fierce battle was fought. Hemu was struck in the eye by an arrow and was captured. His army fled away. He was brought before the Emperor, who refused to kill him. He was, however, executed by Bairam Khan. Bairam, then, sent an army against Sikandar Suri, who had retired to the Shivalik hills, and had shut himself up in the strong hill fortress of Mankote. The Mughal army besieged the fort for six months. Sikandar was thus obliged to sue for peace. He agreed to give up the fort, if he and his son were honourably provided for. He was given a *Jagir*. About the same time, Mohd. Adil Shah also died.

**Effects of the Second Battle of Panipat.** (1) The second battle of Panipat made Akbar the king of Agra, Delhi and the adjoining districts. A large booty of 1500 war elephants fell into the hands of the victorious army. (2) The possession of Delhi and Agra opened the way for the further conquest of India. (3) The defeat of Hemu at the battle of Panipat led to the removal of a formidable foe from the path of Akbar and thereby frustrated all the hopes of the Hindus to establish their own rule in India. (4) The death of Hemu made it easy for Akbar to remove the other claimants of the Sur Dynasty. (5) The battle of Panipat established at an early date the importance of Akbar as an 'important general.' (6) The Afghan rule came to an end and the Mughal rule began instead.

**Causes of Mughal success.** The causes of Mughal success were :—(1) The Mughal army under Ali Kuli had already captured Hemu's valuable artillery obtained from Turkey before he came to the field of Panipat. (2) Unity and enthusiasm of the Chughtai nobles secured success. (3) The opportune arrow that pierced Hemu in the eye and made him unconscious is an event of great importance, for an Indian army could never survive the loss of its leader on whose life its play depended.

**Q. 28. Give the chief causes of the decline of the Suri Empire after the death of Sher Shah.**

#### THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE SURI EMPIRE

The following were the reasons of the downfall of the Suri Empire after the death of Sher Shah. (1) The successors of Sher Shah Suri were incompetent. (2) The struggle for the throne amongst the three claimants after the death of Salim Shah had weakened the Empire. (3) The proud and haughty behaviour of Hemu, the minister of Adil, was another reason. The minister took the title of Vikramaditya and



even had coins struck in his name. This alienated the sympathies of the Afghans. (4) The help received by Humayun from Shah Tahmasp of Persia. (5) The Second Battle of Panipat finally destroyed the power of the Afghans. (6) The leadership of Bairam Khan.

## QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Describe the measures adopted by Sher Shah Suri for the stability of the state and the prosperity of his subjects. *(P.U., B.A., Sept 1935)*
2. Sher Shah was the first king of mediæval India to found an empire broadly based upon the people's will. Comment on this view of Sher Shah's administration. *(P. U., B. A., 1936, Sept.)*
3. Discuss the chief causes of the decline of the Suri Empire after the death of Sher Shah. *(P. U., B. A. 1939)*
4. Would it be correct to say that the value and worth of the Empire of Delhi was tested by his ability to solve the Rajputana problem? Discuss with reference to Babar Humayun and Sher Shah. *(P. U , B. A., 1939 Sept.,)*
5. Trace the course of the struggle between Sher Shah Suri and Humayun for the Empire of Delhi. To what use did Sher Shah put the success and supreme power he had gained. *(P. U., B. A , 1940 Sept.)*
6. Comment :—"The accession of Sher Shah marked the beginning of that era of liberal Islam which lasted till the reaction of Aurangzeb's reign."

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## CHAPTER V

### THE REIGN OF AKBAR (1556-1605)

**Q. 29.** What was the condition of India in 1556 at the time of Akbar's accession to the throne ?

**Q. 30.** "The India of 1556 presented a dark and complex picture." Explain.

#### THE CONDITION OF INDIA IN 1556

**Political Condition** The lordship of north west India was disputed by two or three members of the Sur family. The Kabul territory under Akbar's half brother, Mirza Hakim, was practically independent for more than two centuries under its Afghan chiefs. The Rajput clans of Rajasthan had recovered from the defeat inflicted upon them by Babar and had shaken off the yoke of Delhi. Malva and Gujrat had become independent during the reign of Mohammad-bin-Tughlak. Orissa was independent. The wild regions of Gondwana obeyed only their own chieftains. The Deccan states of Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmednagar, Golkonda and Bijapur were governed by their own Sultans, who acknowledged no outside authority. In the far south, sovereigns of Vijayanagar were at the zenith of their power and ruled over a great kingdom. Goa and several other ports of the western-coast were in the hands of the Portuguese who commanded the Arabian Sea. In the north, the border states of Kashmir, Sind, Balochistan and many others enjoyed complete independence.

**Government.** The king was absolute and the form of the Government was pure despotism. There was no redress against the king's arbitrary will except a successful rebellion. The king had a Vizier or Prime Minister, whose duties varied according to the ability of the individual and the activity of the king. "In some cases he was an uncontrollable viceroy; in others only the chief among the Ministers. The various provinces were ruled by the nobles, and the king or the Sultan was simply their over-lord. They were absolute within their jurisdiction and exercised all executive powers of the state. The king did not interfere in the internal affairs of the provinces."

**The Army.** A portion of the army was directly hired by the king. A part consisted of the men hired by the governors and chiefs ready to be placed at the disposal of the king. Each province had its local army. Besides this in each province the king kept a certain number of imperial troops who were paid by him and whose commander was nominated by him.

**Judicial System.** The judicial system was based on a code which was the result of accumulated decisions based on the Quran but modified by the customs of the country. It was administered by the Qazis and officers of the State. The Qazi decided all civil cases. He recognized only the Mohammadan Law and had fixed rules of procedure. The second tribunal tried criminal cases which affected the safety of the State. Its powers were undefined and arbitrary.

**Revenue System.** The revenue system had become a mass of rank confusion in spite of the efforts of Sher Shah to improve it. The change of the rulers and constant wars had introduced many abuses in the collection of the revenue. The system was the same as it existed under the Hindus.

**Social Condition.** People were superstitious; witchcraft was universally believed and omens and dreams were paid the greatest attention. The people lived mostly in villages. The cities were few. The Hindus were regarded with contempt as being infidels, though not with open hostility. They were liable to *jaziya* and other invidious distinctions. The three centuries of contact between the Muhammadans and the Hindus, however, had brought more or less a spirit of reconciliation



and this was visible in the field of art, literature, etc. The Hindus were employed in the civil offices especially those of revenue and accounts.

**Economic Condition.** The economic condition of the people, at least of Northern India, must have been very badly affected by the wars of the last hundred years. According to Mr. Smith, the India of 1556, when young Akbar preferred his formal claim to the sovereignty of Hindustan, was a distracted and ill-governed land. Its economic condition was even worse than the political, many of its fairest provinces including Delhi and Agra, being then desolated by an appalling famine caused by a wide-spread failure of rains combined with the devastation wrought by two years of warfare.

**Q. 31. Describe the Character of Akbar and state his conception of kingship.**

### THE CHARACTER OF AKBAR

**Traits of his Character.** Akbar was a man of great courage and possessed an extraordinary physical strength. He was devoted to hunting excursions and sports from his boyhood. He knew no fear either in pursuit of game or in the field of battle. He was ready to risk life, regardless of political consequences. He enjoyed animal combats and gladiatorial fights, but he did not indulge in cruelty for its own sake. He was not unnecessarily revengeful and we find that a repentant rebel could often secure his pardon, e.g., Hakim, his brother. He was sometimes subject to outbursts of wrath and on such occasions the culprits were summarily dealt with as he had done with his uncle Muazzam and his foster brother Adam Khan. But as a rule he had perfect self-control. He was naturally humane, gentle and kind. He had very pleasant manners. Further J. Xavier remarks that "in truth he was great with the great and lowly with the lowly."

**Accomplishments.** Though technically illiterate, having no knowledge of alphabets, Akbar was a man of varied literary tastes and great intellectual curiosity. He had a wonderfully retentive memory. He was interested in different branches of learning, such as philosophy, theology, history and politics, and could express his own views in these branches. He gathered around him a band of scholars, poets, philosophers, and maintained in his palace a library containing books on various subjects which he got to be read out to him. He gained a fair acquaintance with Asiatic literature especially with the literature of Sufism. He knew the tenets of Christianity, Hinduism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism. Besides these he had a good taste for art, architecture, and mechanical works, and himself effected some improvements in the manufacture of matchlocks.

**Akbar's Conception of Kingship.** Akbar was endowed with an indomitable energy and took keen interest in the minutest details of administration. He used his abilities not for establishing a despotism by destroying the rights and liberties of his subjects, but he was gifted with the far-sightedness of a true statesman. He was tolerant towards the non-Muslims and even favoured the Hindus and their customs to the disadvantage of Muslims. Akbar's liberalism was too strong to keep him fit in the frame of Islamic State and went too far in rejecting many Muslim practices. On the other hand, he did nothing to stem the tide of the cosmopolitan Bhakti and Mahadevi movements—the Indian Reformation. He never made an appeal to orthodoxy and fanaticism, but he wisely utilised the modernistic tendencies of his age for constructive work. He wanted not to go backward by checking the "invasion of ideas" in his time, but to go forward in thought, culture and politics. Unlike many of his predecessors at Delhi, he did not regard his empire as affording a grand opportunity for personal enjoyment, but he held a high ideal of kingship. He hated tyranny and falsehood. Dr. V. A. Smith accuses him of "tortuous diplomacy and perfidious action"; but his methods and policy were certainly not more tortuous and crooked than those of his European contemporaries like Elizabeth of England and Philip II of Spain. Judged from all points of view, Akbar can be ranked with the greatest rulers in the world. In short Akbar's conception of kingship was very high. To quote his own words, "a monarch is a pre-eminent cause of God, upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action. His gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just government and due recognition of merit; that of his people in obedience and praise."



**Critical Note.** Akbar's conception of kingship compared with those of Sher Shah and Aurangzeb.

Sher Shah did not hold the throne for personal enjoyment and luxuries, but he cherished a lofty ideal of kingship. Like Asoka and Harsha before him, he followed the maxim that "it behoves the great to be always active." He himself looked into the minutest details of his government and kept a vigilant watch on his civil and military officers. In his own word:—"The essence of royal protection consists in protecting the life and property of the subjects. They should use the principles of justice and equality in all their dealings with all the classes of people, and should instruct powerful officials so that they may try their best to refrain from cruelty and oppression in their jurisdiction." Aurangzeb's ideal of kingship can be gathered from his numerous letters and utterances. He used to remark that kingship knows no kinship. Sovereignty is the guardianship of the people, not self-indulgence and profligacy. A great king truly is he who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity.

### THE DIVISIONS OF AKBAR'S REIGN

Akbar's reign may be divided into three parts:—

(1) The Rule of Bairam Khan (1556-1560). Akbar under the tutelage of Bairam Khan or Khan Baba. The Khan-i-Khanan was supreme till his fall.

(2) Petticoat Influence (1561-64). Akbar under the petticoat influence in the Zenana. During this period the administration was practically conducted by Hamida Banu Begum, Maham Anagah and their favourites.

(3) Akbar's Personal Rule (1564-1605). The period of Akbar's personal government begins in 1564 and ends with his death in 1605. During this period he had many ministers but he was always the master.

#### 1. THE RULE OF BAIRAM KHAN (1556—1560)

Q. 32. Write a short note on Bairam Khan, and state the causes which led to his downfall. (P.U., B.A., 1937)

#### BAIRAM KHAN AND THE CAUSES OF HIS DOWNFALL

**Bairam Khan's Career.** He belonged to a Shia family and was born at Badakhshan. He was an experienced and masterful man, who served Humayun with fidelity during his wanderings from place to place. He fought at the battle of Kanauj where he was taken prisoner. He surrendered to Sher Shah, who tried to win him to his side by showing him much kindness. He, however, managed to escape, and at last after many adventures was able to join Humayun. He accompanied him to Persia and played a great part in securing the help of the king of Persia to reconquer Kandhar. During the minority of Akbar he was appointed as his guardian, as such he had loyally supported the cause of his youthful sovereign. It was chiefly due to his courage and determination that Akbar recovered his lost inheritance. For his sincere devotion, he has received praise even from an orthodox Sunni writer like Badaoni. As the regent of Akbar, Bairam Khan carried out his work of conquest most successfully. He annexed Gwalior and Jaunpur to the Empire, but he failed in conquering Ranthambhor. His attempt on Malwa was frustrated owing to the machinations of his enemies which led to his downfall.

**Causes which brought Bairam Khan's downfall or the Errors of Bairam Khan.** (1) With the accumulation of excessive powers in his hands, Bairam Khan began to abuse them in various ways. He became extremely suspicious and adopted a stern policy towards his suspected and supposed enemies. (2) He became jealous of his authority and did



not like it to be shared by any one else. (3) Arriving at the age of eighteen, Akbar chafed under the galling tutelage of his domineering guardian, and desired to be king in fact as well as in name. (4) He followed a policy of favouritism and gave preference to his own servants ignoring the just claims of others. (5) He, being a Shia, was hated by the Sunni Chughtai nobles who were in majority at the court. (6) The execution of Tardi Beg made many of the nobles anxious about their own position in the court, which was under Bairam Khan's control. (7) The Empire resented the prosperity of Bairam Khan's servants. (8) There were the palace intrigues. Hamida Bannu, Akbar's mother, Maham Anaga, his foster mother, Adham Khan, his foster brother, Shahab-ud-Din, the Governor of Delhi—all hated Bairam Khan, and were poisoning the ears of Akbar by insinuating that Bairam Khan had become virtual master of the kingdom, and was "favouring the candidacy" of Abdul Qasim, the son of Kamran, to the throne of Hindustan. All of them entered into a secret conspiracy to overthrow Bairam Khan who till then controlled the army and the administration.

**Rebellion.** As arranged by the conspirators, Akbar proceeded to Delhi on the pretext of seeing his mother who was reported to be ill (1560). There he informed Bairam Khan that he intended to take the reins of government in his own hands, and expressed his desire that he should leave for Mecca, but that a Jagir would be granted to him, the revenues of which he would receive through his agents. To this unwelcome order Bairam Khan submitted. But the appointment of Mulla Pir Muhammed, one of his former dismissed subordinates, "to arrange for his leaving the Imperial domains, so enraged him that he rebelled." He was, however, defeated near Jullundur, and threw himself on Akbar's mercy. Akbar forgave his former guardian, and treated him with generosity and consideration for his previous services.

**Death** He was not allowed to start again for Mecca, but on his way at Patna in Gujrat he was stabbed to death (January, 1561) by an Afghan whose father had been executed by his orders.

**Q 33. Discuss the Statement :— "The story of the transactions leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khan leaves an unpleasant taste."**

**Remarks on the Fall and Death of Bairam Khan.** The causes of the fall of Bairam Khan do not leave behind a good impression. There is no denying the fact that Bairam Khan possessed certain flaws which every man possesses. His faults were that due to the immense power in his hands, he had begun to assume airs and was showing favours to his own kith and kin. Notwithstanding this presumption that these defects of his character were very much resented by the people it should not be forgotten that these personal defects pale into nothingness when compared with the loyal and meritorious services rendered by him to Akbar and his father Humayun. During the wanderings of Humayun, it was Bairam who proved true to his salt and sided with his master through thick and thin. This devotion and loyalty could outbalance all his personal defects. At his accession to the throne, Akbar was a king without a kingdom. But for Bairam, there would have been no Akbar, as the king of India. There is no gainsaying the truth that Akbar was all kindness and courtesy to Bairam, but due to the constant dinning into his ears by the party formed against Bairam, Akbar yielded to their demands. His revolt was a natural consequence of the circumstances in which he was placed. The maltreatment which was meted out to him at the hands of his dismissed enemy, Pir Mohammad,



appointed by the king and a similar treatment to his family and adherents provoked him and thus having become desperate, he broke into a revolt. He took it as an act of ingratitude on the part of Akbar and felt it keenly. A dispassionate view of the rule of Bairam Khan during Akbar's minority was far superior to the petticoat government by Maham Anaga and other favourites. The above mentioned facts make a very strong case in favour of Bairam. His disgraceful end could be made more dignified than what it was.

## 2. PETTICOAT GOVERNMENT (1561-64)

**Petticoat Government.** From the time when he became the Emperor of India to the year 1560, Akbar was dominated by the influence of his teacher Bairam Khan. But the removal of Bairam Khan did not immediately transfer the reins of government into Akbar's hands. For two years more his foster-mother Maham Anaga, with her son Adam Khan and relatives maintained an undue ascendancy in the state.

**The Conquest of Malwa and Adam Khan's Revolt.** In 1560, an expedition against Malwa was sent under Adam Khan and Pir Mohammad. They defeated (1561) Baz Bahadur the son of Shujat Khan, captured much booty and committed great oppressions on the people. Adam Khan sent a few elephants and kept the rest. Thus he evoked Akbar's wrath by withholding the spoils including Rupamati for himself and by his disgusting cruelties. Akbar marched to Malwa to punish Adam Khan but the latter obtained his pardon through his mother's intercession. Adam Khan was recalled and the government of Malwa was made over to Pir Mohammad, who lost it to Baz Bahadur due to his misrule and brutal cruelties.

**The Death of Adam Khan.** About this time Shams-ud-Din Mohammad Atka Khan, who had come from Kabul, was appointed by Akbar to the office of Minister but Maham Anaga, who regarded herself as the "substantive prime minister" did not like this transfer of premiership from her hands. Her son, Adam Khan, instigated by Munim Khan, jealous of Muhammad Atka Khan, murdered him when the latter was engaged in public business at the palace. At this Akbar's wrath burst forth against the undue influence of his foster-mother; and he ordered his attendants to throw Adam Khan down the ramparts of the fort, as a result of which he met with a speedy death. His mother also died forty days later.

**Purdah Regime ended.** This incident should not be regarded as an act of barbarous cruelty, but rather as a desperate attempt on the part of Akbar to get rid of Maham Anaga, and her relatives' baneful influence under which Akbar had been fretting and which he had naturally tried on various occasions to check in vain. It was at last with the disappearance of Maham Anaga and her son that the harem influence or the Pardah Regime came to an end. Akbar became free from his twentieth year to act for himself to confirm his hold on the restored dominion of his grandfather. He at once tried to remove the financial disorders in the State by employing for this purpose a capable eunuch, who had served the Sur Kings and was now honoured with the title of Itimad Khan.

## 3. AKBAR'S PERSONAL RULE (1564-1605)

**Akbar's task on Ascending the Throne.** This task was *three-fold* :— (1) To recover the dominions of the Crown lost under Humayun. (2) To establish his authority over his chiefs. (3) To restore internal peace and order in his kingdom which had been lost in course of so many revolutions. Thus the reign of Akbar has two aspects, physical and normal. The physical work included the checking of insubordination and the extension of dominions, and for this, as we shall see, the Emperor relied as much on the sword as on conciliation. The moral aspect includes those means which had for their object the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country as a whole.

**Q. 34. Give an account of Akbar's conquests. (P. U. 1936)**

**Q. 35. Show that Akbar was a man of strong Imperial instincts.**

### AKBAR'S CONQUESTS

**The Conquest of Gondwana (Central Provinces, 1564).** Rani Durgawati, a Rajput lady of great valour, abilities and personal charm, was ruling over Gondwana on behalf of her minor son. Akbar sent Asaf Khan I in 1564 to conquer it.



The queen-mother gallantly defended the country, but was defeated. She killed herself to avoid disgrace. Bir Narayan, the young ruler, courted death by performing *jauhar* ceremony. After holding the kingdom for some time, Asaf Khan I handed it over to Akbar.

**The Uzbegs' Rebellion (1564-67).** In 1564, Abdulla Uzbeg revolted in the province of Malwa, but Akbar marched against him and forced him to retire to Gujrat. He went to Jaunpur, where he made common cause with the chief, Khan Zaman. The Uzbegs had become disaffected under the false impression that Akbar distrusted and hated them. So they were at the back of the rebels. Asaf Khan, another Uzbeg chief, also threw in his lot with the rebels. During the two years of war that followed, Akbar was not always successful. Meanwhile trouble arose. The Emperor's brother Hakim Mirza sought to see himself up as an independent ruler in the Punjab. Akbar hurried to the Punjab and forced his brother back to Kabul. In 1567, Akbar took the rebels by surprise. In the ensuing battle Khan Zaman was killed and his brother Bahadur Khan was taken prisoner and executed. Thus this threatened rising was put down.

**Conquest of Gujrat (1572).** Dr. V. A. Smith points out : (1) that the wealth and the maritime commerce of Gujrat were quite sufficient attraction to tempt Akbar to annex the province. (2) Besides the economic advantage, there was a strategic advantage also. Its possession was necessary for safeguarding the commercial and political interests of the empire on the western coast and the Peninsula. (3) Gujrat, although conquered by Humayun in 1535, had become independent. He therefore got a pretext to reconquer the lost provinces of his father. Muzaffar Shah III, the nominal king, exercised little authority over his powerful vassals and one of them Itimad Khan also invited Akbar to put down the bad state of affairs in Gujrat. In 1572, Akbar arrived near Ahmedabad. Muzaffar Shah III offered no resistance and formally ceded the crown to Akbar and was living as a state prisoner in Delhi. Leaving the Government in the hands of the Mirzas, Akbar retired to Fatehpur; but soon the misdeeds of the Mirzas recalled him. Akbar gained a decisive victory in 1573 over the Mirzas at the battle of Sarnal. Honours were bestowed upon Raja Bhagwan Das in appreciation of his heroic struggle. Surat was conquered in 1573. Friendly relations were established with the Portuguese. After the return of Akbar, the Mirzas came out of their hiding places and created disturbance. Akbar remarched against Gujrat and defeated the Mirzas at the battle of Ahmedabad in 1573. Muzaffar Shah III managed to escape from the prison and started a formidable rebellion in 1580. People looked upon him as the legitimate king of Gujrat and therefore sided with him. He inflicted a defeat upon Kutb-ud-Din, the Governor of Gujrat, and killed him and also took possession of Baroda and Bharoch in 1583. This was a heavy blow to the royal cause. The king sent Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan, to fight against Muzaffar Shah whose forces were severely defeated in 1584. Muzaffar Shah fled away and in 1592 committed suicide as he was betrayed by the chief of Cutch.

**Its importance.** "The conquest of Gujrat," remarks Dr. Smith, "marks an important epoch in Akbar's history." The annexation gave his government free access to the sea with all the rich commerce passing through Surat, and the other western ports. The territory and income of the state were vastly extended, so that the viceroyalty of Gujrat became one of the most important posts in the gift of the sovereign. Akbar now saw the sea for the first time and came into direct contact with the Portuguese and Christian missionaries thus opening up relations



which seriously affected the history of India, and introduced new intellectual influences operating upon his mind. The province became the practising ground for Raja Todar Mal, the able financier, who made his first revenue settlement on improved principles in Gujrat. Moreover Kennedy says that, "Gujrat was used as a jumping off point for invasions of the Deccan."

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**Conquest of Bengal (1575).** Bengal had been independent since the fourteenth century. Sulaiman Khan Kirrani, an able monarch, occupied Gaur and founded a new dynasty. He acknowledged a nominal dependence of Akbar. When he died in 1572, he was succeeded by his son, Daud, who was not disposed to submit to the Emperor. Raja Todar Mal and Munim Khan were sent one after the other to subdue Bengal but they met with very little success. In 1574, Akbar himself appeared on the scene near Patna. In spite of the rainy season he defeated Daud at *Moghalmari* and occupied Patna, where immense booty fell into his hands. "Daud escaped to Orissa. Akbar returned and entrusted the first campaign to Munim Khan and then to Todar Mal. Daud suffered a defeat at *Turkaroi* (1575), and was forced to promise homage and tribute to the Emperor, but he did not fulfil it. Next year, in 1576, he was defeated and captured at the battle of *Rajmahal* and done to death. Thus ended the independent kingdoms of Bengal and Bihar.

**Revolt in Bengal (1580).** In 1580, disturbances again broke out in Bengal because the Mohammadan officers did not observe the policy of toleration, the allowances of the officers were curtailed and an enquiry into the titles of jagirdars to the lands they occupied was made. These causes led to a revolt in Bengal. The rebels conspired to overthrow Akbar and place his brother Mirza Hakim on the throne. Todar Mal suppressed the revolt and Bengal was finally annexed it to the Mughal Empire in 1580.

**Conquest of Kabul (1584).** Mohammad Hakim Mirza, the younger half-brother of Akbar, was recognized as a ruler of Kabul which was actually administered by various nobles in practical independence. In 1582, Mohammad Hakim invaded the Punjab but was repulsed and forced to accept Akbar's suzerainty. His death in 1584 brought Kabul under Akbar's effective jurisdiction.

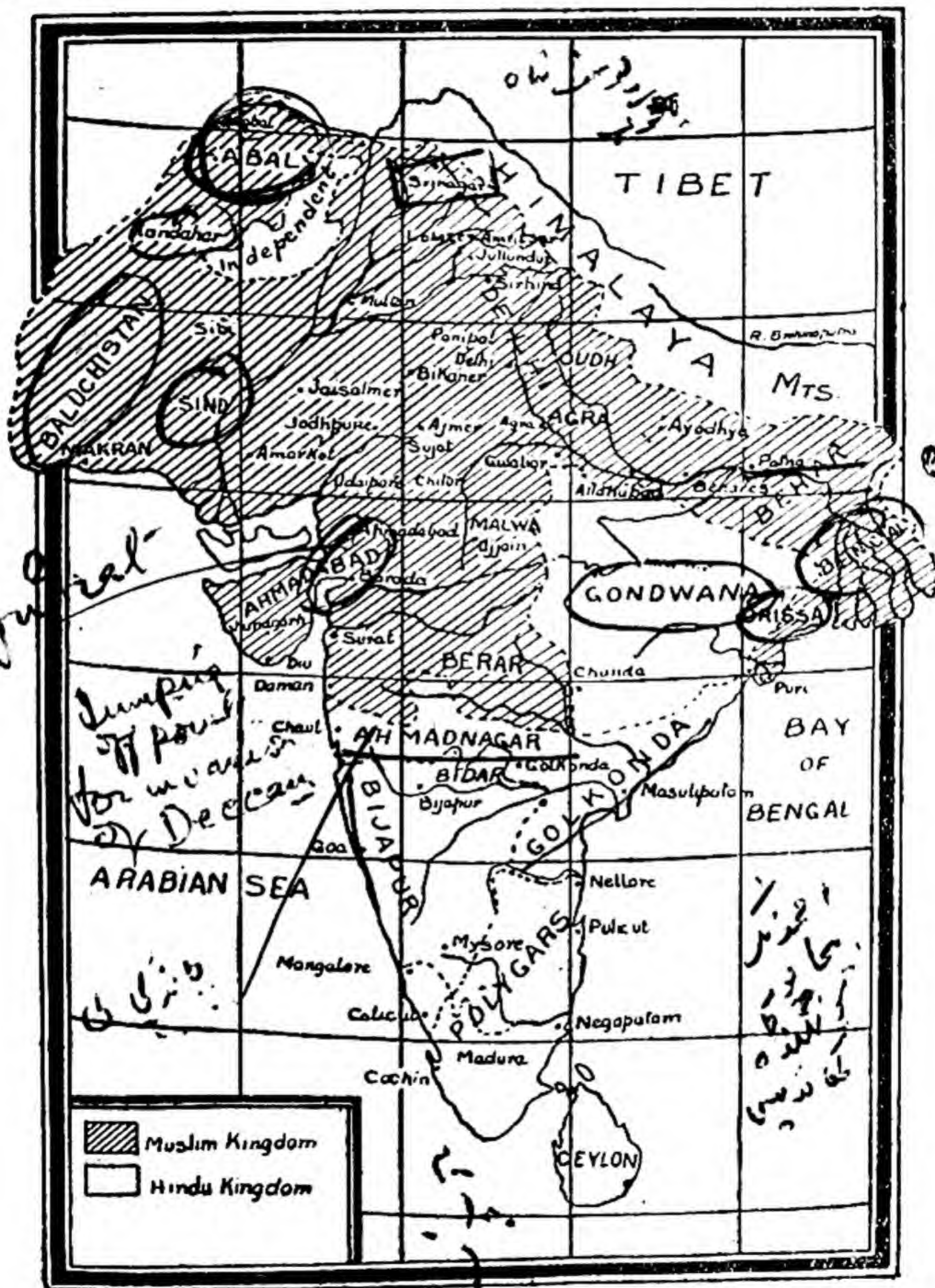
**Conquest of Kashmir (1586-87).** The degenerated ruler of Kashmir exercised great cruelty over his Hindu subjects. In 1586, Akbar sent a large force of 5000 men under Kasim Khan and Bhagwan Das to conquer the state from Yusuf Shah and his son Yaqub. The convention into which these generals entered with Yusuf Shah being resented by Akbar, he sent a fresh force which brought about submission of the local rulers and the annexation of Kashmir as a *Sarkar* to the Suba of Kabul. The father and the son were sent as prisoners to Bihar where they were placed under Raja Man Singh.

**Conquest of Sind, Kandhar, Balochistan and Orissa (1591-95).** Abdul Rahim was entrusted with the conquest of Sind. Mirza Jamini, the ruler of Thatta, put forth some resistance but was forced to surrender in 1591. A little later Akbar received the news that Abdul Rahim was successful in Sind, and that Man Singh had defeated the rebellious Afghan chief in Orissa and annexed the country in 1592. Muzaffar Hussain, Mirza of Kandhar, who was involved in a quarrel with the Uzbeks, invited Akbar to take charge of the province which he gladly did in 1595. Balochistan with the coast of Makram was conquered in 1595.

**Akbar's Deccan Policy.** For the conquest of the Deccan, Akbar had two objects in view, both being the direct outcome of his imperialism: *firstly* he wanted to bring the whole India under his control as he could not allow the states of the Deccan to remain independent; and *secondly*, he wanted, through his hold on the south, to push the Portuguese back to the seas, since he considered them as the enemies of his



empire, because they exploited a good part of its economic resources and interfered in Indian politics to the detriment of his growing empire. Dr. Smith also endorses the afore-mentioned statement. At this time there were left only four independent powers in the Deccan : Ahmed-nagar, Bijapore, Golkanda and Khandesh with whom Akbar had to



India under Akbar the Great.

deal. In 1591, Akbar sent embassies to the four kingdoms and demanded formal recognition of his overlordship of the Deccan. All returned evasive answers except the kingdom of Khandesh. Akbar therefore decided upon war.



**Attack upon Ahmednagar.** The last efforts of the Emperor were directed against the south. Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh had been taken as early as 1592; and this province may be regarded as the threshold of the Deccan. The kingdom of Ahmednagar was the first to be assailed. Prince Murad with the Khan-i-Khanan was sent to effect its conquest, and in 1595 he laid siege to the city. The besiegers made no headway at all; for the dowager Queen, Chand Bibi, was the life and soul of a vigorous and heroic defence. After some months, peace was made on that condition the Berar should be ceded to the Empire. Akbar himself then went to the Deccan. The Raja of Khandesh showing signs of disloyalty, the Emperor declared war against him, and laid siege to his stronghold of Asirgarh, while his son, Daniyal, was despatched to reduce Ahmadnagar. Chand Bibi was no longer present to save the city; for she had been assassinated by a factious eunuch, and both Ahmadnagar (1600) and Asirgarh fell into the hands of Akbar.

**Critical Note.** Akbar's imperialism had certain defects inasmuch as it, unlike the Mauryan or Hellenic imperialism, did not make any contribution to civilisation. It was nothing more than an adventurer's attempt to bring as great a part of India as possible under his control by sheer force of arms. His imperialism brought about the political unification of the whole of Northern and Central India under his sceptre, but it was the result of downright aggressions and annexations carried on for 40 years continuously.

**Extent of Akbar's Empire in 1605.** Akbar's Empire extended over the whole of Northern India and a part of the Deccan up to the river Godavari. It was divided into 19 Subas :—(1) Kabul, (2) Lahore, (3) Multan, (4) Delhi, (5) Agra, (6) Oudh, (7) Allahabad, (8) Ajmer, (9) Gujrat, (10) Malwa, (11) Bihar, (12) Bengal, (13) Khandesh, (14) Berar, (15) Ahmednagar, (16) Orissa, (17) Kashmir, (18) Sind.

**Q. 36. Describe fully the relations of Akbar with the Rajputs. How his friendship with the Rajputs was secured? (P.U., 1938, 1939)**

#### AKBAR'S RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS

**Liberal Policy or Policy of Friendship towards the Rajputs.** The Rajputs had always been the most determined enemies of the Muslim conquerors. Akbar's policy was to turn these inveterate enemies into warm friends. Policy and necessity alike dictated a conciliatory, statesmanlike attitude towards the Rajputs. Akbar had the true insight of a statesman to realize that his empire, if it was to be stable, must be broad-based upon the loyalty of all sections of the people. Hence he wanted to enlist the sympathy and support of the Rajputs, who formed the military aristocracy of the Hindus. Besides, the support of a race of born soldiers would be an effective check upon the ambition of his own followers, the Mirzas and Uzbeks, most of whom were unreliable adventurers, often displaying a disloyal disposition. It was this insecurity of position, as much as political considerations, that prompted Akbar to make friends with the Rajputs by matrimonial alliances. He married princess from Bikaner and Jaisalmer. He married the daughter of Raja Bihari Mall of Malabar and appointed him as well as his son Bhagwan Das to high military commands. Later on, he married another Rajput princess of Marwar, and his eldest son, Salim, was also married in 1584 to a princess of Jaipur, the daughter of Bhagwan Das. In short, (i) these matrimonial alliances with Rajput chiefs, (ii) the confidence he reposed in them by giving high posts of power, trust and responsibility to Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh, Raja Todar Mal

Shah. Mal



and Raja Bir Bal, (iii) the liberty of conscience granted to them and his other acts of toleration such as the abolition of tax on Hindu pilgrims, remission of *jezia*, and the presence of temples in the royal palaces for respecting the religious views of the Hindu Ranis, the prohibition of cow killing and the stopping of sati and infanticide made the Rajputs his loyal supporters and the bulwarks of the Mughal Empire. Moreover the Rajputs felt that it was politic to submit to such a sovereign, who appreciated their merits, respected their feelings and gave them everything which the Empire could give.

**The Fall of Chittor.** But although conciliatory to the Rajputs, Akbar would not tolerate their political independence. He waged war against those Rajput states which refused to recognize his overlordship.

(i) The refusal of Rana Udai Singh of Mewar, the son of Rana Sangram Singh, who was sixth in succession from Hamir, to have matrimonial relations with Akbar, (ii) the giving of protection to Baz Bahadur of Malwa, and (iii) the help to the Mirzas, were construed as so many challenges to the imperial authority. Akbar waged war against him and took his capital which was very bravely defended by his two generals, Jaimal and Fatta, in spite of the flight of Rana Udai Singh to the hills. The two gallant leaders were accidentally killed and their loss led the fall of Chittor in 1568. The women saved their honour by performing the rite of *Jauhar*. Akbar entered the city and ordered a general massacre. Later on in appreciation of the heroic fight of the two Rajput chiefs, Jaimal and Fatta, Akbar had their statues erected and placed at the entrance of his fort at Agra. On Udai Singh's death in 1572 his son Partap Singh, refused to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty like his father. The Emperor sent Raja Man Singh who had a personal grudge against Partap, and Asaf Khan II to subdue the proud chief whose only offence was his patriotism. In a bloody battle that followed at the Haldighat Pass in 1576, Partap Singh was defeated. Partap lost his stronghold of Gogunda and Kamulmir and was compelled to take refuge in remote fastnesses. But he never lost heart and ultimately succeeded in recovering the greater part of his kingdom during Akbar's lifetime and founded the new capital of Udaipur and died in 1597.

**Amar Singh and Akbar.** After the death of his father Partap Singh in 1597, Amar Singh became chief. Akbar entrusted his subjugation to Salim, who did not do much. In the meantime Amar Singh was defeated by Madhu Singh, the brother of Raja Man Singh. Salim left the task unfinished and returned. Amar Singh recovered the places and remained in possession of them during the remaining few years of Akbar's rule.

**The Conquest of Ranthambore (1569).** Surjan Hara of the Chauhan family, the ruler of Ranthambore, was a vassal of the Rana of Chittor. When the fort of Ranthambore was besieged in 1569 by Man Singh, Surjan Hara concluded a treaty, the terms of which were the following :—(1) Surjan Hara was to break his alliance with the Rana of Chittor. (2) He was exempted from sending any lady to the harem of the king. (3) He was not to do *sijdah* to the king. (4) Exemption from *Jezia* was granted. (5) He could come to the Diwan-i-Am armed. (6) Ranthambore was to be ceded to Akbar. He was later on appointed as the governor of Banaras.



**The Conquest of Kalanjar (1569).** Rama Chandra was the chief of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand. He belonged to the Bagela clan. The surrender of Chittor in 1568 and that of Ranthambore in 1569, disheartened Ram Chandra. He submitted in 1562 and was given a jagir near Allahabad.

**Bikanir (1570).** The Raja of Bikanir also submitted without a fight in 1570. He gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar.

**Effects.** The conquest of these Rajput fortresses made Akbar the master of Hindustan. Moreover he got time to attend to the conquest of Gujrat, a much coveted place.

**Critical Note.** Asaf Khan II. whose personal name was Khwaja Ghias-ud-Din of Kazwin, and who had received the title three years before the battle of Haldighat, should not be confounded with Asaf Khan I, the conqueror of Gondwana.

**Q. 37. Describe the development of Akbar's religious views.**

(P U., B.A., 1939)

### AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

**Tolerance.** Akbar was not orthodox. He had two motives in his mind : firstly, he had an earthly motive, and secondly, he wanted to know the amount of truth in every religion. He knew that it was impossible for him to strengthen his kingdom without having his Hindu subjects on his side. He wanted to identify the government with the governed. There were five causes which prevented him from becoming orthodox:— (1) Firstly, he had the hereditary influence from his father and grandfather. Both of them had not persecuted any man for the religious views. (2) Secondly, his mother was a Shia lady. She always persuaded her son not to interfere in any religion. (3) Thirdly, he had matrimonial alliances with his Hindu subjects. (4) Fourthly, he built an Abadat-Khana at Fatehpur Sikri, and invited Pandits and Moulvis to discuss religious matters. (5) Fifthly, the influence of the teachings of the two brothers, Abul Fazal and Faizi and their father. His religious view, according to Dr. Smith, can be divided into three periods.

**The Infallibility Decree** The orthodoxy of his Muslim Mullahs only served to estrange him from the Islamic faith. In 1579, he issued 'The Infallibility Decree' by which his own ruling on religion was to be regarded as final, if it was supported by a verse from the Quran, and was of benefit to the nation. Akbar thus wanted to become both the spiritual and the temporal head of the nation. The weakening of the authority of Mullahs, he thought, would ultimately lead to the tightening of his political hold on his Muslim subjects.

**Promulgation of the Din-i-Ilahi.** In 1581, he officially promulgated a new religion. It is something like eclectic pantheism containing elements adopted from all religions. By the promulgation of Din-i-Ilahi, Akbar's idea was to establish a 'national religion' which would enable the Muslims and the Hindus alike to worship God at the same shrine and in a common manner. The adherents of Din-i-Ilahi were divided into four grades :—(1) First grade was given to those who offered their property to their king. (2) Second grade was given to those who offered their property and life to the king. (3) Third grade was given to those who offered their property, life, and honour to the king. (4) Fourth grade was given to those who offered their property, life, honour and religion to the king.

Handwritten notes on the right margin: "The amount of truth in every religion", "The weakening of the authority of Mullahs", "Din-i-Ilahi - Life - Honour - Religion", "property, life, and honour", "their property, life, honour and religion".



**The Rules of Din-i-Ilahi.** (1) The members of the Divine Faith on meeting each other uttered the words Allah-u-Akbar and Galla Jallalhu. (2) Members were to abstain from taking meat. (3) They were not to dine with the butchers, fishermen, bird-catchers and others of such low type. (4) A dinner during lifetime was to take the place of the dinner usually given after a man's death. (5) Each member was required to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday.

**Decrees against Islam.** The promulgation of Din-i-Ilahi was followed by a number of decrees against Islam. Some of them are given below :—(1) Sijdah was to be offered only to the Emperor. (2) Circumcision was forbidden before the age of 12, and was then left to the will of boys. (3) Beef was forbidden, and owing to the influence of his Hindu wives, his mind was prejudiced against garlic and onions which were also forbidden. (4) The wearing of beard was discouraged. (5) The wearing of gold and silk dresses forbidden by the Shariat was made obligatory. (6) The flesh of the wild boar and tiger was permitted, and the Emperor ordered swine and dogs to be kept in the harem. (7) Public prayers and the 'azan' were abolished. (8) Muslim names, such as Mohammad, Ahmed, and Mustafa were changed into other names. (9) The fast of Ramzan and pilgrimage to Mecca were also abolished. (10) The study of Arabic was discouraged. (11) *Mullahs* and *Shaikhs* were exiled.

**Its Effects.** The Din-i-Ilahi was directly responsible in uniting the Hindus and the Muslims into one common nation. But it directly effected the whole administration by broadening the outlook of the people. As a result of Din-i-Ilahi, the Muslims began to take a very keen interest in Hinduism and its vast and varied literature. Elphinstone says that "A liberal spirit of enquiry, however, survived the system to which it owed its rise ; and if extrinsic causes had not interrupted its progress, it might have ripened into some great reform of the existing superstitions."

**Why it failed ?** The Din-i-Ilahi, as a religion, failed due to the following causes, viz., (1) This religion made some progress during Akbar's life-time, but it disappeared with him as there was no administrative machinery to carry it on. He miscalculated that like the conqueror of so many places, he would conquer the hearts of people. (2) The orthodox Mohammadans were against it. (3) This religion was more political in its outlook than religious. (4) It was of too abstract, and too philosophical a nature to be grasped by the common people and that is why it never became popular with the masses even in the life-time of its originator. (5) He had not the genius of a religious leader. He magnified his success with the help of time-servers and flatterers. (6) The death of Abul Fazal at the instigation of Jehangir in 1603 had a weakening influence upon the religion. It practically gave a death blow to it.

**Its Criticism.** The Din-i-Ilahi has been taken as the high watermark of Akbar's autocracy. To Smith's mind it was the movement of his folly and not of his wisdom. It is safe for a politician not to play the role of a religious head. Time has proved that religious neutrality is the best policy for a monarch who has to rule over men of different creeds in his state.



## Q. 38. Give an account of Akbar's Reforms.

## AKBAR'S REFORMS

**Social Reforms.** (1) Female infanticide was forbidden. (2) No marriage was regarded as valid without the consent of the bride and the bridegroom. (3) Trials by ordeal and animal sacrifices were discouraged. (4) The re-marriage of widows was legalized. (5) Though he did not succeed in suppressing Sati he gave orders that it must be voluntary and on more than one occasion he is said to have interfered in person, rather than allow the widow to be forced to burn herself against her will. (6) He is said to have discouraged child marriage. (7) He remitted all pilgrim taxes, which were a burden on the Hindu pilgrims. (8) He abolished the hateful *Jezia*, a poll-tax which only the non-Muslims had to pay. (9) He encouraged marriages between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. (10) His state offices were open both to the Hindus and Muslims of merit.

**Critical Note.** *The Genesis of Akbar's Social and Religious Reforms.* The Reforms which have given Akbar the title of "the Great" were the product of a gradual evolution under a variety of circumstances. (1) Akbar lived in an age of great spiritual awakening in India as well as in Europe. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism, and Akbar possessed both. (2) Akbar was born in a family that was deeply religious. It is said that that liberalizing influence of his family, country and tutor were responsible for his great spiritualistic inclinations. His tutor Abdul Latif's principle was "Sulah-i-kul" or "Peace with all," which became Akbar's ideal. (3) It is said that in 1562 Akbar received a remarkable spiritual awakening and from that time forward he never depended on the Ulama as his guide, but depended on his own strength. (4) The influence of Abul Fazal, a great scholar of Persian and Sanskrit, also worked a great change on Akbar's policy.

Q. 39. Give an account of the (a) Revenue system of the days of Akbar. (b) In what ways did it differ from that of Sher Shah Suri? What were its effects? (P. U. 1937)

(a) **Revenue System before Akbar.** Sher Shah was the first Muslim ruler to make a systematic land survey, and to lay down the main principles of revenue assessment which were followed in the time of Akbar. One-fourth was then the state demand, and various regulations were devised for the collection of revenue. Owing to the short regime of Sher Shah, he could not put the whole system into proper working order. The anarchy that followed his death ruined the whole of his excellent work. At the restoration of Humayun, the Empire from the revenue point of view was divided into two parts:—(1) The Khalsa or crown land, and (2) Jagir land. A large portion of the Empire was cut up into Jagirs held by his nobles and Amirs, who paid a stipulated amount to their patron and Emperor. The Khalsa land seems to have followed the time-honoured practice of crop divisions.

**Akbar's early efforts.** Like every thing else the revenue department also felt the master's touch. (1) Under Khwaja Abdul Majid's Diwanship, an attempt was made to fix roughly the revenue of the various *Sarkars* but with no appreciable success. (2) More definite steps were taken to settle the revenue under Muzaffar Turbati's Diwanship, who tried to organize the whole system with the help of Raja Todar Mal. Ten *Qanungos* were appointed to collect the facts relating to revenue matters and were asked to find out the exact nature of land



tenure. The assessment was made on the basis of information supplied by them. No good results followed and the scheme fell through owing to the Uzbek's, rebellion. (3) After the conquest of Gujrat in 1573, Todar Mal was sent to bring about a peaceful settlement of the country. He carried out a regular survey of land for the first time, and the assessment was made after taking into consideration the area and quality of land. In 1575, the whole Empire was brought under the exchequer with the exception of Bengal and Bihar, and the Jagirs were abolished. The country was divided into 182 'Parganas', each 'Pargana' yielding a crore a year as revenue. It was placed under an officer known as 'Carori.' Todar Mal severely punished the greedy and the corrupt Carories. This scheme, too, did not work well.

**Classifications of Land.** In 1582, Todar Mal was appointed as 'Diwan-i-Ashrif', and the whole revenue system was re-organized. The salient features of the system were three: namely, (1) the exact measurement of land, (2) its classification, and (3) the fixation of the assessment. The yearly assessments made on the basis of yield and prices current were found inconvenient. In its place 'ten-years assessment' system was introduced. The survey of the entire land under cultivation was carefully done. Formerly hempen ropes were used which were liable to contract or expand when the atmosphere was moist or heated. Todar Mal used a 'Jarib' of bamboos joined together by iron rings. Land was divided into four classes. (1) Polaj land, which was annually cultivated for each crop in succession and was never allowed to be fallow. (2) Paraunti land, which was left fallow for one year to recover its strength. (3) Chachar, which was left uncultivated for 3 or 4 years. (4) Banjar land, which remained fallow for 5 years or more. The first two classes of land were divided into three grades: good, middling and bad according to their yield. Average of the three was to be the estimated produce which was to be taken as the basis of assessment. The revenue of the other two was to be increased by progressive stages. The farmer was given the option to pay either in cash or in kind. The state share was fixed at one-third.

**Various systems of Revenue.** Three systems of revenue were evolved; (1) Zabt system, (2) Ghallabakhsha system, (3) Nasaq system. According to the Zabt system, each plot of land was to be charged with a fixed assessment in cash, which was determined according to the nature of the crop. The Ghallabakhsha was the old system of assessment by crop division and the Nasaq was a ryotwari system in which there was no intermediary between the ryot and the state.

**Officers of Revenue Department.** Farming was not allowed. The Government dealt directly with the agriculturists. The Amin or the revenue collector was assisted by the Bidikchi, the Potdar, the Qanungo, the Patwari, and the Muqaddams. In times of drought advances were made to the cultivators and public works were constructed to afford relief to the poor. Remissions of revenue were also made. The collectors were ordered to collect the revenue in an amicable manner. The peasant could pay his rent into the treasury himself, and the treasurer was not to demand a single extra coin. The Patwari was to give a detailed receipt stating the amount of rent and the area of land cultivated, and the name of the village to which the cultivator



belonged. Formerly the revenue accounts were kept in Hindi. Henceforth they were kept in Persian.

(b) **Difference between the two systems.** The revenue system of Akbar differed from that of Sher Shah Suri in the manner detailed below :—(1) The state share under Sher Shah was  $\frac{1}{4}$ , while under Akbar it was  $\frac{1}{3}$ . (2) The system of land assessment under Sher Shah was annual, while under Akbar it became decennial. (3) Under Sher Shah hempen ropes, which were liable to expand or contract under heat and moisture, were used as jaribs for measurement. Akbar, on the other hand, used jaribs of bamboos joined together by iron rings. (4) Different kinds of revenue systems prevailed in different parts of the country. Akbar put them all on uniform basis. (5) The classification of lands into 4 classes Polai, Paraunti, Chachar and Banjar was introduced by Akbar. (6) Small state loans were advanced to cultivators repayable on easy terms. (7) The division of the state into parganas or croris was replaced by subahs. (8) The dimensions of a bigha were fixed by means of Ilahi Gaz of 33 inches and 60 gaz square constituted a bigha. (9) The revenue accounts now began to be kept in Persian instead of Hindi.

**Its Effects.** The revenue system of Akbar proved beneficial to the state as well as to the peasants. By fixing up definitely the state share, the possibility of fraud by the officers of the state was removed. The fixation of the state demand enriched the treasury of the king. The peasants became free from all types of exactions and got security of tenure. These precautions led to the growth of agriculture and subsequently to the cheapness of food.

Q. 40. What do you know of the Mansabdari system of Akbar? (P. U. 1938)

### MANSABDARI SYSTEM OF AKBAR

**Mansabdari System defined.** At Akbar's accession to the throne, the condition of the army was far from satisfactory. The Empire was divided into jagirs, and the Amirs who held them were required to keep a certain number of horsemen, and were bound to serve the Empire in times of need. The soldiers, kept by these Jagirdars, were mostly inefficient men, absolutely unfit for active service. Whenever there was a muster, these men gathered together lots of low tradesmen, weavers, cotton-cleaners, carpenters and green grocers, both Hindus and Muslims, for review, and then they disappeared. Akbar's attention was early drawn to the imperative necessity of military reform. In 1571 under Shah Baz Khan, the Mir Bakshi the entire military organization was based upon the Mansabdari system. According to this system, the holder of a mansab was in the service of the state, and was bound to render service, military or otherwise, when called upon to do so. Abul Fazal states in the 'Ain' that there were 66 grades of Mansabdars in all but there were not more than 33 grades in actual existence. The Mansabdars ranged from 20 to 7,000, besides a special Mansabdari grade of 10,000.

**The Process of Suspension and Dismissal.** The appointment, promotion, suspension and dismissal of Mansabdars rested entirely with the Emperor. It was not a hereditary office and was granted irrespective of civil and military departments. Each Mansabdar was expected



to maintain a certain number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden, and carts according to his rank and dignity. But this duty was not rigidly enforced.

**The Dakhils and the Ahadis.** Besides the Mansabdars, there were certain others called the Dakhils, and Ahadis. The former were a fixed number of troops handed over to the Mansabdars, but paid by the state. The latter were a class by themselves. The Ahadis were gentlemen troopers recruited by the Emperor himself to act as his body-guard.

**System of Payment.** There was a separate office and a pay-master called Bakhshi for the Ahadis, and one of the distinguished nobles of the court was appointed as their chief. They were all horsemen, and the branding and muster regulations were applied to them. The Ahadis received better payment than common soldiers. The payment by the Jagir system was abolished. All these Jagirs were turned into Crown lands and Akbar paid his mansabdars in cash and not by grants of lands. The officers were paid in 'dams' forty of which went to make a rupee.

**The Abuses of the Mansabdari System.** The Mansabdari system was open to great abuses. False muster was a common phenomenon. On the day of payment vagabonds and idlers riding on small ponies were brought for show in the uniform of soldiers. To check this evil practice, the Emperor introduced the system of branding and the system of preparing descriptive rolls of men and horses. A separate department of branding was created. The Emperor himself inspected the horses and ordered his officers to look after them and to maintain their military efficiency.

**Q. 41. Give an account of the Imperial army.**

#### AKBAR'S IMPERIAL ARMY

**Composition.** The Imperial Army was composed of :—

(1) **Infantry.** Much importance was not attached to the infantry, as it was only a collection of undisciplined people. In the 17th century the word infantry was used in a wider sense. It consisted of *Banduqchis* or riflemen under the supervision of a separate *Bitikchi* and Dogra, and the *Shamsherbaz* or swordsmen, who fought with their swords. Besides these there were ; (i) the *Darbans*, or Porters, (ii) the *Khidmatgors*, (iii) the *Pahalwans* or wrestlers, and (iv) *Kahaars* or doli-bearers. The Emperor himself acted as the Commander-in-Chief and had a number of Commanders under him called *Sipahsalars*.

(2) **Artillery.** It was introduced by Babar in Northern India. Akbar introduced detachable guns which could be conveniently carried from one place to another. The Mughals themselves were not much advanced in artillery. They depended upon the help of *Rumies*, i.e., Mohammadans from Constantinople or Ferangis mostly sailor refugees from Surat or Portuguese half-castes. The chief artillery officer was the *Mir Atash* or *Darogha-i-Topkhana*, who was assisted by a *Mushrif*.

(3) **Cavalry.** It was the most important branch of the imperial army. The Mansabdari system was nothing but the organization of a



cavalry. Akbar paid special attention to it, and strained every nerve to raise it to the highest pitch of efficiency.

(4) **Navy.** The Mughals were not a naval power. They had little experience of the sea except for purposes of trade. There was an admiralty department which controlled and managed a fleet of boats. It was placed in charge of an officer called *Amir-ul-Bahr*. This department had four-fold duties :—(i) The fitting of strong boats to carry elephants ; (ii) the appointment of experienced seamen having knowledge of the ebb and flow of the ocean ; (iii) the supervision of the rivers ; and (iv) the remission of tolls so as to enable boatmen to earn proper wages. The ship-building industry received a considerable attention from the Emperor. Lahore, Allahabad, Kashmir, Bengal and Thatta were important ship-building centres.

(5) **Elephantry.** Akbar maintained elephant corps, as he was fond of elephants and made use of them in his battles. The elephants used by him personally were called *Khas* (special), the rest were arranged in groups of ten, twenty or thirty called '*Halqahs*' (or circles). The Mansabdars were required to maintain a certain number of elephants.

**Defects in the Mughal Army.** Dr. Smith, who describes Akbar's military organisation as intrinsically weak, is of opinion that his army could not have stood for a moment against the contemporary European troops. His opinion is not borne out by facts and figures and therefore it is unnecessary and irrelevant. The army which conquered India, a part of the Deccan, and Afghan regions, and which put down rebellions of Uzbeks and Persians, cannot be so poor and incompetent as Dr. Smith supposes. Yet it was not without defects. Everything depended upon the personal equation of the king. If he was able, all went on well. A strong and gifted Emperor was essential to command obedience and secure unity of purpose. That is why the quality of the Mughal army deteriorated after the death of Akbar. The Mughal army was not divided into regiments. It was made up of successive groups. The soldiers cared more for their immediate interests than to the interests of the army as a whole. The loyalty of the soldiers to the Emperor was not direct, and he depended far too much upon the intermediate leader. The death of a general caused a panic in the army and was a signal for flight. The success of the army was often hampered by the divided command. Two generals were entrusted with the same expedition, and they often quarrelled between themselves as happened during the campaign against the Yusufzais. Thus there was no common plan of action agreed to by the various sections of the army. The Rajputs adhered to their own manoeuvres, and at times greatly embarrassed their allies. The pompous display, the cumbrous equipment and the slow movement of the army on the march were fatal to efficiency. As years passed on, the army became more and more cumbrous, and during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb it became a huge, undisciplined rabble, incapable of swift action or brilliant adventure.

**Q. 42.** Give an account of the (a) Central, (b) Provincial, (c) District and (d) Village administration during the days of Akbar. On what principles was it based ?

#### CENTRAL, PROVINCIAL, DISTRICT AND VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION OF AKBAR

**The Principles of his Administration.** Akbar had fully realized the reasons of the failure of the dynasties of the first Muslim Empire. He rightly felt that India could not always be held at the point of the sword and it was impossible for him any longer to have no respect for the feelings, traditions and aspirations of the people over whom he had to rule. He discarded all those methods and based his administration on the following four principles :—(1) Justice and toleration for all. (2) Liberty of conscience granted as compatible with the safety of the



state. (3) Due appreciation and reward of merit for men of calibre and ability irrespective of caste and creed. (4) Sympathetic and generous attitude towards his vanquished enemies.

**The Central Government.** The king was the head of the administration and in theory his power was unlimited. As a Mohammadan the Mughal Emperor was required to obey the scriptures and authentic traditions, but a really strong king could defy Quranic law if he liked. He was, in short, himself the head of the Church and the State alike. He had no cabinet in the modern sense of terms. The Vizir or Diwan was the highest person below the Emperor, but the other officers were in no sense his colleagues. They were admittedly inferior to him and deserved rather to be called secretaries than ministers, because nearly all their work was liable to revision by the Vizir, and royal orders were often transmitted to them through him. For efficient administration of the country, the Mughal Emperor had a select body of councillors and he very often referred his policy and action to that body and held private consultations with them. The principle departments of the Mughal Government were —

(1) **The Exchequer** (under the Diwan). He was the highest officer of the revenue department and decided all questions relating to the assessment or collection of revenue. (2) **The Imperial Household** (under the Khan-i-Saman). The Khan-i-Saman was the head of the Emperor's household, and accompanied him in his journeys and campaigns. He controlled the Emperor's personal servants and looked after his daily expenditure, food, stores, tents, etc. Trustworthy and influential persons were appointed to this post. (3) **The Mir Bakhshi** (the military accounts officer). His functions were varied. He had to scrutinize the pay bill of the army officers before payment. He presented the muster roll of the army before the Emperor. He also kept registers containing the lists of mansabdars in proper form and looked after the recruitment of soldiers. (4) **The Chief Qazi** (the judiciary) was the highest judicial officer of the kingdom and he was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. (5) **Sadri-i Sadur** (Religious endowments and charities). He looked into the cases arising out of the endowments of land made by the Emperor or princes for the support of pious men, scholars and monks. He was also the Emperor's almoner and disbursed the sums ear-marked for charitable purposes. (6) **The Moh-tasib** (Censorship of Public Morals). He looked after the enforcement of the Prophet's Commands, put down the practices condemned in the *shari'at* and saw that the rules of morality were generally observed. (7) **The Artillery** under the Mir Atish or Darogha-i-Topkhana. (8) **Intelligence** under Darogha of Dak Chowki. (9) **The mint** under its own Darogha.

**Provincial Administration.** The whole empire was divided into 15 to 18 *subahs*. The Subah was a true copy of the empire in every respect, and the *Subahdar*, who was officially styled as the *Sipahsalar*, enjoyed unlimited powers for all practical purposes. He behaved like a miniature king. The Subahs were further sub-divided into *Sarkars* and *Par-ganas*, but the former seem to have been fiscal not administrative units.

(1) **The Subahdar** was the head of the Provincial administration and had both the military and civil jurisdiction. He derived his authority



from the Emperor. He held his own courts, but he could not sit in the 'Jarokha,' or declare war or make peace, without the Emperor's permission. He was the head of the judicial and military departments. He heard appeals from the decisions of the Qazis and *Mir Adils*. As the highest military officer in the Province, he commanded the provincial forces, and was responsible for their maintenance and proper equipment. He could appoint and dismiss all his staff except the officers in the higher grades. He was not allowed to interfere in religious matters, and if there was any religious question it was referred to the Sadar. Despite his being the head of the judiciary, he could not inflict capital punishment without the Emperor's sanction. He kept a large number of spies, who supplied him with information of all kinds about the people within his jurisdiction. (2) **Diwan**. The Diwan was the rival of the Sipahsalar. Formerly these 'Diwans' were selected by the governors, but after 1579, the appointments were made by the Central Government. The Diwan's duty was to watch the conduct of the Sipahsalar and co-operate with him in running the administration. He tried revenue cases. In fact the Diwan acted as a check upon the Sipahsalar and prevented him from becoming too powerful. (3) **Sadar**. He was appointed by the Central Government, and was always a man of piety and learning. He could not grant lands and allowances on his own initiative. The Qazis and *Mir Adils* were under him. (4) **Amil**. The Amil had many duties to discharge. He was to assist in the maintenance of general peace and order by punishing highway robbery. He was to examine the registers kept by the Karkuns, the Muqaddams, and the Patwaris. He was to submit monthly statements, regarding the condition of the people, the jagirdars, the market prices and the residents of the neighbourhood. He was required to tour in the country, but he was forbidden from accepting a single *Kouri* from any one of the peasants. (5) **Bitikchi**. He was of the same status as the Amil, and served as a check on him. He supervised the work of the *Qanungos*, and was required to be a good writer and skilful accountant. He was expected to be fully acquainted with the customs and regulations of the district in his charge, and was to keep record of all engagements made by the peasants with the government. He made revenue abstracts every season, and submitted an annual report to the court. (6) **Potdar**. He was to receive money from the cultivators, and to keep the treasure of the state securely locked. He issued receipts for every payment, and kept a ledger to avoid mistakes in account. He was not allowed to make any payment without the previous sanction of the Diwan. (7) **Faujdar**. He was the commander of the provincial forces, and assisted the subahdar in maintaining peace and discharging his executive functions. Every province had a number of Faujdars, put in charge of a number of parganas. When the Amil or the revenue collector found any difficulty in realizing the State revenue from a defaulting or refractory village, the Faujdar was to furnish military aid, after having received a written request from the revenue collector. His appointment or dismissal rested with the subahdar, whom he was to assist in every way. (8) **Kotwal**. He was essentially a police officer of the towns, and also exercised magisterial authority in certain cases. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in cities, and had several assistants under him to secure this end. (9) **Waq-i-Nawis**. They were



officers through whom the Central Government kept itself in touch with provincial administration. These officers continued throughout the Mughal period, and were looked upon as the eyes and ears of the king. (10) **Other officers.** Besides the aforesaid officers, there were many others, who carried on the work of administration in the province. The Qanungo was a pargana officer acquainted with all rural customs and rights of peasantry. The parganas were divided into villages, and each village had a Muqaddam and a Patwari who kept records of revenue. The Muqaddam was expected to keep order in the village and to help in the collection of State dues (P. U., B. A., 1939)

**District Administration** "To control and systematize the machinery of government more minutely, each Subah was sub-divided into several Sarkars and each Sarkar into a multitude of Parganas or Mahals. The Sarkar corresponded to our modern District and was administered by the Faujdar. The duties of the Faujdar were civil as well as military. As a civil officer, he assisted the *Sipahsalar* in maintaining law and order. According to Professor Sarkar, "he was the only commander of military force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstration of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor." Though his appointment as well as dismissal rested with the Subahdar, he was required to keep himself in direct communication with the Central as much as with the Provincial Government. The *Kotwal* was the custodian of public peace. His duties were multifarious. As a Policeman-in-Chief, his first and foremost duty was to detect, punish and prevent crime, to trace the whereabouts of all offenders and evil-doers, and to protect the life and property of the people. He kept watch over the movements of the strangers, patrolled the city at night to prevent theft and robbery, examined weights and measures, kept a register of houses and roads, and took care of the property of the heirless, the deceased and the missing persons. He also exercised magisterial powers in certain cases. The *Bitikchi* held the same status as the *Amil*. He was expected to have a thorough knowledge of the customs in vogue and the regulations in force in the Sarkar in his charge. He must be a good accountant and a facile writer. His chief duties consisted in supervising the work of the *Qanungos*, preparing revenue abstracts and submitting a report to the Court every year. The *Khizandar*, also known as *Potdar*, was the treasury officer. He received payments from the cultivators, issued a receipt for every item received and kept a ledger, in order to keep his accounts absolutely accurate. He could not make payment unless he received a voucher signed by the Diwan. The *Waqi-Nawis* was the recorder of events and occurrences. When the *Sipahsalar* held his court, the *Waqi-Nawis* took his seat near him and penned down the proceedings on the spot and submitted them to the Central Government. There was a regular army of these officers and it was through them that the Emperor acquainted himself with the events that took place in his various provinces. Other important officers, who loomed large in the subordinate services, were the *Karkuns*, the *Qanungos*, the *Maqaddams* and the *Patwaris*. All these were revenue officers, but in addition to this, the *Qanungo* was the head of a *Pargana* and the *Muqaddam* was the head of a village."—Jaffar.

**The Village Government.** "Villages were of two kinds, *Zamindari* and *Ryotwari*, but in the matter of self-government they had many features in common. The village community as a whole was the unit of corporate life, social, political and industrial. The chief officer was the *Muqaddam*, the spokesman of the village in revenue settlements with the government and the collector on behalf of the government. As a magistrate he settled petty disputes in the village. He was also a police officer and was responsible for bringing the criminals and malcontents to book. In *Ryotwari* village he was generally the scion of the chief branch; in landlord villages, he was appointed by the government. An allowance from the government and fees from the villagers, in cash or in kind, constituted his emoluments. An accountant or *Patwari* was another important officer. In *Zamindari* villages he was a servant of the zamindar, in others a servant of the State. He kept village records, land registers and public accounts of the village. The *Thanedar* was another important officer whose duties were very much of the same kind as those of the present sub-inspector of police. "Over many villages was the *Qanungo* who



inspected revenue records and maintained a register of transfer of proprietary rights. Above him came the **Tahsildar** and at the head of the district was the **Faujdar** who had the last say in all matters, revenue or police, pertaining to the district. He had two revenue assistants, the **Karkun** (Registrar of collections) and the **Bitikchi** (*jamabandi* assistant)."

**Q. 43. Describe the position of the Ulema under Akbar.**

(P. U., B. A., 1935)

### POSITION OF ULEMA UNDER AKBAR

**The Relations between the State and the Church.** Though the Holy Law was theoretically supreme in the State, the Ulema, who were the only authoritative exponents of the law, were never allowed to share that supremacy. They had held great power during the reigns of some Pathan kings and had in their time been allowed to have a say in the political affairs of the country. But even during the Pathan period the clerics were not always allowed to have their own way in everything. Ala-ud-Din Khilji and Mohammad-bin-Tughlak had always regarded the Ulema with suspicion and had refused to allow them to meddle in state affairs. The dangerous character of their power was easily recognized by the Mughal kings who kept them under strict control, and thus prevented the creation of a State within a State, which would have proved disastrous to the country. The Mughals were ever jealous of clerics, and tried to confine their activities within as narrow a circle as possible. Akbar was quick to recognize the soundness of the policy of Ala-ud-Din Khilji and Mohammad-bin-Tughlak. The submission of the Ulema to the Mughal kings was as complete as the submission of the clergy in the time of Henry VIII of England. Most of the clergy were servile flatterers and looked to the king for personal advancement. Their Jagirs and emoluments were royal gifts and could be confiscated at royal pleasure. Their worldly ambition prevented them from becoming a spiritual force. Hardly any one of them could display the character or independence of an Anselm or a Becket. It is true that the heretical doctrines of Akbar did provoke an adverse criticism in certain quarters but he eventually succeeded in having his own way. In the year 987 A.H. Mulla Mohammad Yazd, the Kazi-ul-Kuzzat of Jaunpur, issued a "*fatwa*" insisting on the duty of taking the field and rebelling against the Emperor whose heretical tendencies were as notorious as they were unacceptable to the Church. The Imams denounced the Emperor for making encroachment on the grant lands belonging to the Church and to God. But this cry of "Church in danger" was soon drowned in the din and clash of royal arms. All disaffection in clerical circles was suppressed. It is probable that if Akbar had not meddled with the *Sayarghal* or lands given for benefit purposes there would have been no rebellion. His religious doctrines would have been passed with low murmurs which probably would not have reached the royal ears. The Ulema, safe in the possession of the Church lands, might not have taken any serious notice of his unorthodox opinions, for heresy in the matter of doctrines was not of itself likely to rouse the Ulema. But the rebels objected to Akbar's innovations in religious matters purely for selfish reasons. These innovations robbed them of grants of rent-free lands which the Emperor withdrew from them on the ground of utility. He considerably interfered with the land and resumed whatever he liked and added it to the royal domain lands. Thus, Akbar was more successful than Edward I of England who had passed the *Statute Quo Warranto* with a similar object but was compelled to withdraw it. Akbar's success was due to the fact that the church in India was not a powerful organization as it was in England, or for that matter, in any country of Europe.

**Q. 44. Give an account of (a) Architecture, (b) Literature, and (c) Art during the reign of Akbar.**

### ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE AND ART IN AKBAR'S REIGN

**Architecture.** Akbar was a man of grand imagination and noble ideas which found their expression in splendid edifices, well-laid-out gardens, fine paintings, works of art, sweet music, and rich literature. In his buildings he retained the best features of the Indian architecture. His architecture was characterized by a happy blending of Hindu and



Persian styles. It was an expression in stone of his personal feelings and convictions. Abdul Fazal makes an elegant remark,—“His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and his heart in the garment of stones and clay.” The best collection of his architectural achievements is to be seen at Fatehpur Sikri and other places. Dr. Smith says that ‘nothing like Fatehpur Sikri ever was created again’. It is a ‘romance in stone.’ Some of his buildings are : (1) The Jahangiri Mahal in the Agra Fort. (2) Rani Jodha Bai’s palace at Fatehpur Sikri. (3) The Sati Burj at Mathura erected to commemorate the self-immolation of the wife of Raja Behari Mall of Amber. (4) The Tomb of Humayun at Delhi. (5) The fort of Agra. It is an admirable specimen of his architecture.

**Literature.** His court was specially rich in literary men. There were thousands of poets, Abul Fazal and Faizi being the most prominent. Faizi was the Poet Laureate. The great Hindu poet Tulsi Dass (1532-1623) flourished during his time. Another Hindu poet was Sur Das, the blind bard of Agra, who wrote his *Sur Sagar* in Hindi. The literary activity of the court showed itself in translating some of the standard Sanskrit works into Persian, e.g., the Atharava Veda, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Lilavati. The fact that the Emperor did not interfere with the religious sentiments of the people led to the growth of genuine Hindu literature. “When we reflect what he did,” says Colonel Malleon, “the age in which he did it, the methods he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognize in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends in the hour of a nation’s trouble to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions.” Akbar kept an enormous library having 24,000 handsomely bound manuscripts valued at nearly 6½ millions of rupees. A good many histories were compiled in Persian by historians such as Nizam-ud-Din, Badaoni and Ferishta. Abul Fazal wrote *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-akbari*. Ferishta, another historian, was an orthodox Mussalman. He hated Akbar and thus his history is disfigured by many ill-natured and inaccurate remarks. Akbar also gave patronage to the learned people. Printing was not in vogue. The Jesuits introduced the printing press in the middle of 16th century. Hand-written books were preferred in those days.

**Art.** In art Akbar induced the Hindu artists to learn Persian technique and imitate Persian style. The works of mere imitation were not successful but an Indo-Persian school of art developed and became rich in coloured drawings of high merit. The art of Akbar’s time is cruder and more conventional and it attained perfection only under Shahjahan. Akbar was very fond of painting and always patronized good painters. Khawaja Abdus Samad, a native of Shiraz, was the most reputed painter in his court. He encouraged music, and musicians of various roles were present at his court, Mian Tan Sen being the best of them. He was a converted Hindu, whom the Emperor obtained (1565) from Raja Ram Chand of Riwa. He died in 1589.

**Q. 45. Which of the two was the founder of the Mughal Empire—Babar or Akbar ?**



**FOUNDER OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE : BABAR OR AKBAR**

There is no doubt that Babar did win at the battle of Panipat, and that he defeated Ibrahim Lodhi and laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire, but the heart of the nation was never won. No reforms were introduced and the remaining days of Babar's life were spent in maintaining what he had conquered. Had Babar founded the Mughal Empire, his son Humayun would not have been compelled to run away. Professor Rushbrook Williams remarks, Babar "bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless and invertebrate." Humayun, who was weak both as a king and as a man, was beset with difficulties all round from the very start. His habit of doing things by half compelled him to run away at the hands of Sher Shah Suri and to remain a wanderer for about 15 years. His restoration in 1555 was only for a short period and he died immediately after. Akbar at his accession to the throne was hardly the master of Agra and Delhi and even these two places were contested by the claimants of the Sur Dynasty. Akbar, on the other hand, gradually made the empire firm and strong by his internal policy. By peaceful reforms (a list of them can be seen elsewhere in this book) he won the heart of the nation, worked for their benefit, cared for their education, improved the means of communication and took almost paternal care of them. He tried to unite the Hindus and Mohammadans by starting a new religion called *Din-i-Ilahi*. Moreover Akbar introduced the best system of Government based on mutual respect of race and tradition and on the union of interests. For effective control of the country, he introduced new principles of government. So long as these principles were carried out by his successors, the country flourished; but when deviation was made from them, there came in disintegration. His principles of Government were : (i) Justice and toleration ; (ii) Liberty of Conscience (abolition of *jezia*, *sati*, etc.) ; (iii) Due appreciation and reward of merit ; (iv) His sympathetic attitude towards his vanquished foes. In view of the facts stated above Akbar, and not Babar, was the real founder of the Mughal Empire in India

**Q. 46. Give an account of the Jesuit Christian Missions that came to the court of Akbar.**

**THE JESUIT MISSIONS**

**First Contact.** In 1572, Akbar came in contact at Cambay with the Christian missionaries. Due to his zeal for religion, he requested the Portuguese at Goa to send a few learned theologians to enlighten him on the principles of Christianity.

**First Christian Mission (1579) at Fatehpur Sikri.** Rudolf Anagnava and Monserrate met Akbar at Sikri in 1579. Akbar treated both of them with kindness and invited them to his palace for a talk. It is said that they did not behave well during their stay. They asked the Emperor to become a Christian which he refused.

**Second Mission at Lahore (1591).** At the invitation of the Emperor, Leiton and Christopher De Voge met the king at Lahore in 1591 with the object of teaching the Emperor the tenets of Christianity. A school was started as a result of their mission to teach the Portuguese



language to his sons, grandsons and the sons of the nobles. This mission also requested the Emperor to embrace Christianity and on his refusal to do so, they went back.

**Third Mission at Lahore (1595).** Under the leadership of Jerome Xavier the third mission met the Emperor at Lahore in 1595. Its main object in coming was to convert the Emperor. This attempt also failed. In spite of its failure in that respect, this mission began to live there. The missionaries got trading privileges in addition to the right of preaching and making converts. Dr. Smith is of opinion that the grant of these concessions was due to the fact that Akbar wanted military help from the Portuguese for conquest of Asirgarh.

#### Biographies of illustrious men at the Court of Akbar.

(1) *Tulsi Dass (1532-1623)* :— He was one of the greatest Hindi poets in the days of Akbar. Being born in an unlucky hour, he was exposed by his Brahmin parents to die. The child was picked up and trained by a mendicant with whom he wandered far and wide, living for some time at Chitrakut and Rajapur. The latter part of his life was spent at Benares. Among his friends and advisers were Raja Man Singh and Abdur Rahim. His best work is *Rama-Charit Manas* which is very eagerly read throughout the length and breadth of India.

(2) *Man Singh* :—The Raja was the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das. In 1576 he won the battle of Gogunda against Pratap. He was appointed to govern Kabul; was transferred from Kabul to Bihar in 1587, to which, on his adopted father's death in 1589, was added Bengal which he had taken prominent part in subduing. Though Governor of Bengal, he resided at Ajmer and administered his charge through deputies. In 1604 he resigned his charge, took a leading part in the intrigues to set aside Salim's claim to the throne. Jahangir, however, prudently pardoned him. He died in the ninth year of the reign of Jahangir; and was a *monsabdar* of 7,000.

(3) *Todar Mall* :—In 1565 he was employed under Diwan Muzaffar; in 1566 he served under Akbar against Khan Zaman; held the first important post in 1547 when after the conquest of Gujrat he was left there to assess that province. The part that he played in the fighting in Gujrat and Bengal and in the assessment of the revenues of both these provinces has already been described. In the 27th year of the reign he was made Diwan or rather *Vakil* and he introduced his financial reforms which have made him famous. In the 32nd year of the reign the Emperor honoured him by paying a visit to his house. When Birbal had been killed in the war against the Yusuf Zais, he was ordered to accompany Man Singh, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief. In the 34th year when Akbar went to Kashmir, Todar Mall was left in charge at Lahore. Soon after he resigned and begged of the Emperor to be allowed to go and live on the Ganges. The Emperor, however, soon after recalled him from Hardwar and told him that looking after his duties was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges. He consented but died in 1589. His fame as general and financier has outlived the deeds of most of the grandees of Akbar's court. Abul Fazl did not personally like Todar Mall but praised him for his abilities and integrity. Todar Mall was headstrong and vindictive. Akbar used to complain of the Raja's independence, vanity and bigoted adherence to Hinduism. Like Bhagwan Das and Man Singh he refused to accept *Din-i-Ilahi*.

(4) *Raja Birbal (1528-86)* :—Raja Birbal was more intimate with Akbar than Abul Fazl. His gifts as a musician, poet, humourist, story-teller and conversationalist gained him an enviable position at court. He was born at Kalpi about 1528; was first in the service of Raja Bhagwan Das who sent him to Akbar early in the reign. When in Jaipur service he used to sign his compositions as *Brahm Kavi*; his personal name was Mahesh Das. He was made Raja by Akbar and given the title of *Kavi Rai* or *Hindu Poet Laureate*. He did not hold any post or office. He was a *mansabdar* of 2,000 and was at first given the fief of Kangra, then of Kalinjar. He was killed in the Yusufzai campaign (1586). Himself a sun-worshipper he was to a certain extent responsible for the prominence given to Solar worship in Akbar's cult. He took a leading part in the religious discussions of the reign and Badaoni is very caustic in his remarks on the Raja. He was the only Hindu



who accepted the Din-i-Ilahi. The Raja was very hostile to Sikhism which he considered as rank heresy and in this Akbar differed from him.

(5) *Abul Fazl (1551-1602)* : — He was born in 1551 at Agra and was the son of the freethinker Sheikh Mubarak. The persecution of the Shaikh by the Ulemas engendered in the two sons hatred of all religious intolerance which characterized them throughout their career. Abul Fazl was introduced to court in 1573 by his brother Faizi whose poems had attracted the notice of Akbar. He soon became the leader of the court party against the orthodox Muslim divines. The Mujtabid document of 1579 was mainly due to him. In 1591 he was made Commander of 2,000. In 1597 he was in the Deccan in charge of the campaign. He was honest and devoted to the Emperor and conducted the Deccan operations with vigour and success from his headquarters on the Godavari. While on his way to Agra, he was murdered in August 1602 by the Bundela chief Bir Singh Deo at the instigation of Salim. Faizi had died in 1595, and Sheikh Mubarak in 1593. Many attribute the apostasy of Akbar to Abul Fazl and his father and brother. But if they led the Emperor away from the prescribed Moslem path they at least taught him the right way of governing India, composed as it was, of various composite elements.

(6) *Mirza Aziz Kokah* : — Aziz, who was made Khan-i-Azam, was the son of Jiji Anagha, Akbar's nurse. He was therefore the foster-brother and playmate of Akbar. He was learned but his tastes were sensual, his temper violent, his wit sharp and his tongue venomous. More than once he gave cause of offence to Akbar by his opposition to Din-i-Ilahi, and to the Emperor's religious innovations. But Akbar used to say 'Between me and Aziz there is the link of a river of milk which cannot pass away.' Disgusted with Akbar's religious vagaries, Aziz went away to Mecca where however he was fleeced by the keepers of the shrine and on his return became an adherent of the Din-i-Ilahi. His skill as a military commander was acknowledged on all hands. It has been narrated how he pacified Gujrat and Bihar and Bengal. He intrigued, on Akbar's death-bed, with Man Singh to set aside Salim in favour of his son-in-law, Khusru. He was pardoned by Jahangir and afterwards sent to the Deccan as governor. For his indiscreet remarks he was disgraced and imprisoned by Jahangir. He died in 1624.

(7) *Abdur Rahim* : — Son of Bairam Khan, he was adequately trained by Akbar and given opportunities to display his merits in his service. He distinguished himself in Gujrat wars, by defeating Sultan Muzaffar in various battles. For these victories he was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan. He took an important part in the conquest of Sind and of the Deccan in Akbar's reign; but in the latter quarter was not so successful in the reign of Jahangir. It is said he was faithless; and died in 1627. He translated Babar's Memoirs from Turki to Persian; and was a learned man.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Akbar's greatness as an Empire-builder is nowhere better illustrated than in his policy towards the Hindus. Elucidate. (P.U., B.A., 1934)
2. Describe the position of the Ulemas under Akbar. (P.U., B.A., 1935)
3. Write an account of the territorial expansion under Akbar. How far did he pursue a policy of aggression, and how far one of self-preservation? (P.U., B.A., 1936)
4. Estimate the services of *any three* of the following to the growth and expansion of the Mughal Empire :—Tardi Beg; Todar Mal, Raja Bhagwan Das and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Maham Angah, Munim Khan, Raja Man Singh and Bairam Khan. (P. U., B. A., 1937 April and Sept.)
5. Carefully examine Bairam Khan's achievements as Regent or Vakil and describe the circumstances that led to his downfall. (P.U., B.A., 1937)
6. "Though Badaoni is justified in drawing attention to the early mistakes of Akbar's Diwan, the Mughal revenue system as it is finally developed was a remarkable achievement of statesmanly foresight and technical skill." Discuss. (P.U., B.A., 1937)
7. Give some account of Akbar's enquiries about the religion of his day, and discuss the basic principles of Din-i-Ilahi. (P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)
8. Critically compare the reforms of Akbar and Sher Shah. (P.U., B.A., 1938)



9. Give some account of the status, responsibility and powers of the Mansab-dars of the Mughal Empire. What was their relation to the Empire? (P.U., B.A., 1938)

10. Carefully examine the policy of Akbar the Great towards the principal Rajput states. (P.U., B.A., 1938 Sept.)

11. "Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy."—(Smith). Examine and discuss. (P.U., B.A., 1939)

12. Carefully explain the Rajputana policy of Akbar the Great. How far was it successful? (P.U., B.A., 1939)

13. Carefully compare the revenue administration of Sher Shah Suri and Akbar the Great. What definite improvements did Akbar make on the system of his predecessors? (P.U., B.A., 1939 Sept.)

14. Attempt a careful estimate of Akbar's political and administrative policy. Should we be justified in considering him a national king? (P.U., B.A., 1939 Sept.)

15. Trace carefully, stage by stage the expansion of Akbar's Empire. How did Akbar solve the knotty problem of N. W. Frontier defences? (P.U., B.A., 1940)

16. Comment upon any one of the following sayings of Akbar :—

- (i) 'It is my duty to be in good understanding with all men.'
  - (ii) 'Sovereignty is a supreme blessing for its advantages extend to multitudes.'
  - (iii) 'Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom..... yet my mind is not at ease in the diversity of sects and creeds.'
- (P.U., B.A., 1940)

17. Write a critical note on 'the Infallibility Decree' of 1597.

(P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)

18. Write a short study of the character, career and achievements of Bairam Khan. (P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)

19. Examine the statement that the real founder of the Mughal Empire was neither Babar nor Akbar but Sher Shah. (P.U., B.A., 1941)

20. Bring out the main features of the military system of Akbar. Did he make the army a truly national army? (P.U., B.A., 1941)

21. "Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam only to bring himself under the monstrous regime of unscrupulous women." Discuss this statement and describe the achievement of the Imperial Government during the period referred to.

22. "The year 1581 may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into consideration." Give facts in support of his statement.

23. Comment on—"The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly and not of his wisdom."—(Smith)

24. "The fall of Bairam Khan and the events leading up to it leave behind an unpleasant taste." Discuss.

25. What measures of Akbar's reign can be cited in support of his apostacy from Islam?

26. "The reign of Akbar was a perpetual series of efforts towards the expansion of an originally small territory." Support the statement.

27. Give an account of the Jesuit missions to the court of Akbar.

28. "The organization of the government undoubtedly was immensely improved by Akbar, who was the real founder of Mughal Empire." Elucidate.

29. "Akbar's revenue system only carried the previous system into effect with great precision and correctness." Discuss.

30. Describe briefly the social and economic conditions of Hindustan under Akbar.

31. Explain :—"Akbar's policy gave a security of life to the Mughal dynasty, and a death blow to the Hindu supremacy."

[Hints :—His tolerant policy befriended the Hindus by making them happy and comfortable. So long as this policy was followed, the Mughal Empire flourished but with its departure under Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire was destroyed. (b) His policy created a split among the Rajputs with the result that they began to fight amongst themselves. This was, therefore, a blow to them.]

32. "War can build an empire, but it is good and sound administration alone that can maintain it." Explain it with reference to the reign of Akbar.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR (1605-1627)

#### Q. 47. Summarise the Reign of Jahangir (1605-1627).

##### THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR

**Accession.** After the death of his father, Prince Salim ascended the throne at Agra on October 24, 1605, and assumed the title of Jahangir, "the World Grasper." His liberal education, his natural shrewdness and his strong common sense well qualified him to carry on the statesman like policy of his father. He was, however, given to the habit of excessive drinking.

**Early Measures.** (1) Jahangir abolished several customs and transit duties which caused trouble to the merchants. (2) He also abolished the punishment of cutting off the ears and noses of criminals. (3) The use of wine was forbidden and the sale of opium was stopped. (4) He won over the Muslim sentiment by restoring the old inscriptions on the coins. (5) He promised to protect the Mohammadan faith. (6) He retained the old officers of his father's time. (7) Soon after his accession, he caused the famous chain of justice to be fastened between the Shahburj in the fort of Agra and a stone pillar fixed on the bank of the river Jumna. His object in doing so was to enable aggrieved persons to lay their petitions before him and obtain redress. Tuesdays were set apart when the Emperor would sit in the open court to hear the complaints of the poor. (8) A general amnesty was granted to those who supported the cause of Khusro and they were restored to their titles and dignities. (9) He prohibited intermarriages between the officers of the same pargana. (10) For a certain number of days in the year he forbade the slaughter of certain animals. (11) He prohibited billeting of soldiers on private houses. (12) He ordered the construction of the state hospitals in all the cities of the Mughal Empire and provided them with paid physicians. (13) He ordered that schools and inns should be maintained with the property of those who died issueless.

**Prince Khusro's rebellion.** Akbar had threatened Salim (Jahangir) that in case his behaviour did not improve, he would pass the crown to his (Salim's) eldest son, Khusro. Raja Man Singh, the maternal uncle of the boy, supported his claim. In 1604, when the father and the son became reconciled, Man Singh got an assurance for the perfect safety of his nephew, Khusro. In spite of the reconciliation, Prince Khusro was confined in Agra Fort whence he managed to escape to the Punjab. Khusro revolted and advanced towards Lahore. He was going to Kabul when he was caught and brought before his father. He was kept in prison and in 1616 he was handed over to Asaf Khan's custody who in 1620 handed him over to Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) and he had him strangled to death in 1622.

**The Execution of Guru Arjan Dev, 1605.** During the revolt of Prince Khusro, Guru Arjan Dev blessed him and gave him some money, men and arms. Jahangir was very much offended. He fined the Guru heavily and asked him to pay it which he refused and he was tortured to death in 1605. The reason, according to some historians, is that Chandu Shah, the Finance Minister of Jahangir, asked Guru Arjan Dev to marry his son with his daughter, an offer which he refused. On the persuasion of Chandu Shah, Jahangir had Guru Arjan Dev executed. It must be remembered that Guru Arjan Dev's execution was not the outcome of religious bigotry but was due to political reasons. Dr. Beni Parshad also holds the same view.

**Marriage with Nur Jahan.** Nur Jahan, the daughter of Mirza Ghyas, was a Persian by birth. She was married to Ali Kuli Khan (Sher Afghan) who was the Jagirdar of Burdwan. On his accession to the throne, Jahangir sent Kutub-ud-Din Koka, the son-in-law of Salim Chishti, against Sher Afghan. Kutub-ud-Din



Koka, was killed by the Jagirdars of Burdwan, Kishwar Khan, son of Koka, killed Sher Afghan. Nur Jahan was brought to the court and for four years she did not agree to marry Jahangir. In 1611, she married him. She got her daughter Ladli Begum (from her first husband) married to Prince Sharyar. Her brother and father were given high posts in the Court. When Shahjahan became the Emperor, Nur Jahan was allowed to live in retirement on a sufficiently liberal pension until her death on December 18, 1645.

#### NURJAHAN'S INFLUENCE UPON JAHANGIR (P. U., 1936)

**Increase of her Influence.** After her coming to the Court, she was first given the title of '*Nur Mahal*', 'The light of the Palace', but she was afterwards called '*Nur Jahan*', 'the light of the world.' She was granted rights of sovereignty and government with her husband. She even sometimes used to issue orders of the state to the nobles of the Court. Her name began to appear along with the Emperor on the coins and *firman*s. She was king's constant companion.

**Her Political Influence, bad.** Nurjahan, after her marriage with Jahangir, was practically the master of the whole kingdom. She was the real power behind the throne. She reduced her husband to the position of a puppet in her hands. Her inordinate ambition for power led to the revolts of Mahabat Khan and prince Khurram. She desired to place Sharyar, her son-in-law, upon the throne after Jahangir and wished to fill the court with her own adherents through her influence over her husband. She promoted the interests of her relatives at the expense of the state. Her father and brother were given high places and this policy of favouritism gave rise to bitter jealousies among the older nobles of the state. She was actually responsible for the disgraceful deterioration in the character of Jahangir, who forgot all his early beneficent measures and lost himself in pleasure. He used to remark that "I have sold my kingdom to my beloved Queen for a cup of wine and a dish of soup." In fact, her ambitious intrigues had sapped the life-blood of the state and consequently the latter part of Jahangir's reign witnessed many conspiracies and rebellions. She was also responsible for the tragic end in Khusro's life.

**Her Moral Influence, good.** There is no denying the fact that she was also sympathetic and liberal in her views. She checked Jahangir from the acts of violence and made him curtail the habit of excessive drinking. On account of her being a poet and artist, she changed the atmosphere of the Court. She showed a good deal of elegance and grace in her manners and dress. Her measures of economy had won for her golden opinions from all quarters.

**Her Personal Influence.** It is said that Nurjahan was extremely merciful and sympathetic and she had become an 'asylum of all sufferers.' Jahangir says, "whosoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were married and portioned."

**War with Ahmednagar.** Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian officer of the state, restored the fallen dynasty of Nizam Shah. He was an industrious and intelligent man and is famous for his reforms in the south as



Todar Mal is famous for his reforms in the north. He defeated Abdur Rahman, known as Khan-i-Khana, and recaptured Ahmednagar in 1610. Khan-i-Khana was recalled and in his place Khan Jehan was sent. Nothing was achieved during this time as the king was engaged in love affairs. In 1612, army was sent from Gujrat but to no effect. In 1616, Prince Khurram, known later on as Shahjahan, was sent and he succeeded after a good deal of effort in defeating Malik Ambar. With the death of Malik Ambar in 1629 Ahmednagar was retaken. But the final conquest and absorption of the Nizam Shahia kingdom was not affected until 1637.

**Malik Ambar.** Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of Ahmednagar, was one of the greatest generals and statesmen of mediaeval India. His political acumen and sagacious statesmanship have elicited admiration even from his enemies. He organized a fresh revenue system more or less on the lines of Todar Mal which contributed to the happiness of the peasantry and to the wealth of the State. He was the first man who trained the Marathas (in the Ahmednagar army) in their famous guerilla method of warfare, which afterwards enabled them to cope successfully with the Mughals. "A born leader of men, he conciliated all parties, maintained order, and left a name for justice, vigour and benefit which has not been forgotten yet." He died in May 1626, and the Deccan suffered a heavy loss by his death. The Mughal historian, Motamad Khan, who had no reason to be biased in his favour writes: "In warfare, in command, in sound judgment and in administration he had no equal. He well-understood the predatory warfare, which in the language of the Deccan is called *Birgi giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of the country, and, maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave reaching such eminence."

**Conquest of Mewar (1614).** Maharana Partap died in 1597 and was succeeded by his son Amar Singh who remained unmolested during the remaining days of Akbar, Jahangir sent an army under Prince Parvez assisted by able military generals like Gaffar Beg, Asaf Khan and others, but this campaign did not prove successful. He then sent Mahabat Khan in 1608 but there was no decisive result. Abdullah Khan was next sent but he was recalled without achieving anything. In 1614, Prince Khurram assisted by Abdulla Khan defeated the Rajputs who acknowledged Jahangir as their Emperor. The kingdom of Mewar which had been defying the Mughal authority since the days of Babar was conquered in the days of Jahangir. Amar Singh was treated like a prince and his son Karan Singh was raised to Panj Hazari.

**Treaty :—**Chittor was returned to Amar Singh, who recognised the overlordship of the Emperor, sent his son, Kirat Singh, to the Mughal Court where he was raised to Panj Hazari. He also promised to supply 1000 horses to the Mughal army. But he was spared indignity of attending the Mughal Court and giving his daughter in marriage.

**The Conquest of Kangra (1620).** Jahangir had some time contemplated the reduction of the strong fortress of Kangra, which Akbar had been unable to capture but Suraj Mal, to whom the enterprise was entrusted, played him false. Bikramajit, the lieutenant of Suraj Mal, captured both Suraj Mal and the Raja of Chamba, who had given shelter to Suraj Mal, and in 1620, after a siege of fourteen months, the garrison of Kangra surrendered the fortress. In 1621, Jahangir visited it, and asserted the supremacy of Islam by causing a bullock to be slaughtered and a mosque to be built within the fortress.

**The Conquest of Kishtwar (1622).** The district of Kishtwar, geographically a part of the province of Kashmir, had retained its independence even after the conquest of the former kingdom. Akbar's officers and more than one governor had failed to reduce its ruler to obedience. Dilawar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, in 1620 brought the Raja in chains before Jahangir, but at the end of the year the oppression of the governor again roused the people and an army was sent to quell the revolt. It was not until 1622 that the district was finally pacified and effectively garrisoned.

**His relations with the Jesuits.** In the matter of religion, Jahangir was a free thinker but to procure his succession to the throne he broke off all his relations. A



year after his succession to the throne the Christians were again in high favour at the court. They were permitted to build their churches in Agra and Lahore and also converted twenty men. The Portuguese who came to India in 1498 incurred the displeasure of the king by looting the Imperial ships. This led to the closing down of the churches and Father Xavier was imprisoned.

**Opinions of Foreigners** (*P. U.*, 1938). In 1608, Captain William Hawkins procured a letter from King James I to Jahangir and having arrived at Surat he travelled towards Agra with much difficulty. He gave a good many presents to the King who gave him a cordial reception. He talked to the Emperor in Turkish language. He lived at the court for about three years and became the companion of Jahangir. Shortly after this William Edwards came with a letter from James to Jahangir in 1615. He was followed by a regular mission under Sir Thomas Roe who was also sent by James I in 1615. Having arrived at Surat, he met the king at Ajmere where he was holding his court. Sir Thomas Roe stayed for three years at his court. On account of his nobility, good manners and high education and being a representative of King James I, he was very much honoured by King Jahangir. He was given some concessions for promoting English trade in India. The accounts left by him are very valuable.

(1) **Hawkins.** He has left us an interesting account of the Emperor, his court and country. We learn from him that the Emperor possessed temper. When angry, he was capable of the most fiendish cruelty, taking a horrid delight in seeing men flayed alive, torn to pieces by elephants or tortured to death in other ways. He drank to excess. He was a mixture of opposites; sometimes he was barbarously cruel while at other times he would seem to be exceedingly fair and gentle. He was very much anxious that justice be done to all his subjects alike and himself heard all complaints. The court nobles were very humorous and the court had become more ostentatious since Akbar's time. The Emperor showed himself publicly three times, at sunrise, noon and sunset, when he received petitions and dispensed justice. The state business was done between 7 and 9 in a private audience hall in which all privileged persons were admitted. The pay of the higher officials was extravagantly high. Bribery was rife among them. The local authorities were oppressive. Very little was spent on useful public works or on education. The administration was not good, the governors could do as they pleased, and crime was repressed with ruthless severity.

(2) **Sir Thomas Roe.** Sir Thomas Roe was greatly impressed with the magnificence of the high court. He was admitted to the highest honours and was allowed to hold free discussions with the Emperor on intimate terms. Although the nobles were very courteous he found them extremely corrupt and he could not obtain any concession for the English till Asaf Khan, the Prime Minister, was satisfied with rich presents. He found the governor tyrannical and exacting. The merchants were greatly harassed at the ports and travelling was not very safe between the coast and the capital. The Deccan was at that time in a state of ruin. The administration in the Mughal Empire had degenerated since the time of Akbar. The Emperor, though very free and jovial in his evening parties, was very dignified in public. He would punish anybody for referring to his frivolities at night. Sir Thomas Roe



presented him an English coach of which Jahangir was very fond. The craftsmanship was so perfect that a number of coaches were built on this model. The art of painting was so advanced that a picture presented by Sir Thomas Roe was quickly copied with perfection.

**Loss of Kandhar or Mughal Central Asiatic policy.** Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, sent an ambassador to the court of Jahangir in 1611, and in 1613 Jahangir sent in return one ambassador to the court of Persia. Healthy relations between India and Persia continued for some time. In 1620, Shah Abbas made a definite proposal to Jahangir to restore Kandhar and in return promised to give some territory elsewhere. Jahangir did not like the proposal. Shah Abbas took it by force. Jahangir ordered Shahjahan to accompany the expedition against this far-off province, but he declined the offer lest he should lose his chances of success to the throne. Prince Shahryar was then nominated for the purpose and this order was cancelled at the instigation of Asaf Khan. Shahjahan broke into a revolt.

**Rebellion of Shahjahan.** Shahjahan suspecting that intrigues were made to deprive him of succession to the throne resorted to open rebellion and with his troops marched on to Agra in January 1623. Jahangir, who was then at Lahore, marched out to oppose him and the two armies met at Balkhpur. Shahjahan was defeated and was driven through Malwa into the Deccan and from there into Bengal. He occupied Bengal and Bihar but was again defeated and had to retire into the Deccan. In 1625, peace was concluded between the father and the son. Shahjahan surrendered Rohtas and Asirgarh and sent his two sons Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb as hostages to the Emperor.

**Revolt of Mahabat Khan (1626).** Nur Jahan had become jealous of the growing power of Mahabat Khan, whom she suspected of being favourably disposed towards Shahjahan. He was accordingly summoned to court in 1626, but as he suspected some foul play, he came escorted by his 5,000 loyal Rajput attendants. Jahangir with Nur Jahan was at that time encamped on the Jhelum on his way to Kabul and was about to cross the river when Mahabat Khan's horsemen surrounded the imperial camp and captured the Emperor. Nur Jahan, who had quietly stolen to the other side of the river, joined the imperial army which had already crossed the river and made an unsuccessful attempt to rescue the Emperor. When all her efforts to rescue her husband failed, she joined him in captivity. She was then allowed to accompany the Emperor as a captive to Kabul. When the party reached Kabul, some freedom of movement was permitted to the king. One day Mahabat Khan was thrown off his guard and the Emperor escaped through the efforts of Nur Jahan. Mahabat Khan fled away to the Deccan.

**Death of Jahangir (1627).** Jahangir, owing to ill-health, was unable to punish the insolence of the turbulent Mahabat Khan. From Kabul he proceeded to Kashmir, but as he found the climate of the valley too severe, he returned to Lahore and died on the way near Bhimbar on Oct 28, 1627. The dead body of the Emperor was brought to Lahore and interred in the mausoleum he had prepared for himself outside the city. His sons Parvez and Khusró had died already and Shahjahan had turned a rebel, and Shahryar had been married with the daughter of Nur Jahan from her first husband.

**Administration of Jahangir (P.U. 1939).** The reign of Jahangir may be regarded as a continuation of that of his father. Smith says that Jahangir's administration was generally conducted on the lines laid down by Akbar. But at the same time Jahangir's reign was marked by a certain amount of deterioration due to Jahangir's personal inferiority when compared with his illustrious parent. Though a self-indulgent man, he was wise enough to carry on the liberal policy of his father. He allowed the Hindus to enjoy the privileges granted to them by Akbar. The loyalty of the Rajputs was retained by conciliatory attitude. He issued some good edicts in the beginning of his reign. The boundaries of his empire were intact with the exception of the loss of Kandhar. He was reputed for love of justice and a pull at the chain hung from his room could call his personal attention without having to approach him through an official.

**Jahangir's Character.** Smith sums up Jahangir's character as, "a strong compound of tenderness, cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness." Habitual indulgence in drink and opium undermined the



fine constitution he had inherited from family and during the latter part of his reign he became a nerveless tool in the hands of his wife who 'was a power behind the throne,' and her ambitious family. In spite of his love of ease and indolence, he was a supporter of art and literature. His *Memoirs, Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, written in a frank style like that of Babar's does not conceal his faults and weaknesses. He possessed a keen appreciation of the beauties of nature. He used to visit Kashmir every year and he describes the *flora* and *fauna* of the valley in a picturesque way. All contemporary opinions agree that Jahangir was possessed of considerable natural abilities which were, to some extent, marred by his excessive use of drink. By day he was the picture of temperance, and at night he became exceedingly glorious in the company of his nobles. He knew how to maintain discipline. Jahangir in the day was different from Jahangir in the evening, and any noble who ventured to approach the daily levee with the least odour of wine upon him was destined to certain punishment. Jahangir was not cruel by nature, though sometimes he burst into fits of violent temper, perhaps under the influence of excessive intemperance, but when he was sober he was magnanimous and forgiving. He was a lover of justice and was always ready to redress the wrongs of the people. His religious views were liberal. He treated the Christians with favour.

**Estimate.** Mr. Jaffar writes "To sum up, Jahangir was a great ruler, capable of immense energy. If he had not allowed himself to be dominated by the Nurjahan clique, he would have proved himself an excellent administrator, worthy to be placed by the side of his father. It must, however, be pointed out that the real glory of his reign has been greatly eclipsed by the splendour of the two reigns that followed and preceded his, and he himself has suffered much on account of coming between two illustrious sovereigns—Akbar the great and Shahjahan the 'Magnificent.'

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. How far do you accept the view that the period from 1611–27 should be more correctly regarded as the reign of Nur Jahan than that of Jahangir ?  
(P.U., B.A., 1936)
2. Give a brief account of the House of Mewar from the death of Rana Sanga to the reign of Jahangir.  
(P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)
3. Give some account of the travellers and ambassadors who visited the court of Jahangir and state what impressions they left behind regarding the king and the country.
4. Attempt a critical estimate of the character and policy of Jahangir. To what extent did he succeed in maintaining the administrative standards of Akbar ?  
(P.U., B.A., 1939)
5. Analyse the structure of the Central Government of the Mughal Empire under Akbar and Jahangir. How far is Sher Shah's influence traceable in this structure ?  
(P.U., B.A., 1940)
6. Who was Nur Jahan ? Describe the part played by her, and estimate the influence, good and bad, exerted by her in shaping the politics of Jahangir's reign.
7. Describe the internal condition of India at the time of Jahangir as depicted by Sir Thomas Roe.
8. Explain : 'Jahangir's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed ; architecture achieved notable triumphs ; painting reached its highest water-mark. A host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan Age of mediaeval Indian literature.'



## CHAPTER VII

### THE REIGN OF SHAHJAHAN (1627-58)

**Q. 48. Summarize the chief events of the reign of Shahjahan (1627-58).**

#### CHIEF EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF SHAHJAHAN

**Struggle for the throne, or the war of succession after Jahangir's death.** The death of Jahangir created a struggle in the matter of succession between his two surviving sons, Shahjahan and his younger brother Shahryar, the other two sons, Prince Khurro and Parvez, having predeceased their father. Shahryar, supported by his mother-in-law, Nur Jahan, assumed the Imperial rank. Shahjahan was absent in the Deccan and his father-in-law, Asaf Khan, took immediate steps to safeguard his interests. He sent a speedy message to Shahjahan and in the meantime set up Khurro's son, Dawar Bakhsh, a stop-gap sovereign. He then attacked Shahryar and took him prisoner. Shahjahan hurried back from the Deccan having already sent orders to put Shahryar and several of his nephews, who might prove rival candidates, to death. "So startling were the scenes of the tragedies that the ladies of the Royal *Harem* were taken aback, so much so that some of them went even so far as to end their lives by committing suicide." Having thus made a clean sweep of his rivals, present and prospective, Shahjahan ascended the throne in 1628 and proclaimed himself emperor. Fate reserved for him a befitting retribution for the cruel acts by which he secured his position. The unfortunate stop-gap, Dawar Bakhsh, was permitted to escape to Persia.

**Early Acts.** At his succession to the throne, Shahjahan introduced a number of important acts. (1) The *Shariyat* was strictly enforced. (2) *Sijdah* introduced by Akbar and continued by Jahangir was replaced firstly by *zaminbos* and latter on by *chahartaslim*. (3) The lunar system and the *Hijra* era were introduced and the solar system was abolished. (4) Agra was named Akbarabad. (5) Nur Jahan was pensioned off at two lakhs a year. (6) He richly rewarded the officials, who had espoused his claim to succeed to the throne.

**The Revolt of the Bundelas under Jujhar Singh (1627).** Jujhar Singh, the son of Bir Singh, who was the murderer of Abul Fazal, showed a rebellious and turbulent spirit and made encroachments on the domains, not only of his humbler neighbours, but of the Emperor himself. Shahjahan quickly sent three imperial armies from three directions to put down the rebel. After some desperate attempts Jujhar Singh submitted and was made to pay 15 lakhs of rupees as indemnity and 1000 gold *mohurs* as a present to the Emperor. Moreover he gave 40 elephants and agreed to send a contingent of 2000 infantry and 2000 cavalry to help the king in his campaign against the Deccan. The Emperor, in return, permitted him the possession of as much jagir as was necessary for his maintaining the rank of 4000 *zat* and 4000 *souaar*. But the Bundela Chief revolted once again in 1635; he was again defeated and being hotly pursued by the imperial troops was at last killed by the Gonds.

**The Rebellion of Khen Jahan Lodhi (1628).** The Afghan Pir Lodhi, entitled Khan Jahan, and also known as Salabat Khan who had for some time been governor of the southern provinces of the empire, formed an alliance with the Sultan of Ahmednagar for defying the imperial authority. He even surrendered to Murtaza Nizam Shah II, the Sultan of Ahmednagar, the southern highlands of Berar for a heavy bribe. Shahjahan punished him by transferring him from the Government of the Deccan to that of Malwa, appointing Iradat Khan to the Deccan in his place and summoning the Afghan to his court at Agra where he was detained and pardoned. One night he fled away from the capital towards the Deccan. He was pursued, overtaken and severely defeated on the Chambel, but he managed to fly to the Deccan and entered the service of Murtaza Nizam Shah II, who conferred



fiefs upon him. Shahjahan invaded the country of Nizam Shah II for having given shelter to Khan Jahan, who fled with his sons from Daultabad into Malwa hoping to be able to reach the Punjab and to raise trouble there. From Malwa he went to Bundelkhand. He was even pursued there by the imperial officers and was at length overtaken and slain on the bank of Indus.

**Famine (1630-32).** The celebration of *Nauroz* in 1628 with great eclat had cost the Emperor one crore and 60 lakhs from the public treasury in the form of rewards and pensions. It was a very heavy drain. Two years later, there broke out a terrible famine in Gujrat, Khandesh and the Deccan which caused a heavy mortality. The whole scene was appalling. In order to mitigate the horrors of the famine and the pestilence that followed it, Shahjahan remitted of the land revenue on the crown lands. State kitchens were opened and food was distributed free to the poor and the indigent. Besides, the Emperor gave one lakh in charity to the famished.

**Shahjahan's relations with the Portuguese (1632).** The Portuguese, who had received great favour at the hands of Akbar and Jahangir, had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who had ordered Kasim Khan of Bengal to drive them out of their settlement of Hugli due to the following causes. (1) The Portuguese levied heavy custom duties and thereby injured the revenue of the State. (2) They engaged themselves in slave trade for which they seized many orphan children whom they converted to Christianity. (3) The Portuguese priests imposed their beliefs on the Indians and often interfered with the native government. (4) They offended the Emperor by capturing two slave girls belonging to Mumtaz Mahal, his wife, and converting them to Christianity. (5) They had refused to aid him when he was in rebellion against his father. The reverses which his troops had suffered from the Bijapore forces were attributed by him to the assistance of the Portuguese gunners from Goa. In 1632, Kasim Khan attacked the Portuguese. They defended themselves very valiantly, but many of them were killed and about 4000 were sent as prisoners to Agra to be confined until they accepted Islam; but comparatively few purchased their freedom by apostasy. In short, the chastisement of the Portuguese satisfied both Shahjahan's religious zeal and his imperial vanity.

**Mumtaz Mahal (1594-1630)** Arjumand Banu Begum, also known as Mumtaz Mahal, a woman of dazzling beauty and powerful intellect, was the daughter of Asaf Khan, the most influential noble of the Mughal Empire. She was married to Shahjahan in 1612. During his wanderings she was his best friend and guide. "Her advice was sought in all important matters of the state and valued so much that the Emperor took no initiative without taking her opinion. She was entrusted with the custody of the Royal Seal" She gave birth to 14 children and like an ideal wife was a constant source of strength to him till her death in 1630 due to a delivery. Her remains were interred in the mausoleum known as the Taj Mahal, one of the seven wonders of the world. She was a very virtuous and generous woman. She daily helped the needy and the poor. She used to provide suitable dowries for the poor and helpless girls. She even secured pardon for criminals who had lost all hopes.

**Shahjahan's Deccan Policy.** The Delhi Emperors looked upon the Sultans of the Deccan as usurpers and consequently these independent kingdoms, which were situated on the borders of the Mughal, were an eyesore to them. It was their wish that these kingdoms should be destroyed. Shahjahan was more aggressive in his Deccan policy than his father and grandfather. It was chiefly due to two reasons, viz., (i) the Deccan had recently been desolated by a terrible famine. (ii) The death of Malik Amber, who had been very successfully resisting the Mughal aggressions, had cleared the way for Shahjahan. He was succeeded by his vaccillating and faithless son, Fateh Khan, who proved very harmful to the state. Moreover, being an orthodox Sunni, Shahjahan considered it a part of his duty to exterminate these Shia kingdoms of the south.

**Causes of the Conquest.** Taking in general, the main causes of the conquest of these Sultanates of the Deccan were: (1) They were Shia



in faith. (2) The tribute due from them was much in arrears. (3) They supported the Marathas by giving them blackmail. (4) They justly looked upon the Shah of Persia for their protection. (5) The Mughal Emperors wanted to annex them on account of their rich resources. (6) The Mughal Emperors wanted to avail of their internal dissensions for annexing them.

**The Conquest of Ahmednagar (1636).** The ruler of Ahmednagar gave some help to Khan Jahan Lodhi during his revolt against Shah-jahan. This gave him the necessary pretext to invade Ahmednagar. The imperial forces made a futile attempt owing to the outbreak of rains in 1630 to take possession of the fort of Parenda. At the critical moment, Fateh Khan killed his master, put a boy of the royal family upon the throne and went over to the side of the Mughals. He even proved faithless there and began to defend the fortress of Daulatabad against the Mughal army. He eventually surrendered under pressure of the Mughal army as well as the tempting offer of a large bribe. The fall of Daulatabad was really the fall of the Ahmednagar kingdom. The treacherous and shameless Fateh Khan openly joined the Mughal service and the boy king was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior. The Nizam Shahi dynasty came to an end in 1632. Shahji Bhonsla, the father of Shivaji, for a time revived the Nizam Shahi dynasty by placing another boy of the royal family upon the throne, but he had soon to surrender to Shahjahan. In 1636, the kingdom of Ahmednagar was definitely destroyed and its territories were shared between Shahjahan and Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapore.

**The Conquest of Bijapore and Golkanda.** After conquering Ahmednagar, Shahjahan wanted to conquer Bijapore and Golkanda. He wrote to the rulers to acknowledge his suzerainty, to pay tribute as a mark of submission and to abstain from interfering in the affairs of the recently conquered kingdom of Ahmednagar. The Emperor himself reached Daulatabad with an army of 50,000 men for attacking both the kingdoms in case they did not submit. The ruler of Golkanda submitted and agreed to pay an annual tribute of two lacs, but the king of Bijapore refused to do so. Those imperial armies marched into his kingdom from three sides under Khan Jahan, Khan-i-Zaman and Khan-i-Dauran. The Bijapories fought desperately and both sides being tired of war made peace in 1636.

**The Treaty of Bijapore (1636).** Muhammad Adil Shah, the king of Bijapore, concluded a treaty in 1636 with Shahjahan by which (a) Muhammad Adil Shah was to pay an indemnity of 22 lakhs in cash and kind. (b) The Mughals and the Bijapore king were to live as peaceful parties and they agreed not to reduce their respective officers from their master's service. (c) Shahji Bhonsla was not to be taken into Bijapore service unless he ceded some forts. (d) He was to acknowledge the overlordship of the Emperor. (e) He was not to molest the kingdom of Golkanda which was then under the Mughals. (f) He was given some territory from the Nizam Shahi kingdom.

**Return of Shahjahan (1636).** After having settled the affairs in the Deccan, Shahjahan returned to Agra in 1636. Aurangzeb was left behind as the Governor of the Deccan which then consisted of Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad.



## AURANGZEB AS VICEROY OF THE DECCAN

**First Period of Viceroyalty (1636-44).** During these 8 years, Aurangzeb carried out minor operations. He annexed Bagalna near Nasik and reduced the power of Shahji. Khan Zaman acted as his chief adviser during this period. From 1644-53, he first acted as the Governor of Gujrat, then was sent to Central Asia to conquer Kandhar. He was again appointed as the governor of the Deccan in 1653.

**Second Period of Viceroyalty (1653-57).** In this period, he proved to be an efficient ruler. During his absence, the Deccan had become in a miserable condition. With the help of Murshid Kuli Khan, he introduced the same revenue reforms as had been done by Todar Mall in the north. In order to restore cultivation, advances to buy agricultural implements and seeds were made. Efficient men were appointed to carry on the administration of the country as a result of which the revenue of the Deccan increased immensely, Aurangzeb further wanted to enhance the revenue by taking possession of Bijapore and Golkanda, which were Shia in religion, independent and wealthy.

**Golkanda.** As stated above, Abdulla Kutab Shah, the Sultan of Golkanda, had promised in 1636 to pay an annual tribute which he was not paying regularly. Moreover he had extended his territory with the help of his Persian Minister, Mir Jumla, who in appreciation of his services, was granted a jagir in Karnatic. Mir Jumla developed this jagir into an independent state. The Sultan became jealous of him and formed a plot to blind Mir Jumla, which failed. Mir Jumla fled away. His son Mohammad Amin had displeased the Sultan. Mir Jumla finding that he was unable to win over the sympathies of his master, went over to the side of the Mughals. Aurangzeb got an opportunity to march upon Golkanda. He laid siege to the city and was about to take it when due to his father's interference, hostilities had to be given up. He then agreed to a treaty in 1656, by which the Sultan paid a very large indemnity, and gave some parts of the territory to the Mughals. He promised to give his daughter in marriage to Mohammad Sultan, the son of Aurangzeb and to nominate him as his heir. Mohd. Amin, the son of Mir Jumla, had also been released and the property of Mir Jumla was also restored.

**Bijapore.** After concluding peace with the Sultan of Golkanda, Aurangzeb turned his attention towards Bijapore, the ruler of which, Mohammad Adil Shah, had offended him on account of his relations with Dara Shakoh. He died in 1656 and was succeeded by his son, Ali II (1656-73), a prince only 19 years old. With the help of Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb marched on Bijapore. The Sultan was quite unprepared. The cities of Bidar and Kalyani soon fell. The Sultan finding that he was helpless to resist, applied for peace. He had to cede Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda and to pay one crore of rupees by way of indemnity. Aurangzeb was not satisfied with all this and wanted to carry on his war operations still further, when the news of the sudden illness of Shahjahan forced him to suspend all hostilities and proceed to the north. The activities against Shivaji were also suspended.

**Q. 49. Give an account of the Mughal Central Asiatic and North-West Frontier Policy. What was the political significance of the latter?**

#### MUGHAL CENTRAL ASIATIC AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER POLICY AND THE LATTER'S POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

**Central Asiatic Policy and the importance of Kandhar.** The North West Frontier includes the provinces of Kabul and Kandhar, of which the latter is of supreme importance from the political point of view. No ruler of India is said to be safe from foreign invasions unless he has complete control over this frontier. History shows that the stability of a vast empire in India lies in a tight control of this frontier. Even the British Empire realized its great importance, and the government never thought the empire on a firm basis unless it took some part of or exercised some control over this 'sighed for' region. "The master of Kabul must hold Kandhar and Herat or his dominion is unsafe." Thus Kandhar has always been the key to India. Apart



from its strategic importance, Kandhar has been a great commercial emporium from times immemorial. During the early years of the 17th century about 14,000 laden camels passed annually from India via Kandhar into Persia. Hence it has always been the bone of contention between the rulers.

**Kandhar under Babar and Humayun.** In the 16th century two new empires (of the Safavis in Persia and of the Mughals in India) sprang up side by side and the rulers of both coveted the possession of Kandhar for the aforesaid reasons. In 1522, Babar conquered Kandhar from the Arghum family, and after his death it passed as an appendage to his second son Kamran. Humayun secured the help of the King of Persia by promising to hand over Kandhar to him, but did not keep his promise. It was, therefore, conquered in 1558 by the Persian King, who committed it to the charge of his nephew Sultan Hussain Mirza.

**Under Akbar.** It was Akbar, a true imperialist, who again realized its importance for the safety of his empire in India. Kabul was formally annexed to the empire after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585 and was then handed over to the charge of Raja Man Singh. Akbar succeeded in checking the unruly spirit of the Uzbeks, and defeated the Roshiyaras. Zane Khan and Raja Birbal were sent for suppressing the Yusufzais. But on account of their mutual differences they could not achieve anything. Seizing an opportunity the Afghans attacked the Mughals at a disadvantage with stones and arrows, and killed 8000 men besides Birbal. Raja Todar Mall and Prince Murad were, however, sent at the head of a large army to chastise the Afghans. Todar Mall inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels, and took the countries of Swat and Bajaur. Kandhar at this time became subject to frequent incursions of the Uzbeks. Finding himself unable to maintain his position, Mirza Muzaffar Hussain, son and successor of Sultan Hussain Mirza, surrendered it to Akbar in 1594. The suppression of the Afghan borderers and the unexpected occupation of Kandhar struck terror into the heart of the Uzbek leader, Abdulla. Apprehending an alliance between Akbar and Shah Abbas of Persia against himself, he gave up his hostile activities and henceforward remained friendly to the Mughal Empire. Thus Akbar's policy in the North-West brought territorial gains to the empire, secured its position in that important frontier and added to its prestige. He often avowed his intention of winning back his ancestral land but did not take the actual step of crossing the Hindu Kush.

**Under Jahangir.** The death of Akbar and the disorder in the country due to the rebellion of Prince Khusrō gave a fresh opportunity to the Persians, who attacked Kandhar in 1606, but were repulsed by the Mughal commandant Shah Beg Khan. Early in February 1607, Jahangir sent a relieving force under Mirza Ghazī. The Persians thereupon raised the siege and retreated hurriedly. Shah Abbas professed friendliness to the Mughal Emperor, who professing to be satisfied with these explanations, sent a strong garrison of 15,000 horse in Kandhar. Failing to secure his object by arms, Shah Abbas now took recourse to diplomacy and tried to win the confidence of Jahangir by sending four embassies with rich presents and warm compliments to him, who in turn exchanged these with the Persian Emperor. Thus deceived by gifts



and professions, the Mughals neglected the "defence of Kandhar." Taking advantage of this, Shah Abbas made an attempt at Kandhar and besieged the fort in 1622. Jahangir and Nur Jahan, who were then in Kashmir, left the place immediately and ordered Shahjahan to relieve Kandhar. He refused to accompany the expedition before the rains were over, and unless he was placed in full command over the army with complete authority over the Punjab, and also unless the fort of Ranthambhor was given to him for the safe residence of his family during his absence. Shahjahan's unwillingness was due to his suspicion that during his absence at Kandhar, the recovery of which "was sure to prove a long and difficult affair", Nurjahan would use all her energies to prejudice his interests and to destroy his claims to the throne in order to safeguard the position of her son-in-law, Shahryar. But Shahjahan's proposal could not be accepted so long as Nurjahan ruled the court. Shahryar was raised to the rank of 12,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sowar* and was given the command of the Kandhar expedition. But Kandhar fell into the hands of the Persians after a siege lasting for forty-five days. The Persian king soon sent a letter to Jahangir affirming therein the rightful claim of his family to Kandhar and professing friendship at the same time. Jahangir's feelings were greatly exasperated against the Shah and he decided to pay him back for his treachery by sending another expedition. But just at this time, Shahjahan raised the standard of revolt and the suppression of it diverted the attention and effort of Jahangir from the Kandhar expedition.

**Under Shahjahan.** As an emperor, Shahjahan entertained ambitious schemes of expansion towards the North-West. He tried to reduce Ali Mardan, the Persian Governor of Kandhar, through Said Khan, his own Governor of Kabul, so that he might hand over Kandhar to him. But Ali Mardan proved stern, whereupon Shahjahan made ready an expedition to Kandhar. Ali Mardan also commenced preparation for defence and requested his master, the Shah of Persia, to send him further reinforcements. But the latter misunderstood his intentions and suspecting selfish designs on the part of his governor, he tried even to arrest him. This gave an opportunity to his governor to correspond openly with Said Khan and he surrendered the fortress to the Mughals in exchange for a reward of one lakh rupees and the governorship of the Punjab and Kashmir. This happened in 1638. In course of time Balkh and Bukhara were conquered under Aurangzeb after a severe struggle. After such a disaster, the Persians could hardly tolerate the Mughal possession of Kandhar. Shah Abbas II, after storing up grains at important strategic points and by stationing a large force at Herat, attacked the fortress in winter and reconquered it after a siege of 57 days in 1648. Three consecutive attempts on the part of the Mughals were made in 1649, 1652, and 1653 to conquer Kandhar, but these ended in ignominious failure. Kandhar was thus finally lost to the Mughal Empire in 1653. (P.U., B.A., 1936, Sept.)

**Its political importance.** (1) The campaigns in the North-West Frontier Provinces caused a heavy drainage on the treasury without adding to it an inch of territory, "The Indian tax-payer scattered in the wilds of Afghanistan about twelve crores of rupees or more than half the gross annual revenue of the entire empire, for absolutely no

12 Crores of Rupees



return.” (2) The moral prestige of the empire was sacrificed at the altar of imperial vanity and henceforth its military inefficiency became patent to the world. The repeated failures of the Mughals increased the military fame of the Persians and the transfrontier races and generated high hopes in their minds. “For years afterwards the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud on the western frontier of India.” Till in the middle of the 18th century it devastated and wrought a terrible havoc over the Mughal Empire under Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. (3) Loss of the best soldiers and generals. (4) It led to the rise of the Maratha power in the Deccan which proved disastrous to the Mughal Empire in the long run as it was one of the main causes of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire; and (5) the fate of the Mughal operations in the north-west frontier gave an important lesson to all governments of India. It showed that for the effective control of this invaluable frontier occasional despatch of large and expensive armies from the interior can be of no avail and that it needs the permanent establishment of powerful garrisons with superior equipments at several strategic points.

**Q. 50. Give a comparative view about the character of Shah-jahan's sons and his two daughters, Roshanara and Jahanara.**

(P.U., B.A., 1939)

#### CHARACTER OF SHAHJAHAN'S CHILDREN

(1) **Dara (1615-59).** Dara, the eldest son of Shahjahan, was a scholar and philosopher. Being a Sufist in tendency, he had widely read the Hindu, Christian, and Jewish literatures. He translated the Upanishads and had great respect for the Vedas. He had written lives of Muslim saints. His love of the saintly persons of all religions and his attempts at reconciliation between the conflicting creeds had won for him the hatred of Musalmans who called him a *kafir*. On his ring he had the word ‘Prabhu’ inscribed; he used to mix with Brahmans and Yogis and discarded the fast during the Ramzan. The undue favouritism of his father had spoiled him. The Venetian Nicolas Manucci writes as follows: “The first-born son of king Shahjahan was the Prince Dara, a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of most extraordinary liberty, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself, considering himself competent in all things and having no need of advisers. He despised those who gave him counsel. This was why even his dearest friends never ventured to inform him of the most essential things. Still it was very easy to discover his intentions. He assumed that fortune would invariably favour him and imagined that everybody loved him.” He was fond of music and dancing and liked buffoons. He was a great patron of the Europeans, who supplied him with delicious drinks. He had great faith in astrology and had a number of astrologers in his service. By reason of his high position in the court, he scorned the nobles. Once he insulted Mahabat Khan and turned a great General into his enemy. Raja Jai Singh a great Rajput prince, was ridiculed as being a musician. This the Raja took to heart and never excused him for this insult. He had poisoned Sa’dulla Khan, the great Vizir of his father, and mocked Mir Jumla for his peculiar gait. Dara in this way offended the courtiers. Jahanara Begum, his sister, was his only sincere friend.

“Dara was a nervous, sensitive impulsive creature, full of fine feelings and vivid emotions, never master of himself or of others and liable to lose his self-control just when cool judgment was most necessary. He might have been a poet or a transcendental philosopher, he could never become a ruler of India.”—Lane-poole. He had, like Akbar, sympathy for every religion and held that Islam and infidelity were not in essence inconsistent.

(2) **Shah Shuja (1616-1660).** Shah Shuja had many good qualities. He was courageous, steadfast and prudent in his undertakings. Bernier says, “He resembled in many characteristic traits his brother Dara, but he was more discreet,



firmer of purpose, and excelled him in conduct and address." He was sufficiently dexterous in the management of an intrigue, and by means of repeated largesses, bestowed secretly, he knew how to acquire the friendship of the Great Omrahs, and in particular of the most powerful of Rajas such as Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Udeypur." Dr. Manucci says: "He knew how to acquire friends likely to help him in his important and reasonable affairs. His agents at the court succeeded in seducing many men from the service of Dara. He was a Shia by religion, and it is believed that this religion was adopted with the object of winning the support of the Persian officials of the Emperor, who were also Shias." Shuja was inordinately fond of pleasure. He copiously indulged in songs, dances, and women. He used to drink wine to excess and squandered money upon dancing girls. He was so much given to these that he even neglected the affairs of state. The climate of Bengal, of which he was the Viceroy from 1642 to 1658, further enervated him and in spite of his talents, courage and ability, he was not sufficiently strong to win in the fight for the throne. Lanepoole in summing up the character of Shuja has very tersely remarked: "Shuja's *zenana* was the prison of his career."

(3) **Aurangzeb as a man (1618-1707).** "Aurangzeb is the most admired among the Muslims. There are few who are quite blind to the lustre of Akbar's character but fewer still whose deliberate judgment would not give preference to Aurangzeb". (*Elphinstone*).

He won the admiration of the people by his devotion to duty, austere habits, keen sense of justice, unflinching courage and indomitable power of endurance. Every one admires his stern puritanic character. He never indulged in frivolities and was always dignified in his conduct. We are told, "He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion nor does he ever use vessels of silver and gold. In his sacred court, no improper conversation, no word of back-biting or of falsehood is allowed."—*Mirat-i-Alam*.

He maintained his energy till the end of his life. He was as energetic at Wakinkera as he was in Balkh sixty years before. He possessed physical endurance in an extraordinary degree. In the midst of the most difficult crisis he did not lose his power of judgment and could act with vigour when it was necessary. He was cultured and polished in his manners although he had no love for fine arts. He was intelligent and could despatch his business with promptness. He had a high sense of dignity. In private life he was very simple. We are told that he used to earn his bread by making small caps and copying the Quran.

"His life would have been a blameless one, if he had no father to dispose, no brothers to murder, and no Hindu subjects to oppress."—*Hunter: A Brief History of Indian People*.

"His life was austere and laborious; he seems never to have indulged in a holiday. He belonged to that not uncommon class of men who believe that their worst and most self-interested actions are directly inspired by God."—*Irvine*.

"He was a consummate statesman and a great king, but endowed with a versatile and a rare genius."—*Bernier*.

"His behaviour towards the Sikhs and the Hindus with no exception of Shia kings was very unsatisfactory."

"It has been usual to call the character of Aurangzeb a *puzzling compound of contradictions*. He possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues; but he was lacking in one thing needful in a leader of men: *he could not win love. Such a one may administer an empire, but he cannot rule the hearts of men.*"—*Lanepoole*.

**Critical Note :—**The students are requested to study Aurangzeb by way of contrast with Akbar as a man who (1) was tolerant in matters of religion and not bigoted; (2) had full confidence in his generals, and not suspicious; (3) believed in the policy of decentralization and not over centralization; (4) was broadminded and not narrow in his outlook of life; (5) was a patron of art and literature and not indifferent to them; (6) was affectionate to his relatives and friends, and not cold and callous. In view of these acts, Akbar was a unique success, while Aurangzeb was a colossal failure.

(4) **Murad (1624-1681).** "The youngest son of Shahjahan was a gallant swash-buckler, brave as a lion, frank and open as the day, a fool in politics, a despair in state-craft and a firm believer in ruddy steel. He was the terror of the battlefield



and the best of good fellows over a bottle. No one could be better trusted in a melee, none was more fatuous in council or more reckless in a debauch. The hereditary passion for wine which had descended from Aabar to his posterity, found a willing victim in this valiant loon. He was, in short, brainless."

—*Lanepoole.*

"His constant thought was how he might enjoy himself, and the pleasures of the table and of the field engaged his undivided attention." — *Bernier.*

(5) **Jahanara (1614-1681).** She, styled as the Begum Sahib, was the most beloved child of Shahjahan. She was endowed both with beauty and talent. She exercised unbounded influence in the Mughal court and her wealth and influence were used to relieve the needy and the poor. In private life, she was a bright example of filial affection, and was more attached to Dara than to any other brother. From 1652 to 1660, she remained under a cloud while attending her own father in captivity. On his death in 1666, she was made the first lady of the realm with powers to control the social ceremonies of the *zenana*. She always commanded the affection and respect of Aurangzeb who very deeply mourned her death. For reasons of state, she remained unmarried.

(6) **Roshanara (1651-1671).** She was not an attractive personality. She was less capable and more intriguing than her sister, Jahanara. She was a violent partisan of Aurangzeb but could not retain his favour for long. She also remained unmarried for reasons of state.

**Q.51. Give an account of the War of Succession (Fratricidal War) also known as the Quadrangular Struggle.**

**To what causes do you attribute the failure of Dara in this struggle?** (P.U., B.A., 1937)

#### FRATRICIDAL WAR or WAR OF SUCCESSION

**The Movements of the Princes.** In the autumn of 1657 Shahjahan was reported to be dying. A fratricidal struggle for the crown at once began. All the four brothers had been appointed viceroys of provinces as distant as possible from the capital and each other. Shuja was away to the east as Governor of Bengal. Aurangzeb was down in the south. Murad Bakhsh was the viceroy of Gujrat. Dara was the viceroy of Multan and Kabul, but he lived at Delhi having deputed his functions to others. Each of the princes behaved more like an independent sovereign than as a lieutenant of the Emperor. Their own large revenues were devoted to the collection of armies. Dara had been the recipient of royal favours and lived with the king. Shah Shuja, the second son, was the first in the field. He at once announced that his father had been poisoned by Dara, proclaimed himself Emperor, engraved his name on the coinage of Bengal and set out to march upon Agra. Murad Bakhsh caused his coins to be struck at Ahmedabad and ordered prayers to be recited in his own name. Aurangzeb, alone of the four brothers, assumed no royal function. He knew the impetuosity of Dara, the sluggish inertness of Shuja and the careless happy go-lucky disposition of his truculent youngest brother, Murad.

**The Battle of Bahadurgarh (1658).** Dara lost no time in sending out the Imperial armies to chastise Shuja and Murad. In December, 1657, he despatched his son, Sulaiman Shikoh with Raja Jai Singh to suppress Shuja. Maharaja Jaswant Singh assisted by Kasim Khan marched to meet the advance of Murad with instructions to cut the line of communication between the rebel viceroy of Gujrat and his wary brother of the Deccan. Shuja was easily repulsed. Jai Singh surprised him at his camp near Benares. After a brief contest at Bahadurgarh,



the dazed Prince took to flight leaving his camp, treasure, artillery and ammunition in the hands of Dara's officers.

**The Battle of Dharamat (1658).** Aurangzeb sent Murad one lakh of rupees as earnest money as reward of his sincerity. He met his brother near the Narbada and towards the close of April, the combined forces came upon the enemy near *Dharamat* in the territory of Ujjain. The Imperial army was defeated, the Rajputs fighting desperately.

**The Battle of Samugarh (1658).** The news of the defeat was too much for Dara. Without even waiting for the return of the victorious army of Bengal, lest he should find an ambitious partner in his exploit, he set out from Agra. The lowest calculation of his arms was 100,000 horses, 20,000 foot and 80 guns. For a day or more, the enemies remained observing each other. Dara placed his cannons in front, linked together by iron chains. Behind the cannons, he ranged a line of light artillery camels. Infantry armed with muskets was behind of all. Khalil Ullah Khan commanded the right, Rustam Khan the left, and Dara himself the centre. Dara's advance-guard was under his own son Sipahr Shikoh. On the opposite side, Aurangzeb was in the centre, Murad in the left wing. Bahadur Khan was to lead the right. Aurangzeb sent forward his son Muhammad with the advance-guard to act with the artillery. The fight was against Aurangzeb first. He was losing the day. He encouraged his men, ordered the legs of his elephants to be chained together to make retreat impossible. Raja Ram Singh and Rup Singh fell dead in the field. When the fight was going on so furiously, Dara committed the fatal mistake of getting down from his elephant and riding on a horse. His men thought that Dara was dead. A blind panic seized the army and every man fled for his life. Once a panic gets hold of an Indian army, no power on earth can save or check it, Dara fled away and Aurangzeb won the day. This is known as the battle of Samugarh. The place afterwards was named Fatehabad.

**Fate of Shahjahan.** The victors now marched towards Agra. Khan Jahan Shayista Khan, the son of the late minister Asaf Khan, and a brother of the Queen Mumtaz Mahal, submitted to Aurangzeb. The Emperor sent a sword engraved with the auspicious name Alamgir. Raja Jai Singh gave his adhesion and Maharaja Jaswant Singh tendered his fealty to the new power. Aurangzeb sent his son, Muhammad, in advance who entered the fortress, overcame the guard and turned the palace into a prison. Shahjahan tried to corrupt Prince Muhammad and to induce him to raise the standard of rebellion against his father, but failed.

**Defeat of Shuja.** After taking possession of Agra, Aurangzeb set out in pursuit of his fugitive brother, Dara. He captured Murad and sent him as a prisoner to the fortress of Salimgarh opposite to Delhi. He himself proceeded by forced marches day and night. Dara, after his retreat to Agra and thence to Lahore, never went to Kabul to Mahabat Khan where he could do something but came back to Sind. Aurangzeb came back leaving a few thousand men to keep the chase and returned to the east, where Shuja had raised the standard of rebellion. He had occupied Benares, Allahabad and Jaunpore. With the assistance of Mir Jumla, he defeated Shuja in spite of the support of the



Portuguese of Hoogli, and the treachery of Raja Jaswant Singh. Shuja fled away to Arakan whither he was conveyed by the Portuguese pirates. Nothing was heard of him after this.

**Execution of Dara (1659).** Dara once more braved the army of Aurangzeb in the hills near Ajmer and after four days fighting was put to flight. He returned to Ahmadabad, the once friendly city, but found its gates closed against him. So Dara took refuge among the robbers of Kachh. His wife died of hardship and misery. His host, the Afghan Malik Jiwan of Dhandor, seized him and carried him to Aurangzeb. He was paraded through the streets of Delhi dressed in the meanest clothes, on a wretched elephant covered with filth. He was executed in 1659. All the citizens deeply mourned his loss. In short, death or the dungeon was the fate of all other aspirants to the throne.

**Causes of Dara's defeat and Aurangzeb's success.** (1) Aurangzeb's superior tactics in keeping a part of his troops in reserve and using them when Dara's troops were exhausted. (2) Aurangzeb's artillery proved more useful than that of Dara. Dara foolishly advanced beyond his own artillery and thus rendered it useless. (3) Dara's fatal exchange of the horse for the elephant. (4) Disaffection of many chiefs. Aurangzeb openly boasted of his relations with many chiefs on the other side. (5) Absence of Sulaiman Shukoh in Bengal had deprived Dara of the flower of his fighting men. (6) Dara's arrogance of temper produced many difficulties. (7) The lack of co-operation between the Rajput and Muslim armies. (8) Shahjahan's own weakness contributed to Aurangzeb's success. It is, therefore, clear that Aurangzeb's "victory in the war of succession was the victory of action over supineness, of intrepidity over inertia, and of organization and discipline over confusion and incoherence."

**Critical Notes.** "A disputed succession has always been a law in the Mughal dynasty." The Mughal Emperors were believers of the theory that 'kingship knows no kingship' and that the sword is the chief arbitrator. The Mughal princes used to fight out the struggle for succession to the end of *takht* or *takhta*, i.e., 'crown or coffin'. Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and his successors were all compelled to contend against the rivalry of their nearest relatives and a disputed succession had become, therefore, a tradition in the Mughal Dynasty. It was mostly due to the absence of any fixed laws of succession amongst the Muslims.

**Why Aurangzeb entered the War of Succession.** The causes which actuated him were five: (1) In the interest of his own safety, Aurangzeb entered the war when he saw that Shuja and Murad had already declared their independence. (2) The animosity between Dara and Aurangzeb. (3) The nomination of Dara by Shahjahan in preference to him enraged Aurangzeb. (4) Aurangzeb preferred his claims to that of Dara on account of his being an orthodox Muslim. (5) Aurangzeb's personal ambition.

**Q. 52. Describe the progress of art and architecture during the reign of Shahjahan.** (P.U., B.A., 1940)

#### ART AND ARCHITECTURE UNDER SHAHJAHAN

**A Great Builder.** Shahjahan was the most magnificent builder among the Mughals. He has been rightly called the "Prince of Builders," and he carried the decorative art to perfection and made an extensive use of marble and the '*pietra, dura*.' The art of the jeweller and the painter were successfully blended into unity.

**Akbar and Shahjahan's Styles Contrasted.** The architecture and style of Shahjahan's buildings are very different from those which were



erected by Akbar and Jahangir. The tomb of Humayun, the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri and the tomb of Akbar at Sikandara form a group by themselves, and are built in what is known as the Indo-Persian style of architecture. The peculiar features that mark these buildings, and distinguish them from those of Shahjahan are their massiveness and strength, whereas the Taj, the Moti Masjid and the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi have a sort of romantic glitter and effeminate beauty about them. They are characterized by elegance, rather than by strength, and by the lavish use of extraordinary and costly decorations. Shahjahan preferred marble to the red sandstone which was favoured by Akbar and Jahangir. Another remarkable feature, namely a mixture of Hindu-Muslim style which is so prominent in the buildings of Akbar and Jahangir is much less evident in the architectural work of Shahjahan.

**Buildings.** The chief buildings of Shahjahan's time are the Diwan-i-Am and a Diwan-i-Khas in the Fort of Delhi, the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid, the Taj and a number of minor buildings, in various parts of the Empire. The palace at Delhi is the most magnificent in the East and perhaps in the world. The Diwan-i-Khas is more highly ornamented than any other building of Shahjahan, and nothing can exceed the beauty of the inlay of precious stones with which it is adorned, or the general portrayal of the design. Rightly was it regarded by Shahjahan as a "Paradise on Earth." Shahjahan's mosques represent two different types. The beauty of the Moti Masjid lies in its purity and simplicity. The perfection of proportion and the harmony of constructive design make it one of the purest and the most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere. The Jama Masjid is more impressive, its interior austere and simple. The king of all Shahjahan's buildings is the Taj, the mausoleum which he erected in the loving memory of his dear wife, Mumtaz Mahal. The building took eleven years to build, employing thousands of workmen and crores of rupees. The Taj still remains the finest monument of conjugal love and fidelity in the world. Visited on a moonlit night its superb beauty and enduring charm, make it one of the Seven Wonders of the World. His famous Peacock throne which cost him 19 crores of rupees was another conspicuous example of his love of magnificence. It was of solid gold studded with costly jewels. With Shahjahan's death 'art' declined, because his successor Aurangzeb was a puritan, who had neither the will nor the money to patronize it.

**Q. 53. Explain :—**"The reign of Shahjahan has been rightly called the golden age of the Mughal Period" (P.U., B.A., 1935)

#### SHAHJAHAN'S REIGN : THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD

**Reign of Peace and Prosperity.** The Mughal Empire reached its highest pitch of greatness and glory under the benign rule of Shahjahan. There was peace and prosperity in the country and the provinces brought much revenue. The country was very little disturbed and he was able to maintain perfect order. The land was very fertile and the royal income, from land revenue alone amounted to 45 crores of rupees, was so great that after all his vast expenses, he left a treasure of 24 million pounds in coin besides gold, silver and jewels. The magnificence of his courts and the cities was great and the extent and the wealth of his empire enormous. Trade relations existed between India and Western Asia. Profitable export trade with Europe was carried on.



**A Great Builder.** Shahjahan was a builder of many magnificent and noble buildings that are considered to be masterpieces of Mughal architecture and still excite the curiosity and wonder of the visitors.

**A Just Ruler.** He was just as a ruler and had appointed wise, experienced and God-fearing men to act as judges. He was anxious to see that the grievances of the people were removed and equal justice administered to all. "It was a strenuous life that Shahjahan led, and he gave peace, prosperity and contentment to his people." The praise was right and well-deserved and has been put in the following couplet :—"O King ! Thy subjects are light-hearted because thou hast taken a heavy load on thy shoulders ; oppression has fallen into a deep sleep (in thy kingdom) because thou hast banished sleep from thine eyes." Manucci writes : "The king kept his eye on his officials, punishing them rigorously when they fell short of their duty. This was the reason why he kept at his court an official with several baskets, full of poisonous snakes. He would order that in his presence they should be made to bite any official who had failed to administer justice, leaving the culprit lying in his presence till the breath left him." Persons accepting bribe were punished. Thieves were never pardoned. Dr. Smith accuses Shahjahan of being very oppressive and inhuman, but such punishments were common in those days.

**Different Opinions.** *Khafi Khan* says : "Although Akbar was the conqueror and a law-giver ; yet for order, arrangements of territory and the finances and the good administration of every department of the state no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shahjahan." *Travernier* says, "Like a father over his family he ensures security of the roads and just administration of the laws." *Sir William Hunter* says ! "The Mughal Empire attained its highest union of strength and magnificence under Shahjahan." *Stanley Lane-poole* says : "Shahjahan was renowned for his kindness and benevolence which endeared him to the people." He was in fact the most magnificent of all the Indian Emperors and his reign has therefore been rightly called the 'golden age' of the Mughal period.

**Q. 54. Give an account of India under Shahjahan as given by the travellers.**

#### ACCOUNT OF INDIA GIVEN BY TRAVELLERS UNDER SHAHJAHAN

**Bernier.** In the year 1656, two Frenchmen, *Bernier* and *Travernier*, were in India simultaneously. Out of these, *Bernier* stands out the foremost. He was a French physician and his hobby was political and speculating philosophy. He reached India in time to see the death struggle between the four princes for the throne. He seems to have enjoyed unrivalled opportunities of observation as is evident from his book, 'The War of Succession of 1658.' While elucidating the conditions of India he remarks that Amirs of India cannot be proprietors of land or enjoy an independent revenue like the nobility of France. Their income consists exclusively of pensions. He also throws much light upon the land system of the Mughals. The one grand principle, according to him, was that the land throughout the Empire was considered to be the king's property. With the Mughal Omrahs, the smile of the king was life and prosperity and his frown spelt ruin if not death.



The royal grant consists of pension either in land or money, which the king gives, augments, retrenches or takes away at his pleasure. He has some interesting and informing remarks to make on the subject of the administration of justice. "They are not at all destitute of good laws" although the governors disregarded them if it suited their purpose. He travelled widely. His reading leaves a definite picture of the Mughal Empire in the mind's eye. In the mirror which he holds to our gaze, we see the Mughal Empire *steadily impelled towards its doom by a multitude of evils*. The chief men were opportunists and time-servers, provincial governments rapacious, oppressive, ambitious, its rank and file demoralized and spiritless, peasantry crushed beneath extortions and its judges arbitrary and uncontrolled. Bernier concludes by saying, "the country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court, and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of the people. The cudgel and the whip compel them to incessant labour for the benefit of others."

(2) **Travernier** gives high praise to Shahjahan's government. "He reigned not so much as a king over his subjects but as a father over his family and children. He excelled other monarchs in good administration and in the order and arrangements and finances as well as the system of justice which was stern."

(3) **Manucci**, an Italian adventurer, who wrote an entertaining book of reminiscences, ventured to assert that Shahjahan, in spite of his admitted lasciviousness, governed his country most perfectly, had a strenuous life, gave peace, prosperity, and contentment to his people.

**Q. 55. Show that Shahjahan's reign marked the climax of the Mughal Empire.**

#### SHAHJAHAN'S REIGN MARKED THE CLIMAX OF MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

V.A. Smith's view : "Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shahjahan or the efficiency of his administration it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mughal Dynasty and Empire. During the space of thirty years (1628-1658), the authority of the Emperor was not seriously challenged and the realm was never invaded by any foreign foe. Although the loss of Kandhar and the failure of three attempts to retake it proved military inefficiency and encouraged Persian pride, these events had little effect on India, where the strength of the army sufficed to uphold the Imperial system. It is true that Shahjahan's son, Aurangzeb Alamgir, largely extended the southern frontier of the Empire during the first thirty years of his reign, but it is also true that long before the annexation of the Sultanates in the Deccan, the Marathas had searched out the weak places in the Imperial armour, and the erroneous policy of the sovereign had undermined the foundations of the throne. The Empire which had suffered severely from the prolonged wars of succession, may be regarded as declining throughout the whole reign of Aurangzeb, notwithstanding his conquests in the south.



In the realm of architecture and other forms of art it is unquestionable that the work of the highest quality in the Mughal period belonged to the reign of Shahjahan. The puritan Aurangzeb cared for none of these things. His buildings are insignificant, with one or two exceptions, and the drawings and paintings of his time show deterioration on the whole. Many of Shahjahan's artists survived into the reign of his son, and some of their productions executed during the reign are not distinguishable from the earlier works, but generally speaking, the atmosphere of Aurangzeb's court was unfavourable to the arts.

The Indo-Persian architecture of Akbar and Jahangir beginning with the noble mausoleum of Humayun and including Fatehpur Sikri, Sikandara, the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula (1628) and many delightful buildings at Lahore and other places, has great merits. It is generally more massive and virile than that of Shahjahan, but the world is agreed in preferring the Taj with its feminine grace to all its predecessors or successors."

### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**Ali Mardan Khan.** He was a Persian Governor of Kandhar. He later on surrendered the fort of Kandhar to the Mughals, partly because he got no assistance from the Shah of Persia, and partly because he was bribed by Shahjahan. He was given a crore of rupees and was admitted as a grandee of the Mughal Empire. Later on he was created as a Mansabdar of 6,000 *zat* and 6,000 *sowar*. He, then, became the Governor of Kabul and Kashmir. On account of his able administration, he was also appointed in addition as the Governor of the Punjab, besides his being created as a Mansabdar of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sowar*. In 1644 he went to Balkh to conquer it where he met with a partial success. Besides his being an experienced general, he was also a skilled engineer. He has left his name to posterity by his engineering skill by digging a canal from the river Ravi to the city of Lahore and the Shalamar Gardens.

**Asaf Khan.** Abul Hassan was his original name. He was the brother of Nurjahan. He became the Prime Minister of Shahjahan and got his daughter Mumtaz Mahal married to him. It was chiefly through him that Shahjahan got the throne of India. In appreciation of his services, he granted a jagir yielding an income of 50 lakhs a year. He was created 9,000 *zat* and 9,000 *sowar* and was later on made the Prime Minister. He was with Shahjahan throughout his life and died at Lahore in 1641.

**Allama Sadullah Khan.** He was a man of humble origin being the son of poor parents. He was a very learned man. He entered service in 1640 and soon rose into prominence. He later on became the Prime Minister and was created a Mansabdar of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sowar*. His services to the state are unique and he is rightly considered as the most conscientious, honest and frank minister known to India. He always discharged the duties entrusted to him most faithfully. He was sent by Shahjahan as a commander of forces to conquer Balkh and Samarkand in 1653.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. "The most glorious period of Mughal history." How far is it a correct estimate of the reign of Shahjahan? (P.U., B.A., 1935)

2. Describe the foreign policy of the Mughal Empire under Shahjahan. (P.U., B.A., 1935 Sept.)

Or

Explain.—"Shahjahan's rule was an epoch of grandeur not unmixed with symptoms of decay."

3. Describe the Mughal North-West Frontier and Central Asiatic policy under Shahjahan. (P.U., B.A., 1936 Sept.)



4. Write a short note on the expansion of the Mughal Empire in the Deccan till the reign of Shahjahan. What were the chief political and military factors which retarded the progress of the Mughal Army ? (P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)
5. Briefly describe the chief stages in the expansion of Mughal power in the Deccan till the Bijapore treaty of 1636. (P.U., B.A., 1938 Sept.)
6. It is in the domain of architecture that the reign of Shahjahan is most distinguished. Examine and elucidate the remark. (P.U., B.A., 1940)
7. Write a short study of the character and career and achievements of Dara Shikoh. (P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)
8. Give a brief account of the promotion of literature and art by Jahangir and Shahjahan. (P.U., B.A., 1941)
9. "Shahjahan was a magnificent monarch." Justify the statement.
10. Compare the architecture of the time of Shahjahan with that of the earlier Mughals, with special reference to some of their buildings.
11. Describe the war of succession after the death of Jahangir and state how did Prince Khurram succeed in securing the throne.
12. Attempt a critical estimate of Shahjahan as a man and as a ruler.
13. "Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shahjahan or the efficiency of the administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mughal dynasty and Empire." Elucidate.
14. Estimate the character of Shahjahan. Give an account of the chief events of his reign. Describe the state of India during his time.
15. Briefly describe the chief events of the war of succession between the sons of Shahjahan. What were, in your opinion, the chief causes of Aurangzeb's success ? (P.U., B.A., 1937)
16. Explain :—"The reign of Shahjahan sounded the death knell of the Mughal Empire and of its economic system."

[Hints. Under Shahjahan the country had reached its climax. Outwardly there was much of prosperity, but the huge expenditures incurred by Shahjahan on account of his huge buildings, and costly foreign wars had brought the country upon the verge of national insolvency, which became very much marked during the reign of his successor. The spirit of tolerance shown by Akbar was disappearing and Shahjahan had shown it by destroying the Hindu temples at Benares and other places. Aurangzeb was known for his intolerance and thus he lost all the sympathies of the people.]



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

**Q. 56. Sketch the early career of Aurangzeb.**

#### EARLY CAREER OF AURANGZEB

- (1) (1618-35) Childhood.
- (2) (1636-43) Governor of the Deccan.
- (3) (1644-48) Governor of Gujrat.
- (4) (1648-53) Governor of Multan and Sind.
- (5) (1653-57) Governor of the Deccan.

**Aurangzeb's Childhood (1618-35).** Aurangzeb, the third son and the sixth child of Shahjahan, was born on the night of 24th October, 1618, (4th November, 1618, *Lanepoole*), at Dhud, on the borders of Malwa, nearly half way between Baroda and Ujjain when Shahjahan was the Viceroy of the Deccan. Two years after his birth Shahjahan had to fly away owing to difference of opinion with the court and after three to four years' wanderings, he was restored to royal favour on the condition that he should send two of his sons, Dara and Aurangzeb, as hostages to the court at Agra, 1625. The childhood of an eastern prince is usually uneventful and Aurangzeb's was no exception to it. We only hear of Aurangzeb during his early career when an elephant combat was held at Agra on 28th May, 1633, before Shahjahan, who was present there with all his sons. One of the elephants rushed towards Aurangzeb, then only 14 years old, but he remained firm while others ran away. For this, Aurangzeb was entitled 'Bahadur' and loaded with presents. His father, likewise, had attacked a wild tiger with sword in hand before the eyes of Jahangir. He received ordinary education. He read the Quran, knew Arabic grammar and acquired a facility in verse and the prose style of the Persian letter. Later on he complained of the narrow course of his study. His education was of an orthodox type. Before he went to Deccan, as a preparation for this high and difficult post, he was given his first lessons in the art of war and the control of men by being sent to the Bundela expedition in 1635, Raja Jhujhar Singh accompanying him. Till the age of 17, nothing is known of him. In 1636, he was appointed to the important office of Governor of the Deccan.

**Aurangzeb as Governor of the Deccan (1636-43).** His early government of the Deccan was a nominal rule. On account of certain circumstances, he had early learnt to look upon life as a serious business. In 1643, he renounced the world and took his abode in the wild ghats and adopted the rigorous system of self-mortification of faqirs. This was not approved of by his father, who punished him by stopping his pay, forfeiting his rank and estates and dismissing him from the governorship of Deccan.

**Aurangzeb as Governor of Gujrat (1644-48).** In 1644, Aurangzeb came to Agra to see his sister Jahanara, who had been badly burnt. There he received his order of dismissal. Sir J. N. Sarkar points out that on account of Dara's hostility towards him and his influence with the *Padshah*, the prince either resigned his rank or possibly was dismissed. He remained out of employment for eight months after which he was restored to royal favour through the intercession of Jahanara. The temporary retirement from the world that he had undergone was the youthful impulse of a morbid nature excited by religious enthusiasm. He was then appointed with all the powers of viceroy in the important province of Gujrat. In 1647, Shahjahan raised him to the rank of a Mansabdar of 15,000 men and 10,000 horses and ordered him to take command of the province of Balkh and Badakhshan, lately added to the Mughal Empire. Shahjahan desired to regain the territory of his renowned ancestor and even wished to use these as stepping stones to the recovery of Samarkand which then belonged to the Uzbeks. These provinces were



conquered by Murad Baksh with the help of the Persian General Ali Mardan after very severe fighting. When Aurangzeb reached Balkh, he, like a wise general, counselled a retreat from an untenable position. He made terms with the king of the Uzbeks and began to march home restoring the useless provinces. The retreat was very fatal. 5000 men, to say nothing of horses, elephants, camels, and other beasts of burden, died from cold and exposure as it was the month of October. This scheme of aggrandizement had cost the exchequer more than two million pounds.

**Aurangzeb as the Governor of Multan and Sind (1648-53).** Aurangzeb held the viceroyalty of Multan and Sind from 1648-53. During this period he was twice ordered to wrest Kandhar from the Persians. This attempt was equally unsuccessful. Aurangzeb with Sa'dullah Allami, Raja Jai Singh and his Rajputs, marched to relieve it with 60,000 horses, 10,000 infantry and artillery. Kandhar had fallen even before their arrival at Kabul. In 1649, the city was besieged for four months with no progress, as they had come prepared for a pitched battle and not for a long siege. With the approach of winter the army retired to Kabul. In 1652, another attempt was made to recover Kandhar with Sa'dullah at the head of a large army, including eight heavy and 20 light guns and 3000 camels carrying ammunition. The attempt proved ineffectual and after two months and eight days the siege was again abandoned. Dara boasting to shine where his brother had failed, invaded the place in May 1653, but retired baffled in September of the same year.

**Aurangzeb as Governor of the Deccan (1653-57).** After these campaigns, Aurangzeb was re-sent to govern the ever-disturbed province of the Deccan (1653-57). His dealings with the Mohammadan kingdoms of Golkanda and Bijapore described in the previous chapter, added greatly to his renown both as a general and as a diplomatist.

#### Q. 57. Give an account of Aurangzeb's Early Acts.

**Aurangzeb's Early Acts.** In order to mitigate the sufferings of the people due to the war of succession, Aurangzeb remitted about 80 taxes like *Rahdari*, *Pondari*, taxes on fairs and a duty on corn to keep down the price of food. He also disallowed the use of the *kalma* on the coins lest it be defiled. He also put an end to the celebration of the *Nauroz*, a Persian custom. He ordered for the repairs of the mosques and monasteries which were in a dilapidated condition. The *Mohtasibs* (censors of public morals) were warned to be strict in the enforcement of the *Holy Law*. He restored the lunar calendar in the place of the solar. *Ilahi era* of Akbar was discontinued. The astrologers were forbidden to forecast events. He also richly rewarded all those who helped him in securing the throne. Provincial governors were transferred from one province to another.

#### HIS WARS

**Mir Jumla as Governor of Bengal.** In appreciation of his services Mir Jumla was appointed the Governor of Bengal. He further helped the king in driving Shuja, his rival claimant to the throne, to the jungles of Assam.

**War with Assam (1661-63).** The Raja of Assam and Cooch Bihar had taken possession of some of the Mughal territory. The king sent Mir Jumla to punish the Raja. He started with a large army and a number of boats and conquered Assam and Cooch Bihar. He, then, wanted to capture the capital of Assam. Due to the outbreak of an epidemic, he suffered a great loss in men and beasts. The setting of heavy rains also stopped his further progress. After the rainy season, he began his war operations, and the Assamese sued for peace. This hardship broke down his health and while returning towards Deccan, he died in 1663.

**Shaista Khan as Governor of Bengal.** After Mir Jumla's death, Aurangzeb's maternal uncle, Shaista Khan, was appointed the Governor of Bengal. He captured Chittagong and forced the king of Arakan to cede it to the Mughals. His attitude towards the English being



hostile on account of custom duties, he expelled them from Bengal in 1688.

**Afghan Wars or his War against the North-West Frontier tribes.** Aurangzeb did not attempt to conquer Kandhar and gave up this question. But the tribes on the North-West-Frontier were proving a source of trouble for the kingdom of Delhi. He wanted to bring them under subjection.

**The Yusufzais (1667).** In 1667 the Yusufzais broke into a revolt in the district of Peshawar and Attock under their leader Bhagu. They made frequent incursions upon the Mughal territory and collected rents from the peasants. Mohd. Amin Khan, the son of Mir Jumla, was sent to suppress them. Their attacks were repulsed with heavy losses. Maharaja Jaswant Singh was posted at Jamrud and under him the Afghans remained quiet.

**The Afridis (1672).** The Afridis rose into a rebellion in 1672 against the Mughals under their leader, Acmal Khan, who proclaimed himself as the king and even summoned the adjoining tribes to join him. The Mughal army under Mohd. Amin Khan suffered very heavy losses. Mahabat Khan and Shujat Khan could not achieve much. In 1674, Aurangzeb went in person to Hasan Abdal. The tribes were won over by force and diplomacy. By the end of 1675, the Afghans were reduced and then Aurangzeb returned to Agra. Mohd. Amin Khan was appointed as the Governor of Kabul and the country was pacified.

**Political importance of the wars.** We have already discussed in the last chapter the political importance of these wars along with the war against Kandhar. These wars drained away the imperial treasury, and reduced the imperial troops. Prof. Sarkar writes that these wars relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the North West Frontier.

**Q. 58.** "It is said of Aurangzeb that he was, first and last, a stern Puritan." Do you agree with this view? If so, justify it.

#### AURANGZEB, A STERN PURITAN

**Orthodoxy.** Nothing in life, neither throne, nor love, nor ease weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam. He persecuted the Hindus for the sake of doing away with the infidels, destroyed their temples to erect masjids in their place, damaged his exchequer by abolishing the time-honoured tax on the religious festivals and fairs of the unbelievers. He ordered that no new temples, no new schools which gave education to the infidels, should be built in future. For the sake of religion, he waged his unending wars in the Deccan not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his great Empire as to bring the lands of the heretical Shias within the dominion of orthodox Islam. *To him the Deccan was Dar-ul-Harb, he determined to make it Dar-ul-Islam.*

**Devotion.** Religion induced him to abjure the pleasures of life as completely as if he had indeed become the Faqir he had desired to be; no animal food passed his lips and his drink was water. Following the Prophet's precept, that every Muslim should practise a trade, he devoted his leisure hours to the making of skull-caps, which were bought



by the courtiers. He not only knew the Quran by heart, but also copied it twice in his own caligraphy and sent the manuscripts richly adorned, as gifts, to Mecca and Medina. He never went on pilgrimage lest he should come back to find an occupied throne ; he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim.

**Uncompromising in matters of religion.** Conscientiously Aurangzeb did not accept the eclectic philosophy of Akbar, the luxurious profligacy of Jahangir, or the splendid ease of Shahjahan, but he saw in Islamic ideals every philosophy, pleasure and ease. Aurangzeb was a Muslim as sternly repressive of himself as of the people around him ; he was a king who was prepared to stake his throne for the sake of faith. In matters of religion, he never believed in compromise, nor conciliation, and was obstinate to the point of fanaticism.

**Advocate of Islamic Principles.** He had an invincible moral courage, the courage of the man who dares to act unflinchingly up to his convictions. Akbar had adopted the solar year of the Persians and had authorized the celebration of New Year's Day, a characteristic national institution of Persia. One of the earliest acts of Aurangzeb after his accession was to prohibit the celebration of the New Year's Day and to revert to the clumsy lunar reckoning of orthodox Mohammadanism. The objection to this system weighed nothing against the fact that the lunar system was the calendar of Mohammad, the Prophet, and what he ordained should be law, while Aurangzeb was king. His re-imposition of *jezya*, and his behaviour towards the Hindus and their institutions clearly show that he held his religion as the best.

**Q. 59. Trace the course of Aurangzeb's anti-Hindu policy. Discuss fully his motives.**

#### AURANGZEB'S ANTI-HINDU POLICY

**Treatment of Hindus.** From his very infancy, Aurangzeb had been given education of the pure Islamic type. This had made him the deadliest enemy of the infidels. When he gained the throne, he put this view of his into practice. The Hindus were the victims of his venomous, serpent-like policy. (1) First of all, the king's wrath fell upon the temples of the Hindus. He began by prohibiting the building of new temples or making additions to old ones. Mathura, Somnath and Benares and even Jaipur suffered the most. The director of the Faith, consequently, issued orders to all the governors of the provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and the temples of the infidels, and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. (2) In 1679, Aurangzeb re-imposed the *jezya* which Akbar had abolished. The public groaned under its burden but he turned a deaf ear to their cries. The testimony of Khafi Khan, the historian, and the extracts from *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* clearly show that the tax was really re-imposed. (3) Aurangzeb could not see the Hindus prospering. He, therefore, allowed the goods of Mohammadans to pass duty free and put restrictions upon those of Hindus. But this could not go on for long as it meant a heavy loss to the treasury. That is why, after a good deal of higgling, half the rates on Mohammadans were re-imposed. (4) Ever since Akbar's time a large number of Hindus were employed as officials in the department of



Revenue and Secretariat work. In 1688, Aurangzeb, with a single stroke of his pen, dismissed them all. Later on, however, he had to withdraw his order as the business of the state could not be carried on without some Hindus. (5) Aurangzeb could not see the Hindus celebrating their festivals as he took it as a piece of propaganda for the spread of infidelity. So he totally prohibited such celebrations in 1668. (6) He did not spare even the Sikhs. The Sikhs were persecuted and their great leader, Guru Teg Bahadur, was executed by him. (7) He forcibly converted many Hindu families to Islam as is shown by the instance of Gokula of Mathura, whose family was converted forcibly after the Jat's rebellion had been put down in 1669. (8) In order to encourage such conversions, he offered various inducements to the Hindus. The Hindus were informed that on their conversion, they would be given the posts of *Qanungoship*, and many other higher rewards. Sambha Ji was offered release on condition that he should embrace Islam, but he refused the offer. The *Jagirs* were restored to those who accepted Islam. (9) Udhav Baiagi had been doing open propaganda among the Hindus. Aurangzeb at once ordered his arrest and then had him executed. (10) All the Hindus, except the Rajputs, were forbidden to carry arms and ride elephants, *palkies* or Arab and Persian horses. (11) Aurangzeb wanted to do away with the Hindu custom of *Jharokha Darshan* and ordered that it should be stopped. All these restrictions put on the Hindus show that he had an ardent desire to see the Hindus deteriorate—socially, morally, economically and politically.

**Aurangzeb's motive.** Aurangzeb was doing all this to defend his own religion or to please his co-religionists in order to be called a Muslim King or to take revenge upon the Hindu Rajas, as the Marathas, Rajputs and Sikhs were harassing him and his co-religionists every now and then. But this was not the only motive which was responsible for the attitude he had adopted towards the Hindus. He desired to do away with the Hindus, but a rich community with a rich literature and a great power cannot be destroyed altogether. Aurangzeb tried to destroy the literature, the customs and the power of the Hindus, but he failed, and he was occasionally troubled by the invasions of the Marathas and other internal revolts.

**Q. 60. Give an account of the growth of Aurangzeb's religious policy.**

### THE GROWTH OF AURANGZEB'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

**Hints.** Aurangzeb's religious policy had passed through three stages as discussed above. He was at first an orthodox monarch as shown by his early measures. He, then, began to behave as a stern puritan as is evident from his puritanic measures. Last of all he appeared as a bigoted monarch, when he resorted to the passing of anti-Hindu measures such as the demolition of temples, the dismissal of Hindu officers, and the re-imposing of *jezya* etc.

### OUTBREAK OF REBELLIONS

Aurangzeb's anti-Hindu policy led to a series of outbreaks in the country. These outbreaks were a sort of discontent against his religious fanaticism, which led him to demolish the Hindu temples and dismiss the Hindu officers.



**The Rebellion of the Jats.** The demolition of the Hindu temples and the building of a masjid at Mathura in its place led to a rising of the Jats under Gokula in 1669. The rising assumed menacing proportions and Aurangzeb came personally from Delhi. Gokula was defeated, his body was cut into pieces and his family was forced to embrace Islam. During Aurangzeb's absence in the Deccan, the Jats again broke out into a rebellion in 1681, and remained unsubdued during the lifetime of Aurangzeb.

**Rising of the Satnamis.** The Satnamis were a sect of the Hindus. They dressed themselves as fakirs and carried on trade and agriculture in the districts of Narnaul and Mewat near Delhi. They were an organised body and most of them carried arms and weapons. A foot soldier beat a Satnami peasant. The situation took a serious turn and there was a formidable Satnami rebellion. They defeated the Mughal army and began to collect taxes. Aurangzeb on his return from Hasan Abdal in 1675 found it difficult to cope with the situation as the Mughal soldiers began to believe that the Satnamis had magical powers. Aurangzeb prepared some amulets, tied them to the banners and told the soldiers that these amulets would counteract their magic. A big fight took place in which the Satnamis were killed in large numbers and thus the country became free from their danger.

**The Sikhs.** The Sikhs were also growing into a powerful military body. They had begun to show defiance to the authority of the Emperor in the Punjab. In 1675, Guru Teg Bahadur was executed for refusing to embrace Islam.

**Q. 61. Give an account of Aurangzeb's relations with the Rajputs.**

#### HIS RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS

**Relations with the Rajputs.** Aurangzeb commanded a certain amount of service from several of the Rajput clans. Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar (Jodhpore) and Raja Jai Singh of Mewar (Udaipur) served him but he never appreciated their services. Raja Jai Singh, who had been serving him in the Deccan, died in 1667, having been poisoned by his son, Kirat Singh, probably at the instigation of Aurangzeb, who publicly rejoiced at the news of the Raja's death and felt greater liberty in following his policy of persecution. He at once destroyed the gigantic temple of Mathura. Raja Jaswant Singh, who never declined to assist him, was sent against his will to Jamrud at the mouth of the Khyber. Towards the close of 1678, he died having been poisoned by the order of Aurangzeb, if Tod and Manucci are to be believed. Aurangzeb thought himself relieved of a heavy burden now. Two posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh having been born at Lahore, Aurangzeb attempted to seize the infants, but the Rajputs defended them at all costs and effected their escape by putting two other children of their age in their place. The two boys reached Jodhpur in safety, and the eldest Ajit Singh, lived to enjoy a long reign over Marwar. He remained the bitterest foe of Aurangzeb to the end of his life.

**Invasion of Mewar.** Besides this, Aurangzeb re-imposed the *Jezya* and began to demolish the temples wholesale with fanatical fury. This impolitic attempt stirred the whole of Rajputana and all the Rajput states except Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur and Ambar, took up the



cause of the outraged national honour. Aurangzeb assembled an army and marched to Ajmer. From there, he sent a detachment to plunder Mewar. The Rana had to yield before overwhelming odds, but was allowed very favourable terms. A small cession of territory was accepted from him and he was asked not to assist Jodhpur. Having done this, Aurangzeb returned to Delhi.

**Rebellion of Prince Akbar.** Some time after this, the Rana again broke the peace. Aurangzeb again set out for Ajmer. He employed all his three adult sons, Moazzam, Azam, and Akbar, in the Rajput War without any success and met with several serious reverses. Prince Akbar with Tahawar Khan was sent to Udaipur. The Rana was compelled to leave his capital and to take refuge in the Aravali mountains. The Mughals were in a position afterwards to annex Mewar (Jodhpur), this conquest was far from complete as they had to fight for 30 years more. The Rajputs, chiefly Rathors of Jodhpur, continued to harass Aurangzeb's armies. Durga Das, a prominent figure amongst them, tried to corrupt Prince Moazzam but in vain. He was able to coax Prince Akbar, the favourite son of Aurangzeb, to march against his father with 70,000 men. But Aurangzeb, when the situation seemed hopeless to him, forged a letter in Akbar's name asking his allies to stop fighting and thus made them desert his side. Akbar ran away to the Marathas whence he went to Persia and died in exile in 1704.

**The Treaty of Udaipur (1681).** The war continued; the Mughals went on with their ravages and the Rajputs retaliated. The Rana of Udaipur suffered a good deal in these campaigns. After a lot of fighting, the hostilities with Mewar ended in June 1681, by the treaty of Udaipur. Its terms were: (1) Jai Singh was acknowledged as the Rana and was created a Mansabdar of 5,000. (2) The Rana was to cede some territory and in lieu of it the imposition of *Jezya* was stopped. (3) The Rana was to pay an indemnity of Rs. 3,000,000 within 2 years. (4) The Rajput cavalry was not to be increased beyond 1,000. (5) No repairs to be made in the fort of Chittor. (6) The Rana was not to give shelter to the rebellious Rathors. This war was continued afterwards also until 1709, when Bahadur Shah, Aurangzeb's successor, acknowledged the right of Jaswant Singh's son, Ajit Singh, as Raja and the ruler of Mewar.

**Effects of the Rajput Wars.** His wars against the Rajputs show that the latter had no grudge or enmity against Aurangzeb but Aurangzeb never desired them to be prosperous. The plans of wars with the Rajputs were the figments of his own brain. The Rajputs wanted friendship with him but he did not respond, as is evident from the way he treated Jaswant Singh, his sons and Raja Jai Singh. He considered the Rajputs as satans in human shape, beast-looking, beast-hearted and wicked men.

**Rajput Policy contrasted with that of Akbar.** Akbar had conciliated the pride and prejudices of the Rajputs and converted them into pillars of the throne. His successors continued the policy and their loyalty increased. To Aurangzeb, the Rajputs were beast-looking and beast-hearted satans. He estranged them by his unwise policy just when he needed them the most to crush the Marathas. The Rajputs were good at mountain fighting and as such were valuable allies against mountaineers like the Pathans and the Marathas. His policy was



suicidal and he had to fight the Marathas with his right hand cut off. This policy seriously impaired the imperial prestige.

**Relations with the English.** It has been said above that in 1688, Shaista Khan, the governor of Bengal, had turned out the English from Bengal due to his differences with them over the question of custom duties. The English were also driven out from Surat and other places on account of their defiant attitude. The English realized their mistake and soon made up their differences with the Emperor, who permitted Job Charnock in 1690 to build a factory at Calcutta.

**Relations with Marathas.** Aurangzeb's relations with the Marathas will be discussed in the next chapter.

**Q. 62. What was Aurangzeb's Deccan Policy? Describe his conquests of Bijapore and Golkanda. What were the results of these conquests?**

**Deccan Policy.** Having subdued the Rajputs, Aurangzeb directed his attention towards the conquest of Deccan. He had **three main objects in view** :— (1) The complete extinction of the kingdoms of Bijapore and Golkanda. (2) The curtailment of the Maratha power. (3) The removal of all possibilities of rebellion caused by the presence of his rebel son Akbar in the Deccan.

**Causes of Invasion of Bijapore and Golkanda.** (1) Both the kingdoms were Shias, while Aurangzeb was a Sunni. This was what he could not put up with. (2) Both the states were paying blackmail to the Marathas. (3) Aurangzeb could not tolerate the existence of these two independent kingdoms on the borders of his own kingdom. In view of the above causes, Aurangzeb marched to the Deccan and reached Ahmadnagar in 1683.

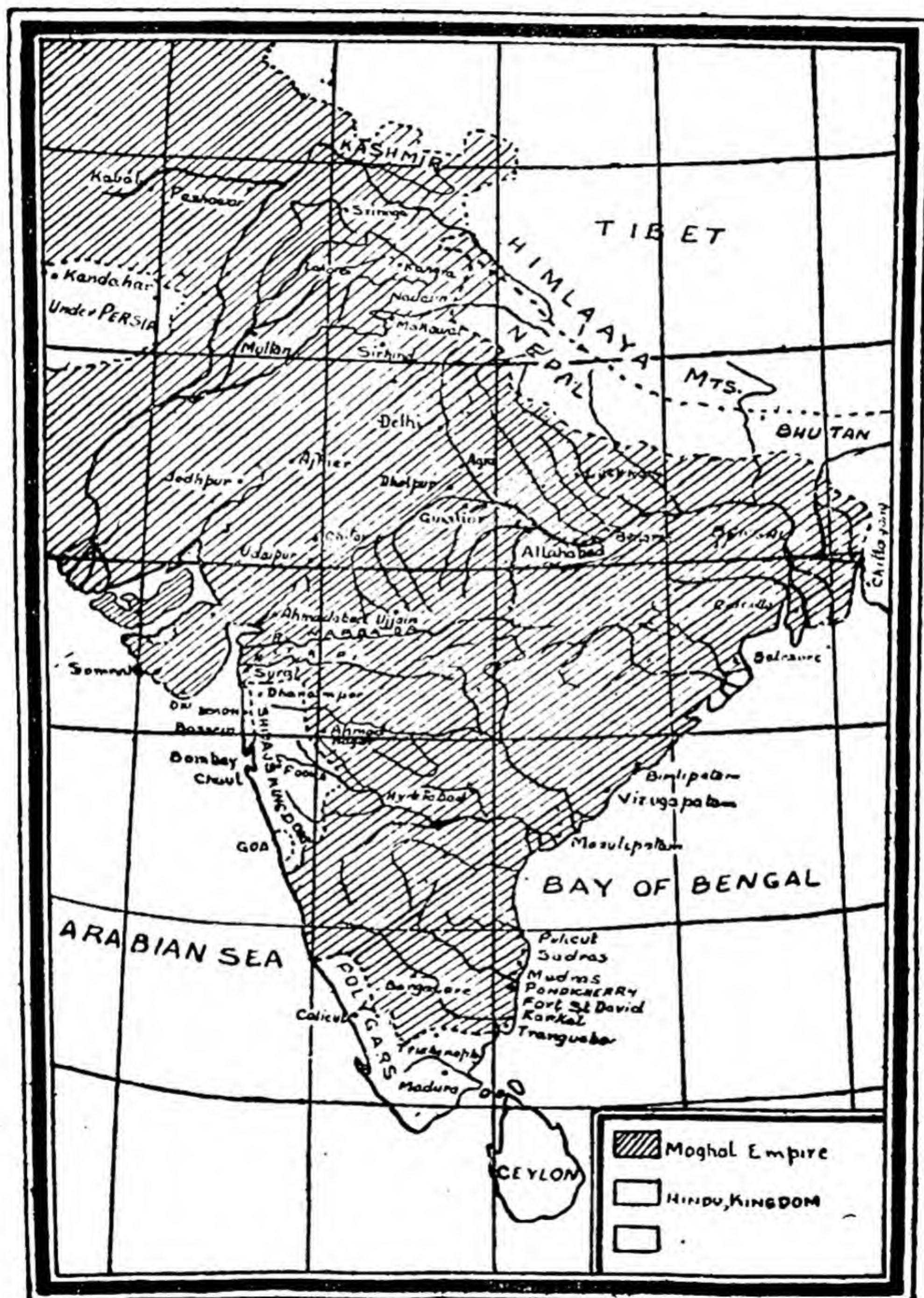
**The Conquest of Bijapore (1686).** Sikandar Ali Shah, a young prince, was ruling over Bijapore. In 1682, Aurangzeb sent an expedition against him under Prince Azam. It failed and the Prince was recalled in 1683. After his return Aurangzeb spent about two years in an unsuccessful attempt against the Marathas and in making fruitless attempts to capture Akbar. Sikandar Adil Shah used this time in organizing his armies with the help of his able minister, Sharza Khan. Aurangzeb demanded that Sharza Khan be dismissed. This order was not complied with. Aurangzeb took the command in person and invested Bijapore in 1685. The Sultan of Golkanda helped the Sultan of Bijapore. He sent Shah Alam to Golkanda so that no help could be received from that quarter. Even the Sultan of Golkanda was forced to make peace. The siege of Bijapore dragged on for a year. The garrison held out bravely, but eventually they surrendered due to the shortage of provisions, in 1686.

**Terms of Peace (1686).** Sikandar Shah, the Sultan of Bijapore, was taken into Mughal service. He was created a *mansabdar* with an annual pension of one lakh. Later on he was imprisoned in Daulatabad where he died in 1700. The kingdom of Bijapore was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1686.

**The Conquest of Golkanda (1687).** Abul Hassan, the Sultan of Golkanda, as narrated above, was indirectly helping the Sultan of Bijapore. Shah Alam had been sent against him but he had been forced to sign a treaty of peace. In 1686, Aurangzeb turned his attention against Golkanda. He levied four charges against the Sultan. (1) His help to



the Sultan of Bijapare. (2) His employment of Brahmin ministers. (3) His close alliance with the insolent Marathas. (4) His personal depraved character. He encamped his army near Golkanda on the pretext that he was going on a pilgrimage to Gulbarga. The Sultan, who was anxious to keep peace with him, gave him presents in jewels and gold. In the meantime Aurangzeb intrigued with the ministers of



India under Aurangzeb (1707)

Golkanda and lowered down the moral tone of his troops. Having completed all this, he denounced the Sultan as an infidel and then laid



siege to the fort. The war dragged on for about 7 months and all attempts to conquer it proved fruitless. The Emperor achieved his object by bribing Abdula Khan, who opened the gate to Aurangzeb. In 1687, the Mughals entered the fort. The Sultan surrendered. He was sent as a prisoner to Daulatabad. The kingdom was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Spoils worth seven crores of rupees fell into the hands of Aurangzeb.

**Effects of the campaigns** (*P. U., B.A., 1936*). Napoleon used to say that "it was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me." The same may be said regarding the conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb. It proved to be the grave of Aurangzeb's glory. The destruction of these kingdom was a great political blunder. (1) The annexation of these two kingdoms destroyed the check on the Marathas, who having become free from local rivalry got an opportunity of joining their supremacy in the Deccan. (2) The distant zamindars seized every opportunity to make themselves independent, and in all their robberies and wars, they were always ready to help the Marathas whom they looked upon as patrons of anarchy. (3) The disbanded soldiers either joined the Maratha army or plundered the country on their own behalf. (4) It made Aurangzeb the master of the territory from Kashmir to Cape Camorin, and from Kabul to Chittagong. (5) The government which kept up order in the Deccan being annihilated, the frame of society which depended on them was dissolved and the scattered material remained as element of discord. (6) But according to Sarkar, the extension of the empire was the beginning of his end for the following reasons: His long stay in the Deccan made him neglect Northern India where, during his absence, the administration had grown inefficient and corrupt. Indiscipline was consequently supreme. The Jats and Sikhs got an opportunity to revolt. The authority of the provincial viceroys was being openly defied by the chiefs and the zamindars. These expensive and wasteful wars told very heavily upon the Imperial Treasury. The Empire had grown too large to be ruled by one man. His wars with the Marathas during his stay in the Deccan adversely affected his health, the morale of the army and the finances of the state.

**Q. 63. Write short Biological notes on :—(1) Afzal Khan, (2) Shaista Khan, (3) Mir Jumla, (4) Maharana Jaswant Singh.**

#### 1. AFZAL KHAN

He was a relative of the king of Bijapore, being the son of his maternal uncle who was the superintendent of the kitchen. He was the ablest of the generals of Ali-Adil Shah, the king of Bijapore. He was fully acquainted with the country round about Jaoli, as he was once Governor of Wai. He had also been in Carnatic, where he had instigated Mustafa Khan to rise against Sambhajee when Shahjee was under restraint at Bijapore. When Shivaji began to harass the Bijapore Government, he undertook in the Durbar to capture the "Mountain rat" dead or alive. A huge army of 12,000 horse was placed under him. He determined afterwards to deceive Shivaji by capturing him alive and sent a man, Krishnaji Bhaskar to tell Shivaji to meet him to discuss the terms of settlement. Shivaji was not a man to be easily taken in. During the interview he was insulted by Afzal Khan. Shivaji retorted and Afzal Khan fell upon him. Shivaji then thrust his *waghnakh* into his stomach. Thus this man was killed.

#### 2. SHAISTA KHAN

He was Aurangzeb's maternal uncle. When Aurangzeb captured the throne, he appointed him as the viceroy of the Deccan. Seeing Shivaji encroaching upon his rights, Aurangzeb deputed Shaista Khan to lead an expeditionary force against



the Marathas, and to deprive Shivaji of his recently acquired forts and territories. He set out with a big army. Every day during his march he was harassed by the Marathas who would fall upon him and carry away whatever they could lay their hands on. When the rainy season set in, he retired to Poona, taking all necessary precautionary measures for safety. Shivaji wanted to punish him. One of his followers got permission for a marriage party to pass through Poona, Shivaji with his men joined the party. At night, with his trusty followers, and by means of a clever stratagem he managed to penetrate into the lodging of Shaista Khan, who narrowly escaped death and was lucky enough to get off with the loss of three fingers and of his son. He was obliged to apply for his recall. His request was granted and he was posted in Bengal where he worked and died for Aurangzeb.

### 3. MIR JUMLA

He was a merchant from Ardistan and therefore a Persian adventurer. He was Aurangzeb's chief helper in his designs on the Deccan kingdoms and later on the throne of Hindustan. He began his career of a successful trader, and quickly succeeded in making himself the virtual master of Golkanda or Hyderabad kingdom as prime minister of Abdullah Kutb Shah. Not content with this position as the chief of the Kutb Shah's servants, he carved out for himself a domain virtually amounting to an independent kingdom, by conquering and annexing the Karnatic or Kanarese kingdom. It yielded a revenue of 40 lakhs of rupees and supported an army and a good artillery manned by European gunners. This aroused the jealousy of his nominal master Kutb Shah, who attempted to bring him under control. Mir Jumla defended himself by intrigues with Bijapore, Persia, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Ultimately he attached himself definitely to the Mughal service and accepted high office from Shahjahan, thus becoming a traitor to Kutb Shah. Aurangzeb laid siege to Golkanda and compelled Kutb Shah to surrender. Kutb Shah's minister, Allama Sadullah Khan, died, and Mir Jumla succeeded him. Aurangzeb was now at war with Bijapore. The traitor, Mir Jumla, helped Aurangzeb in this campaign and thus brought the speedy fall of the Bijapore kingdom. Aurangzeb's successes against his rivals had been due to his alliance with Mir Jumla. He had done good service by hunting down Shuja and had brought him to his miserable end. The Emperor was glad to keep him in Bengal as Governor. In 1661-63, Mir Jumla fought a war against Assam and succeeded. He was praised for the humanity and justice which he displayed in the conduct of these operations. He died and was succeeded by Shaista Khan. On receiving the sad news of his death, Aurangzeb remarked that "he had lost a great general but thank God that he has been delivered of his deadliest foe."

### 4. MAHARANA JASWANT SINGH

He was the Rajput Raja of Mewar (Jodhpur). Having acknowledged the supremacy of the Mughals, he had become a puppet in their hands. Dara used him in the War of Succession. Aurangzeb had already given him a crushing defeat. Maharana ran to Mewar where he knocked at the doors of the fort. His wife refused him admission as he had disgraced himself by coming back home unvictorious. It was after a good deal of persuasion that he was admitted. When Aurangzeb marched against Shuja to punish him, it was at Khajwah, half way between Allahabad and Etawah, that the fight took place. At night, Jaswant Singh, though now in Aurangzeb's service, attacked him from behind. This was done with the consent of Shuja, but he did not help in this attempt. So Jaswant Singh failed and retired to a place out of reach and there awaited in safety the course of events. Afterwards he threatened Agra and then ran away to Mewar. Aurangzeb sent an army against him, but, later on, he won him over to his side by writing him a letter in which he excused his previous faults and gave him a high office. When Shaista Khan was recalled, Prince Moazzam was sent against Shivaji. Jaswant Singh helped the Prince in his fight against Shivaji. When the *Jezya* was imposed Jaswant Singh was sent against his will to serve against the Afghans and he pushed on beyond the Indus till his death at Jamrud on December 10, 1678. His widow and children were very badly treated by Aurangzeb after his death.

**Q. 64. What political blunders were committed by Aurangzeb ?**

*Or*

**Describe Aurangzeb as a statesman.**

*(P.U., B.A., 1934)*



### POLITICAL BLUNDERS COMMITTED BY AURANGZEB AND AURANGZEB AS A STATESMAN

(1) By persecuting the Hindus and insulting their religion, by pulling down their temples, by forbidding the Brabmins to teach the Vedas, by re-imposing *Jezya*, by dismissing all the Hindu clerks from state offices, by doubling custom duties on them, and by ill-treating and harassing them in numerous other ways, Aurangzeb made them the worst foes of the Empire. (2) The Rajputs were already resenting the paymeat of *Jezya*, but his wanton attack to seize the widow and the children of the deceased Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar excited them all the more. Though Aurangzeb succeeded in making peace with them, yet they continued to revolt until the end of his reign. They became the bitterest enemies of the Delhi throne. (3) His ill-treatment of Shivaji at Delhi was a great mistake. Aurangzeb ought to have made friends with Shivaji but instead of doing that he treated him very coldly, and thus turned the Marathas into his bitterest foes. (4) He made a serious mistake in conquering the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkanda in the Deccan. These states were a check upon the Marathas. It would have been wise on the part of Aurangzeb to have united with the Mohammadan kingdoms of Bijapore and Golkanda and fought against the common foe, the Marathas. But he lacked statesmanship and was a religious bigot. He was as much an enemy of the Hindus as of the Shias. He wanted that the Sunui religion should be the foremost in India, prevailing throughout the country, hence his anxiety to destroy these kingdoms. With the destruction of these kingdoms, the check on the Marathas was removed. They became more powerful, marched to the north and ultimately brought ruin to the Mughal Empire. (5) Lastly, the execution of Teg Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru, in 1675, made the Sikhs the bitterest enemies of Islam. (6) His Afghan policy was of no great utility; the tribal peace had to be purchased at a heavy cost which drained the Mughal Treasury. (7) His long absence in the Deccan led to grave disorders in the north, where the peasantry groaning under the weight of heavy taxation became ready to rebel.

**Q. 65. What do you know of Aurangzeb's administrative, judicial, revenue and military systems ?**

#### AURANGZEB'S ADMINISTRATIVE, JUDICIAL, REVENUE AND MILITARY SYSTEMS

**Administration.** On account of its extent, the Empire was now divided into 24 (instead of 20) provinces—eighteen (instead of 15) in the north and six (instead of 3) in the south. These provinces were, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Oudh, Bihar, Orissa, Aurangabad, the Deccan, Berar, Khandesh, Malwa, Gujrat, Sind, Multan, Lahore, Bengal, Kasbmir, Kabul and Kandhar, etc. Every province had district officers at its head, each in charge of a separate department and responsible to the head of the department at the capital. The Subedar was the Provincial Commander as well as the highest executive authority. The Diwan was in charge of the revenue and finance and looked after such judicial duties as revenue officers and farmers were entrusted with. The Provincial Bakhshi was the paymaster. There was a Sadar as well, who regulated public charity and *jagirs*. The Qazi looked after the judicial department. The provinces were divided in their turn into Sarkars, and there were one hundred and ninety-two of them in all. They correspond to our modern districts. Every Sarkar had a Faujdar who represented the Subedar in the District Administration and was the commander of the local forces and was responsible for law and order. He was to keep himself in touch with the Imperial Court as well as the Provincial Government. The revenue work of the Sarkar or the



District was done by the Karori who was responsible for a tract yielding Rs. 2,50,000. He would collect the revenue and deposit it in the imperial treasury. The Sarkars or Districts were further sub-divided into Mahals or Parganas. The whole Empire contained 4152 Parganas in all. The chief officer here was the *Qanungo*, who looked after the revenue work of his Mahal. There was no Mughal representative in the villages. For revenue purposes the Parganas were again sub-divided into Dasturs. They represented groups of villages governed by the same revenue regulations. Muqaddam was the only officer here. In the village the revenue official was the Chaudhri. The villagers also had an agent of their own, who kept revenue accounts for them. Each town was under a Kotwal. The Empire was under the king, who had absolute power over the church and the state, and was assisted by the Diwan, Mir Bakhshi, Qazi, Mohatsib, etc. Vakil was the highest officer of state, corresponding to the English Justiciar of mediaeval times.

**Revenue Administration.** Akbar's methods of assessment were followed throughout the kingdom. The land was divided into four classes. Polaj constituted the first class which required no fallow. Parauti formed the second class and required to be kept fallow for a harvest or two occasionally. The land which remained uncultivated for three to four years was Chachhar (third quality) and the land which remained uncultivated for more than five years was Banjar (fourth quality). The real division of land was a further gradation of all lands into three grades, the best, the normal and the worst. For ascertaining the average produce of a bigha of any quality of land, an average of the three grades for each crop that was sown in that land was struck and this was taken as the average produce. The area under cultivation was surveyed, measured and recorded. One-third of the estimated produce was to be taken as it had been the custom since Akbar's reign. The revenue if thought high could be challenged, in any case the payment made to Sher Shah Suri was on no account to be exceeded. The revenue for staple crops was usually paid in kind, but the cultivators had the option to pay in cash. If the crops were valuable and perishable, the average price of each crop for a cycle of 19 years was ascertained and the revenue was demanded according to that. Polaj land was taken as the normal variety of land. Parauti was Polaj temporarily being out of cultivation and paid land revenue at the standard rates when under cultivation. For Chachhar and Banjar, the rate of assessment adopted was such that it rose to the full rate of land revenue in five years. *Taqavi* loans were advanced to the cultivators. Remission was granted if the condition of the land was not good. Over-exactions were forbidden and punished. Regular receipts were issued. In 1659, *Rahdari* was abolished: in 1666, the excise duty on tobacco disappeared; in 1682, forty-one more *abwabs* were abolished. As many as 63 illegal exactions were abolished by Aurangzeb.

**Judicial Administration.** The Mughal Emperor was the chief justice in his Empire. Every one was allowed to have access to the court to lay his complaints before the Emperor. Aurangzeb held a court of justice on every Wednesday where all could come and lay their grievances before him. In the villages, there were the Hindu *Panchayats* which used to settle their own disputes. The Chief Qazi and Sadar-ul-Sadur were the regular law officers having their provincial and district representatives. The Qazi would sit in court five days of the week to dispense justice. Friday was a holiday. On Wednesday he presented himself at the Faujdar's Court. Regular appeals from lower court to higher courts did not exist. The cases could be transferred at the expense of the complainant. The Qazi was helped by the Mufti, who expounded the law in cases under trial and suggested punishment. Aurangzeb got a code prepared known as *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*. The usual punishment was detention in prison or whipping and mutilation. Treason and rebellion would result in execution, done in a barbarous way. Fines used to be imposed, but were stopped in 1679. Sometimes a man's misconduct was published, in certain cases he was paraded in some undignified posture. To preserve peace, the Subedar assisted by the Kotwal was made responsible.

**Military Administration.** The Mughal army was divided into four classes. There was the cavalry furnished by the system of Mansabdars. Every one above the position of a soldier obtained a Mansab (rank). There were various ranks. This was the largest branch of the army consisting of 24,000 horsemen as Bernier



says. According to Bernier the number of infantry and matchlockmen was 15,000, while Manucci puts it at 60,000. There were artillery and elephantry as well. These two branches of the army were meant for sieges. Aurangzeb had two or three hundred camel pieces, besides some 60 brass cannons drawn by horses. The Mughals placed greater reliance upon the cavalry. There was, however, some sort of a standing army maintained by the Emperor himself. This consisted of gentleman troopers who were paid decently. The Mansabdars had clerks as their attendants. There was usually no system of cash payments. The system of granting jagirs was rife. In lieu of cash payment, revenues of particular areas were granted. These jagirs ceased with the death of the grantees.

**Critical Note.** The changes introduced by Aurangzeb in the administration were: The re-imposition of *jeziya* abolished by Akbar, re-arrangement of the Empire into 24 Subas in place of 18, the abolition of the practice of *Jharoka Darshan*, the introduction of a new department called the *Bait-ul-Mal*, the wealth of which was to be spent for the propagation of Islam, the introduction of the policy of over-centralization, the making of the church superior to the state, the suppression of public morality by appointing Mohtsibs, the dissemination of education by opening more schools and universities in the different parts of the Empire.

### Q. 66. What was the condition of India under Aurangzeb ?

#### CONDITION OF INDIA UNDER AURANGZEB

**General condition of the country.** Aurangzeb had inherited a complicated system of administration from his forefathers and made still worse by his Mansabdari system. His officers encouraged corruption, repression and oppression. The people were groaning under this repression. The Hindus were not happy under him nor did he ever endeavour to please them, but continued harassing them by encroaching upon their rights. The Muslims were happy but not so happy as to enjoy because the Marathas, Rajputs, Sikhs and other tribes would not allow them to do so. Divine wrath was common in India. Plague, droughts, excessive rains and epidemics claimed their victims in thousands. Aurangzeb's nobles had become pampered dandies. There was trouble all over the country. The Marathas, the Rajputs, the Jats, the Satnamies and the Afghans all vied with each other in troubling the Mughals. Aurangzeb and his officials, therefore, were constantly engaged in some war or other. When a king is facing the brunt of the battles, how can his subjects have peace. So India under Aurangzeb was not a peaceful but a miserable and unfortunate India.

**Trade and Commerce.** As regards other things such as mineral wealth, roads, industries, trade and commerce, the condition was somewhat better. There was enough of gold in Kamaon and in the Punjab mountains and rivers. Copper and silver were found in Karnal, Kamaon and in the province of Agra respectively. Iron mines and red-stones were to be had from Udaipur, Bazaha. (Bengal) and Fatehpur respectively. Harpah and Golkonda contained diamond mines. Gujrat Thatral and Kheora manufactured salt. Saltpetre was abundant at Agra and Patna. Different varieties of cloth were manufactured in different parts of the country, but Agra, Benares, Bidar, Bengal, Bihar and Malwa were already famous for their workmanship. Gold cloth of Ayodhya and Khandesh, silk cloth and fine muslins of Bengal, carpets (with worked floral designs) of Multan, prints of the Punjab, carpets of Fatehpur Sikri and Alwar, swords of Somnath, Gujrat and Sialkot, perfumed oil of Delhi and Gujrat, paper of Gaya and Sialkot, glass from Fatehpur, Bihar, Berar and ornamental and embroidered work of the Punjab were very famous. A brisk trade was going on in these things. Even European traders shared in this trade. Many European nations had started trade relations with India during the reign of Aurangzeb and they were found in Surat, Madras and Bengal. They exported Indian articles to foreign countries. India had got trade relations with Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asian countries, Arabia, Nepal, Bhutan, China, England and Japan.

**Roads.** The country was well served with roads. The main road was running from Agra to Kabul, connecting it there with Kandhar. Agra was connected in the south with Golkonda through Dholpur, Gwalior, Marwar (Gwalior State), Sironj (Tonk State) and Asirgarh (C.P.) and in the east with Allahabad, Benares, Lahore, Patna, Srinagar and Multan. All the provinces with their districts were interconnected with each other through these roads.



## QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Contrast Aurangzeb as a man with Aurangzeb as a statesman.  
(P.U., B.A., 1934)
2. How far is it correct to regard the conquest of the kingdoms of the Deccan by Aurangzeb as a political blunder?  
(P.U., B.A., 1933 Sept.)
3. Is it correct to regard Aurangzeb's policy towards the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan as a political blunder?  
(P.U., B.A., 1936)
4. Carefully examine the jezya of Aurangzeb with reference to the following points :—(a) Its economic incidence ; (b) the difficulty of its collection, and (c) its effects on the attitude of non-Muslim subjects towards the state.  
(P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)
5. Briefly describe the campaigns of Aurangzeb against the Rajput states and the Deccan kingdoms. What was their effect on the financial and administrative stability of the Mughal Empire?  
(P.U., B.A., 1938 Sept.)
6. Write notes on .—Mir Jumla, Afzal Khan, and Raja Jai Singh.
7. Compare the character of Aurangzeb with that of his brothers, and briefly describe the chief events of the war of successions till the death of Akbar.  
(P.U., B.A., 1939)
8. In what respects, if any, did the policy of Aurangzeb contribute to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire? Discuss with reference to (a) the imposition of jezya, (b) the Rajput wars, and (c) the annexation of the Deccan states.  
(P.U., B.A., 1939 Sept.)
9. Give a succinct but careful account of Aurangzeb's dealings with the principal Rajput states, bringing out his motives, policy and the repercussions of his action.  
(P.U., F.A., 1940)
10. Write a short account of the development of painting under Akbar and Jahangir. Discuss Aurangzeb's attitude towards arts.  
(P.U., B.A., 1944 Sept.)
11. Trace briefly but carefully the southward expansion of the Mughal Empire from 1590-1700, and bring out the main springs of the Deccan policy of the Mughal Emperors during the period.  
(P.U., B.A., 1941)
12. 'Akbar laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire, Aurangzeb destroyed it'. Justify the statement.
13. "Aurangzeb abandoned the wise policy of toleration followed by his predecessors." Discuss the immediate effects that this change of policy produced.
14. What were Aurangzeb's religious and political ideals ; and why did he fail as a sovereign?
15. "Aurangzeb placed the crowning stone on the edifice of universal Empire in India." Explain this and draw a map to illustrate your answer.
16. "The retrogression of Mediaeval Indian civilization under Aurangzeb is noticeable not only in the decline of the fine arts, but still more in the low intellectual type of the new generations." Discuss the validity of this statement illustrating your answer with facts.

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Buddhism



Shivaji  
Shahji  
Shivnagar

extended his authority  
Dadaji Khandadey  
Jija Bai  
Ram Dass  
many forts  
Torna - Bijapur

Afzal Khan -  
Aurangzeb Shahji

## CHAPTER IX

SHIVAJI (1627-1680)

Q. 67. Describe the career of Shivaji.

### THE CAREER OF SHIVAJI

**Early Career.** Shivaji (1627-1680), the son of Shahji Bhonsla, was born in 1627 in the fort of Shivnagar. His mother Jija Bai, a lady of great piety and devotion, had a great share in the formation of his character. His tutor, Dadaji Khandadey, trained him in horsemanship, hunting and military exercises. He was brought up as a zealous Hindu under his spiritual Guru Ram Dass. He made the Mavalis his best supporters after training them. He captured the fort of Torna from an officer of Bijapore and captured also a number of other hill forts and extended his authority around Poona. He then openly quarrelled with the Sultan of Bijapore, who had got his father imprisoned, but whom he had got released by intriguing with Shahjahan.

**Afzal Khan (1659).** When Shivaji was making rapid progress, the Sultan of Bijapore sent an army under Afzal Khan, a brave and experienced officer, against him. Afzal Khan met him at Partabgarh. At the customary embrace, Shivaji punished him with his tiger's claw. The Marathas who were hiding themselves fell upon the Mohammadans and captured immense amount of spoil. Shivaji was now recognized as the master of the territory by the Sultan of Bijapore.

**Shaista Khan (1663).** The restless and ambitious Shivaji now began his raids on the Mughal territories. In 1661-63, Aurangzeb despatched Shaista Khan, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to subdue Shivaji. Shaista Khan retired to Poona for the rainy season where the Maratha chief, along with a party of trusty followers, managed to enter the city and at night fell upon the imperial armies. Shaista Khan escaped with the loss of three fingers while his son was killed.

**Sack of Surat (1664).** Shivaji at the head of 4000 soldiers attacked Surat and carried off a great booty consisting of more than a crore of rupees in gold, silver and pearls.

**Jai Singh and the Treaty of Purandhar (1665).** Aurangzeb now appointed Moazzam, his second son, with Raja Jai Singh to the command in the Deccan. Shivaji by this time had plundered Surat with ruthless severity. Diler Khan and Raja Jai Singh were now appointed joint-commanders in the Deccan. Within the space of five months they drove Shivaji so hard that he opened negotiations with Jai Singh. By the Treaty of Purandhar, (1) the Maratha chief agreed to surrender 23 of his strongholds and to retain only 12 for himself. (2) He promised that he would pay to Aurangzeb a heavy indemnity of 40 lacs of huns in thirteen instalments. He was confirmed as the master of Konkan and Balaghat. (3) The eldest son of Shivaji was promised a rank of 5,000. (4) Shivaji promised to help Aurangzeb in his military expeditions against the Deccan. (5) His right of collecting chauths in a few districts of the Bijapore kingdom was recognised by the Emperor.

**Visit to Agra.** Shivaji consented to pay a visit to Agra with a view to obtain first hand information regarding the Emperor, his court, and the source of Emperor's strength. These informations were deemed as essential for the materialization of his schemes of conquest. This view is held by Sardesai. The other view is that Shivaji was offered temptation such as the vicerealty of the Deccan and the acquisition of the island of Jinjira. Both the above-mentioned views were discussed in the Council of Ministers and finally it was agreed upon that Shivaji should pay a visit to the imperial court. On his arrival there, he was made to stand among the third rank officers. The treatment threw him into rage. He was later on imprisoned. When all possible attempts to persuade the king to allow him to return home failed, he then had recourse to his own ever-successful cunning. He feigned illness and was permitted to send two baskets full of sweetmeats to the



Brahmins and other mendicants. A few days after when the guards became slackened in their vigilance, both the father and the son escaped in the two baskets. They then disguised themselves as Hindu mendicants and proceeded towards Mathura, where Sambhaji stayed with a Brahmin and Shivaji reached his country through Eastern Bengal, Orissa and Gondwana lest he should be caught.

**Coronation (1675).** Prince Moazzam and Raja Jaswant Singh marched against Shivaji, who had by this time organized his kingdom. Circumstances helped him. Raja Jaswant Singh was friendly to him, Prince Moazzam was weak and indolent, and the Emperor was busy against the Yusuf Zais and thus Shivaji got ample time. The Emperor at the request of Raja Jaswant Singh and Prince Moazzam granted Shivaji the title of Raja and raised his son Sambhaji to the rank of 5000 with a jagir in Berar and gave him the authority to collect chouth in the Ahmednagar territories. In 1670, Shivaji attacked the Mughal territory and began to levy chouth. He ransacked the wealthy port of Surat in 1670. During this period, he captured the forts of Nondara, Purandhar and Nander. In 1675, he got himself crowned as an Emperor at Raigarh in the teeth of Muslim opposition.

**Last Years (1675-1680).** Shivaji ruled as a king for 67 years. During this period, he won many brilliant victories and extended his kingdom in the South. He conquered Jinji and Vellore. The Sultans of Bijapore and Golkanda were ever friendly to him.

**Death.** Shivaji's last days were not happy. His two sons Sambhaji and Raja Ram were quarrelling for the throne. His half-brother, Vyankoji, who had become reconciled to him, became independent. He died in 1680 after 7 days illness.

**Extent of Shivaji's Kingdom.** Shivaji's Kingdom at the time of his death consisted of the following territories :—In the east, it consisted of Baglana, Nasik and Poona which correspond to-day to Satara and Kolhapur districts. In the south, his territory extended from Belgaum to the river Tungabhadra. In the west it had the territory between Kalyan and Goa. Over and above this, he held tracts of land about Jinji, Tanjore, Bangalore, Vellore and Ballary.

**Q. 68. Sketch the character of Shivaji, giving the place he occupies in the history of India.** (P.U., B.A., Sept. 1936)

### THE CHARACTER OF SHIVAJI AND HIS PLACE IN HISTORY

**A Great Organizer.** Shivaji was certainly an extraordinary man and his claim to high rank in the pages of Indian history must be admitted. He was patient and deliberate in his plans, ardent, resolute and persevering in their execution. He could inspire enthusiasm. He was a great organizer and military genius. In fact he was 'the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced.' Aurangzeb himself admitted that his foe was 'a great captain' and added 'my armies have been employed against him for 19 years and nevertheless his state has always been increasing.'

**Religious Views.** Shivaji was a deeply religious man, but he did not try, like Akbar, to found any new religion. The influence of men like Ram Dass and others made him extremely simple in habits and humble in spirits. With all his success, his head was never turned. His private life was above reproach and his devotion to religion never made him bigoted. Khafi Khan who calls him 'a sharp son of the devil,' 'a father of fraud' testifies to his toleration and humanity in these words : "He made it a rule that wherever his followers went, plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the book of God or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect and handed it over to some of his Muslim followers. When Hindu or Mussalman women were taken prisoners by his men and they had no friends to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty."

**A Great Diplomat.** Shivaji is sometimes represented as an incarnation of successful perfidy. He occasionally resorted to duplicity and meanness and preferred deceit to open force. He resorted to these only in self-defence. Open force under the circumstances was out of question. Both he and the Mughal Emperor practised dissimulation. But the difference lay in the fact that the latter, having the power, preferred to gain his ends by crooked means, while the former, lacking the power, resorted to tortuous methods for self-defence. He was extremely frugal and economic. His character was moulded by his earnest faith and intense piety.



**Critical Note.** *Shivaji and Aurangzeb compared and contrasted.* The students are advised to draw out a comparison and a contrast between the characters of Shivaji and Aurangzeb. *Comparison:* Both were devoted to their religion, brave, skilful, undaunted in fear and perfect masters in treachery. *Contrast* (1) Aurangzeb persecuted the Hindus, (see his Anti Hindu Policy) while Shivaji showed respect for other religions and their religious books. (2) Shivaji was generous and sympathetic and was generally loved by his followers, while Aurangzeb was narrow-minded and suspicious. As Lanepoole puts it, "he could not win the hearts of the people. He could in fact command respect but not love." (3) Aurangzeb was more of a conqueror than a statesman while Shivaji was both.

**Place in History.** Shivaji is a marvel in history. He is without doubt a great historical figure of the 17th century and his greatness lies in his character, practical ability and his achievements. Sir J. N. Sarkar writes as follows:—"Before his rise, the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccan kingdoms. He welded them into a mighty nation. He achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty powers like the Mughal Empire, Bijapore, the Portuguese and the Abyssinians of Janjira. His greatest gift to posterity is that he infused new life into the Maratha race. As a patriot, as a general, and as a statesman, Shivaji stands very high among his contemporaries, and in the history of India, and in the history of the world, there are really not many, who can be placed in the same position with him." The words of Mr. Kincaid are also worth quoting:—"But a great organizer and military genius that Shivaji was, it is in far-seeing statesmanship that he stands supreme. In all history there is no such example of modesty in the face of continued success. The insolent and overweening vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders, both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind. He won victory after victory against Bijapore and the Mughals, yet his head was never turned. He realized always that he had yet to meet the full power of his countrymen. That he might do so, he sought to win the friendship of Aurangzeb. When that proved impossible, he resolved to secure a place of shelter against the coming peril, which he clearly foresaw. At last there came a time when his genius bore fruit." Mr. Jaffer remarks, "whatever his shortcomings, it is impossible to challenge his greatness. He was indeed the last constructive genius that Hindu India has produced."

**Q. 69. Give an account of Shivaji's civil, military and revenue administration.**

### SHIVAJI'S ADMINISTRATION

**Civil Administration.** Shivaji was endowed with the spirit of an enlightened despot. His administration was not a downright militarism based on plunder, with no sound policy or beneficent principle. He was an autocrat and the supreme authority in the state was concentrated in his hands. But in the actual administration he was assisted by a council of eight ministers, the Ashta Pradhana, each in charge of a separate department. The Council did not possess the characteristics of the modern cabinet and its function was purely advisory. The ministers are:—(1) The Peshwa or Prime minister, who looked after the general welfare and interests of the state. (2) The Amitya or Mojumdar or Finance Minister who acted as Accountant-General as well as the auditor. (3) The Mantri or Chronicler who kept daily record of the king's doings and court proceedings. He also acted as Palace Chamberlain. (4) The Sachiva or Home Secretary who looked into the king's correspondence by drafting and revising letters and affixing royal seals on them; he also checked the accounts of the mahals and paraganas. (5) The Sumant, or Foreign Secretary who was in charge of the king's relations with foreign powers. (6) The Senapati, or Commander-in-Chief. (7) The Pandit Rao and Danadhyaaksha or the Ecclesiastical Head, who looked after the grants of lands to the religious bodies and learned men, decided theological disputes pertaining to custom and fixed dates for ceremonials. (8) The Nayadyaksha or Chief Justice.



**Provincial and District Administration.** There were no less than 18 departments of the State in the Central Government which were placed under the charge of Ministers. The districts directly under his own rule, known as the Swaraj territory, were divided into three provinces, each under a viceroy, for effective and efficient administration. The administrative system followed in these provinces and districts was a true copy of the Central Government. These viceroys held their office during the king's pleasure and worked like him with the help of eight principal officers. All ministers of Shivaji, except the Commander-in-Chief, belonged to the Brahman caste and all of them, except the Pandit Rao and the Nyayadhyaksha, had also to discharge the function of military commanders if necessary. By not allowing these offices to become hereditary, Shivaji prevented, for some time to come, the evils which follow the growth of practically independent authorities within the State ; but after him this tendency became prominent in the later Maratha history with unwholesome results. نایب الاداری

**Administration of Justice.** The Nayayadhyaksha dealt out justice to the people according to the principles laid down by Shukracharya and Kautilya. The learned Hindu Pandits were also appointed for expounding Hindu law and for dealing with religious, criminal and astronomical matters. The Panchayat system, an institution of days of old, was used for deciding civil cases.

**Military Administration.** Himself a born military leader, Shivaji effected some important improvements in the military system. Before him, the Maratha army used to work for half the year upon their fields and the remaining half on active service much like the fyrd system of king Alfred, the Great. He was the first to introduce the practice of keeping a regular standing army. He united the Maratha chiefs and tribes in the cause of their own country. He welded the scattered Marathas into a nation thus giving rise to a third party in Deccan. To prevent decentralizing tendencies in the kingdom like Ala-ud-Din Khilji and Sher Shah Suri and Akbar before him, he abolished the jagir system, and introduced that of payment in cash to the soldiers. He introduced the system of branding horses and keeping descriptive rolls. Under him the post of a military officer was not hereditary. His army consisted of both Hindus and Mohammadans.

**A Great Disciplinarian.** There was strict discipline in the army and regulations were in force to see that the morals of the troops might not be degenerated. No soldier was enlisted in the army unless he furnished security for good behaviour. During the rains the troops were to go into cantonments. With the advent of autumn, i.e., the Dussehra, the army would set out from the camp for the country selected by the Raja. No woman, female slave or dancing girl was allowed to accompany the army; those who violated the law were beheaded. No woman or child was allowed to be taken captive. Cows were exempt from seizure, but bullocks might be taken 'for transport' only. Brahmins were not to be molested, nor taken hostage for ransom. All the booty in gold, silver, jewels and costly clothes were to be handed over to the Royal Treasury ; only the regular pays were given to the soldiers and officers. Those who misbehaved were punished. Those who did well in the campaigns were promoted. Khafi Khan writes



that all these regulations were not mere paper regulations, but were regularly and strictly enforced. *مقررہ شدہ - سرکاری - ضابطہ*

**The Forts.** He maintained a large number of forts, about 280 in number, and he repaired the important ones like Rajgarh, Torna, Partapgarh, with great skill and care. Rawlinson writes that 'the people were taught to regard the fort as their mother, and indeed it was, for thither the inhabitants of the surrounding villages resorted in time of invasion.' In short these forts were the very souls of his kingdom. Each fort had some territory attached to it. Every fort was under three officers of equal rank viz, a Maratha havaldar, whose duty was to keep the keys of the fort with him, a Brahman subedar responsible for civil and revenue administration, and the sarnobat (sabnis) for military stores, grains and fodders. These three officers were to act together and thus to serve as a check upon one another. In order to prevent treachery on the part of the officers, he provided that in each garrison there should be a mixture of castes. The environs of the fort were entrusted to men of the Parwari and Ramushi castes. *10000* *42000*

**The Strength of His Army.** Shivaji had a standing army of 42 thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry. He also organized a fighting fleet and recruited his crew from among the low caste Hindus of the Bombay coast. According to *Sabhasad Bakhar*, he had an elephant corps numbering about 1260, and a camel corps of 3000 or 1500. We have no precise knowledge of the strength of his artillery, but Mr. Orme mentions that "he had previously purchased 80 pieces of cannon and lead sufficient for two matchlocks from the French Directors at Surat." "Besides the regular forces, Shivaji could in times of emergency call the feudal forces of the Maratha watandars." *بادشاہ*

**The Cavalry.** The cavalry consisted of two classes (1) *bargirs* or soldiers supplied with pay and equipment by the state and (2) the *silahdars* who provided their own equipment and received a stipulated sum from the state for meeting the expenses of service in the field. In the cavalry the unit consisted of 24 troopers, under a *havaldar*. The state provided these 25 troopers with a water-carrier and a ferrier. Over 5 havaldars there was one *jumaldar*; and over 10 jumaldars one *hazari* who was paid 1000 huns a year; five hazaries formed a *Panjhazari* receiving 2000 huns a year; and these were under a *Sarnobat* or Commander-in-chief.

**The Infantry.** The infantry was divided into regiments, brigades and divisions. There was a similar gradation of officers in the infantry. The lowest unit was formed by 6 soldiers called privates (*paiks*) under the command of a *nayak*. Over five such *nayaks* was placed one *havaldar*, two or three of whom were under one *jumaldar*; ten *jumaldars* were under one *hazari*, and seven *hazaries* were under the command of the *Sarnobat* of the infantry.

**The Fleet.** Shivaji had increased his military strength by building a considerable number of ships stationed at Kolaba. His navy consisted of 2 squadrons of two hundred vessels each mostly under Mohammadan officers. It served a two-fold object. (1) With the help of this fleet the power and influence of the Sidi or Abyssinian Janjira could be checked. (2) He could also plunder the pirates of rich cargoes of the Mughal ships going to Mecca. His fleet was, therefore, a constant



source of nuisance and trouble to the Hajis proceeding to Mecca. His navy was 'woefully inefficient'. He also maintained a strong mercantile navy.

**Revenue Administration.** For revenue collection, Shivaji divided his kingdom into several *prants* or provinces, each of which was subdivided into *parganas* and *tarfs*, the lowest unit being the village. The *tarf* was under a *havildar* or a *karknua*, the *prant* under a *subahdar*, *karkun* or *mukhya deshadhikari*.

**Revenue Reforms.** Shivaji abolished the farming system of revenue and in place of these hereditary landlords, substituted direct arrangement with the cultivators as desired by his tutor *Dadaji*. The assessment was made after the lands had been carefully surveyed by the *Kathi* or measuring rod. At first the Marathas took 33%. Later the state share was 40%, but it was afterwards raised to 50%, when all other taxes and cesses had been abolished. The state share was settled on the expected produce of each Bigha. The revenue settlement was annual. The Central Government appointed directly the revenue officers and they were mostly Brahmans, who collected the revenue and paid it to the treasury along with the accounts. The cultivators had the option to pay either in cash or in kind. The peasants knew what they had to pay and they could pay it without any serious inconvenience. Agriculture received state encouragement; and in times of famine, grain and money for purchase of seeds, bullocks and ploughs were advanced to the ryots, who repaid the debt by easy instalments according to their means. Advances were also made to the new settlers on uncultivated lands, and the money thus advanced was realized by easy annual instalments. In spite of the adverse criticism of Fraser that the peasants were subject to the extortions and oppression at the hands of the officers, the fact remains that the system was humane and beneficent; even Grant Duff ascribes to Shivaji a "high rank in the page of history," and says that "under him the administration was conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people."

**Chouth and Sardeshmukhi.** As the hill tracts of Maharashtra did not yield land revenue up to his expectations, Shivaji often levied the *Chouth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from neighbouring and sometimes from distant districts known as *Muglai* directly or nominally within other states. He even confiscated lands given to religious institutions and substituted cash payment for them. According to Ranade, the *Chouth* was a "mere military contribution without any moral or legal obligation, but a payment in lieu of protection against the invasion of a third party," while Dr. Sen holds the opposite view. Sir J. N. Sarkar thinks it to be a payment which saved the country from unwelcome visits of the Maratha army. Further Mr. Sardesai says that it was a tribute realized from hostile or conquered territories. The *Sardeshmukhi* was an additional levy of 10% and it was demanded by Shivaji as he claimed to be the hereditary *Sardeshmukha* of the Maratha country, which was nothing but a legal fiction. The total income of the kingdom was nearly 9 crores of rupees a year.

**Q. 70. Compare the methods of warfare as adopted by the Mughals and the Marathas.**



## METHODS OF MUGHAL AND MARATHA WARFARE

**The Mughal Methods.** The long tranquillity and mild government and manners established by Akbar and his association with the Hindus first began to soften the character of the northern conquerors of India. The negligence of Jahangir's reign and the internal quiet of Shahjahan's period were respectively unfavourable to discipline and to military spirit and by the time we are speaking of both were very sensibly impaired. The luxurious habits and splendid living of the nobles had produced this inevitable effect on the common soldiery, who constantly grumbled if their demands and comforts even on the battle-fields were neglected. These were unsuited to active service as they would adorn themselves with heavy armour which would not allow them to run fast. Their horses even were loaded with chains, bells and ornaments made of gold and silver. They formed a cavalry admirably fitted to prance in a procession, and though not ill-adapted to charge in a pitched battle, was incapable of any long exertion and still less of any continuance of fatigue and hardship. There was a total relaxation of discipline. In spite of Aurangzeb's boasted vigilance, the grossest abuses had crept into the military department. Menials and slaves were allowed by the sluggishness of the officers to fill high posts and this made condition of the army department still worse. The Emperor's camp-equipage had all the pomp of peaceful times. Each nobleman endeavoured to imitate his magnificence. Even private soldiers too had their comforts attended to in their tents, and the line of march presented a long train of elephants, camels, carts and oxen, camp followers, women of all ranks, merchants, shopkeepers, servants, and all kinds of ministers of luxury, amounting to ten times the numbers of the fighting men. This was how they would go to a battle-field.

**The Maratha Methods.** The Marathas, on the contrary, despised luxurious habits. They were accustomed to the hard life of a soldier, and were content with rough fare. "An assemblage of such troops never stood the heavy charge of a body of Mughals, but dispersed at once and ran off singly to the nearest hills or broken ground. If the enemy left their ranks to pursue them, they cut off single horsemen, or rapidly assembled behind a ravine or in some other situation where it was not safe for small parties to attack them, and when the disheartened pursuers turned back with their horses exhausted, the Marathas were upon them in a moment, charged on them if there was an opening or confusion, but generally hung loosely on their flanks and near, sometimes dashing up singly to fire their matchlocks into the masses or even to despatch a straggler with their long spears." Their chief excellence, as well as their delight, was in the plunder of a convoy. The favour of the country-people gave them full information, while it kept the Mughals in darkness. The Marathas would cut off their communications and perhaps even their water supply; and at the end of a day or two, the Mughals were obliged to surrender; the men stripped of their horses and valuables and the chiefs were detained for ransom.

**Q. 71. Criticize the statement :—"Shivaji was a robber chief and his state was a robber state."**

**Smith's Views.** Smith has given expression to this feeling: "Shivaji was a robber and the state built by him was a robber state." He looked upon Shivaji as a typical Indian dacoit only with this redeeming feature that he was less barbarous due to the benign influence of Tuka Ram and Ram Das. It is further stated by him that Shivaji used to inflict innumerable miseries on thousands of innocent people, Hindus and Mohammadans alike, with a view to gain his end. Even his followers, such as the Peshwas and the other Maratha Chiefs, have done nothing substantial for the people. Smith seems to be so much prejudiced in his opinion about the Marathas in general that he remarks that "the Maratha independent rule in all its varieties until 1818 was the rule of professed robbers."

**Smith's View Criticised.** A dispassionate consideration of the aforementioned remarks upon Shivaji in particular and the Marathas



in general makes one feel that Dr. Smith has made very sweeping remarks about Shivaji and has given too much importance to his raids on the basis of which he dubs him a robber and his state a robber state.

**Shivaji a Great Organizer.** There is no denying the fact that he did begin his career as a robber chief and captured some of the surrounding forts, but with the lapse of time, he became a consummate general and an able statesman, the like of which was never produced later on by his countrymen. Like Smith the contemporary Mohammadan historians like Khafi Khan and others also called him a plunderer, and a murderer, but this description is a partial truth about his character. It is true that he sometimes resorted to raids and plunderings, but that was out of dire need for money. He is believed to have realized the truth of the maxim that necessity knows no laws. The meagre resources of his country could not satisfy his patriotic needs and therefore he was left with no other alternative. Kennedy refutes Smith's remarks by pointing out that if he had only been a successful plunderer, he could hardly have left an indelible impression on the age in which he flourished. Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks, "Before his rise, the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccan kingdoms. He welded them into one mighty nation. And he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four great powers like the Mughal Empire, Bijapore, Portuguese India and the Abyssinians of Jinjira. No other Hindu has shown such a capacity in modern times." Mr. Jaffer calls Shivaji as the last constructive Hindu genius that Hindu India has produced.

**Shivaji as a Statesman.** His state also was not a robber state. It is a fact that he followed the principle of '*safety first*' but even here he never behaved in a degrading manner. His administrative system was more effective and efficient than the Mughals. His acts of charity, justice and benevolence are too well-known to be described. The Marathas looked upon him as something super-human, who had been divinely gifted to deliver them from the Mohammadan yoke. "A devil" as Khafi Khan calls Shivaji, "could not possibly achieve all this." He was like a ray of hope for the Marathas whom he gave peace and order.

**Q. 72. Describe fully the causes of Shivaji's military and political success.**

#### THE CAUSES OF SHIVAJI'S MILITARY AND POLITICAL SUCCESS

(1) **The weakness of the Sultanates of the Deccan.** India of Shivaji was divided into two parts. The whole of the north along with a part of the Deccan was included in the vast Mughal Empire, while the rest of the peninsula was shared between the two kingdoms of Bijapore and Golkanda. But the glory of Bijapore and the wealth of Golkanda were no more. Their strength had gone and they had been weakened by the dissipation and weakness of their rulers. Strong kings gave place to voluptuaries, under whom the kingdoms went to wreck and ruin. The Sultans only cared for their own pleasures and did not care a bit whether the country was well-governed or not. So long as they had their own enjoyments, they did not care for the prosperity or well-being of their subjects. Under such merry-go-lucky princes, there was disorder



in the country and in the absence of strong government brigandage was ripe, and the country was like a ripe fruit ready to fall into the hands of one, who would but only touch. Such a state of affairs was certainly very favourable for the rise to power of the great Shivaji.

(2) **The Maratha Youth.** Another thing which contributed to the success of Shivaji's military career was the youth of the nation he led. The Marathas were a very young people, who had just known for the first time the strength of nationhood. They were a race of hardy warriors, who could wage war for weeks, subsisting only upon a handful of parched rice. These strong and cautious people had great powers of endurance. They felt that they were fighting for their lives and they had a complete faith in their leader. Thus they fought like lions.

(3) **The Nature of the Country.** Maharashtra, the land of the Marathas, was a hilly country dotted all over with forts. It was very difficult to subdue such a country, and an invader attacking it would be caged like a rat in a trap. The forts were very difficult to capture. The Marathas would defend them one by one, and if one was captured they would retire to another, and make repeated stands. This was the third cause of Shivaji's success.

(4) **The Decaying Condition of the Mughal Empire.** The fourth cause was the decaying condition of the Mughal Empire. The Empire had grown very extensive, too big in fact for a firm centralized control. It was also suffering from old age and decrepitude. The Mughal soldiers had deteriorated in character. The ruddy-faced soldiers, who had followed Babar, were now extinct. Residence in the rich hot plains of India had made them effeminate. Wealth and luxury had killed their soldierly spirit. Moreover the Deccan was too far away from Delhi to be effectively tackled. The Emperor was never able to bring his full power to crush Shivaji.

(5) **Personal Character.** The fifth and the chief cause of Shivaji's success was himself. His strong character, his great ability as a soldier, and his administrative qualities all contributed towards his success. He transformed his raw levies into well-trained armies that surpassed the Mughal forces in bravery and efficiency. Shivaji was the real founder of the Maratha nation and the founder of its military glory.

#### Genealogical Table of the descendants of Shivaji.

Sai Bai = S H I V A J I = Sorra Bai

Sambhaji I    Rajas Bai = Raja Ram = Tara Bai

Sahu I                      Karan                      Shivaji III  
also known as              known also as  
Shivaji II                      Sambhaji II

**Q. 73. Give the history of the Maratha-Mughal relations from 1680-1707 and account for the success of the former. (B.A., 1935, 1940)**

#### MARATHA-MUGHAL RELATIONS FROM 1680—1707

**Sambhaji I (1680-1689).** During 1682-1683, the first campaign under Prince Moazzam and Azam against the Marathas had ended in total failure. After the conquest of Bijapore (1686) and Golkanda



(1687), the Mughal Emperor was free to give his undivided attention to the Marathas. On the other side, Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji, though brave, was dissolute. He was the unfortunate son of a fortunate father. He was utterly destitute of his father's qualities and was indolent, reckless and tyrannical. He never availed of the opportunity, during Aurangzeb's campaign against the Deccan, to mobilize his forces against the Mughals by which he could save himself and also strengthen his position. The hoarded treasures of Shivaji were wasted by him, and to meet the financial crisis he increased the land revenue which caused much discontent. Discipline in the army became slack as the pay of the troops fell in arrears. He began to wage war against the Portuguese and the Sidies. He gave himself up to pleasure and perpetual debauchery in the company of a favourite friend, Kavi Kulesh, also known as Kalusha. While he was enjoying in a pleasure house, he was surprised by an energetic Deccan officer, Muqarrab Khan. Sambhaji, might have escaped, for some of his followers ran in with information of the Mughals but he abused them as he was then in a state of intoxication. After his arrest, he was given the option to get back his kingdom provided he embraced Islam. He expressed his willingness to do so if the Emperor accepted him as his son-in-law. This answer made the Emperor all the more angry. He, his minister and ten or twelve other persons, were executed with horrible barbarity, their tongues were torn out and many other tortures were also inflicted upon them. The head of Sambhaji was then carried from place to place in the Deccan. But he treated Sahu, his son, kindly and gave him the title of the *honest*.

**Sahu I (Shivaji II) (1689-1690).** The principal chiefs of the Maratha army assembled and declared Shivaji II, nick-named Sahu, the infant of the late unfortunate Raja, as their master assisted by Raja Ram as his regent. The fort of Raigarh in which they were putting up was surrounded by the Mughal armies. In consultation with the officials, it was resolved that Raja Ram should escape, otherwise there was no hope for the Maratha race to survive if he was captured. Shivaji was made a prisoner, brought to Delhi as a hostage and created a mansabdar of 700. Raja Ram escaped to Jinji in the disguise of a mendicant.

**Raja Ram (1690-1700).** Raja Ram, the descendant of Shivaji from this second wife, assisted by the Maratha leaders such as Santaji Ghorpera and Dhanaji Jadu, proclaimed himself the Raja on the ground of the captivity of his nephew. He re-organised the Maratha army. They began to plunder the Mughal territory and created confusion. Aurangzeb despatched Zulfiqar Khan, the son of Asad Khan, who had distinguished himself by the capture of Raigarh, to besiege Jinji in 1691. The siege went on for 7 years. Zulfiqar Khan was corrupt as well as incapable. He made some alliance with the garrison and made a show of siege operation. Kam Baksh, the youngest and the favourite son of the Emperor, opened secret negotiations which failed. He applied for reinforcement to Aurangzeb, who refused as the army under different chiefs had gone to take possession of the forts of the newly acquired territories. Both were recalled in 1664. Other generals were tried between 1695—1697, but they too were equally unsuccessful. Zulfiqar was re-sent in 1697. He took the fort of Jinji in 1698 by escalade "in order to save his credit with the Emperor"; Raja Ram escaped again



to Satara where he assembled a considerable army and resumed the struggle. In 1699, the Emperor marched in person as the mutual jealousies of the Mughal generals had spoiled the affair and Zulfiqar went over the head of another army. *The war continued for seven years. At the end, Aurangzeb had the mortification of realizing that he could not defeat, much less crush the Marathas.*

**Shivaji III, under the regency of Tara Bai.** Raja Ram died in 1700 exhausted and worn out by a long expedition. He was succeeded by his young son Karan also known as Sambhaji II from his wife Rajas Bai, who died of small-pox after a few days. His widow Tara Bai, the mother of the young Raja Shivaji III, carried on the war on behalf of her minor son. This remarkable lady rose to the call of the occasion and fought very successfully against the Mughals. She practically infused altogether a new life amongst the Marathas. This event had little effect on the war. Aurangzeb went on with his plan, and in the course of the next four or five years, he took some of the principal forts possessed by the Marathas. Many long and bloody sieges were laid and various other expedients and stratagems were employed by both the parties. At last in 1705, he fought the last battle to capture the fort of *Wakinkera*. About the same time Aurangzeb's health also broke down and after two years he died on the morning of Friday, February 21, 1707, at Burhanpore in the Deccan. The Deccan "from which he never returned was a grave of his reputation as well as his body."

**Causes of the Success of the Marathas.** To answer this question is to enumerate the causes of the political and military success of Shivaji.

**Q. 74. State the causes as to why the successors of Shivaji could not rule for long.**

*Or*

**Q. 75. State why the Maratha State built up by Shivaji did not last long.**

#### SHIVAJI'S SUCCESSORS AND THE CAUSES OF THEIR DOWNFALL

**Causes of Shivaji's downfall.** (1) The Empire of Shivaji was based on military strength like that of Ranjit Singh later on. After his death, there was none amongst his successors to keep it intact. (2) The introduction of jagir system adversely affected the Maratha Empire. Under the weak successors of Shivaji, these jagirdars began to act independently of the central authority. (3) The constant wars between the Marathas and the Mughals hastened the downfall of the Empire created by Shivaji. (4) The struggle for pelf and power amongst the chiefs of the state was another factor. (5) Lack of good leadership after the death of Shivaji. Men in power resorted more to treachery and cunning than to truthfulness and honesty. (6) The autocratic government and subsequently the coming in of feudalism after Shivaji's death.

#### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Describe Aurangzeb's relations with the Marathas. (P.U., B.A., '35)
2. 'The last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced.' Is it a correct estimate of Shivaji as a ruler? (P.U., B.A., '36 Sept.)



3. "Before his (Shivaji's) rise the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccan kingdoms. He welded them into a mighty nation. No other Hindu has shown such capacity in modern times."— (Sir J.N. Sirkar). Explain and discuss.  
(P.U., B.A., '38)

4. Describe the course of struggle between the Mughals and the Marathas from (1662-1707) and account for the success of the latter.  
(P.U., B.A., '40)

5. "Thus was the ground prepared, partly by nature, partly by the ancient history of the country, partly by the religious revival but chiefly by the long discipline in army that the country had undergone under the Muslim rule for 300 years." In view of this statement of Justice Ranade, discuss the forces that made for the rise of the Maratha power.  
(P.U., B.A., '41)

6. Criticize the statement, "Shivaji was a robber chief and his state, a robber state."—(Smith).

7. Give an account of Shivaji's career and his internal administration.

8. What were the causes of Shivaji's military and political success?

9. Write an estimate of Shivaji.

10. Show that like Haider Ali and Ranjit Singh after him, Shivaji possessed a creative genius of a very high order.

11. Was Afzal's death an act of treachery on the part of Shivaji?

[Hint. The Marathas looked upon this as an act of national liberation. To the Marathas all acts for the preservation of the cows, the Brahmins and the gods, were good. Khafi Khan and Grant Duff accuse Shivaji for this base act of treachery and murder. The later researches made by Sir J. N. Sarkar and others show that he did this act in *self-defence*. He followed the maxim of '*safety first*'. The offensive step was taken by Afzal Khan and not Shivaji. Hence it was not an act of treachery on the part of Shivaji.]



## CHAPTER X

### GENERAL QUESTIONS ON MUGHAL INDIA (1526-1707)

**Q. 76. Discuss the question of Mughal Civilization and culture under the following heads :—(a) Religion, (b) Literature, (c) Art, and (d) Social and Economic conditions. (B. A. 1934)**

#### RELIGION, LITERATURE, ART, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER THE MUGHALS

**Religious Currents during the Mughal Period in Northern India.** The 16th century, like the 15th, was an age of great religious stir, when Vaishnavism made a powerful appeal to the hearts of millions in Northern India and Bengal. The devotees of Rama and Krishna inculcated worship according to their ideas: The Krishna cult was preached mostly by Surdas, who wrote and preached in Brajabhasha. Another person Harivansha in 1585 founded the Radhabalbi sect. They worship Radha and seek to gain the favour of Krishna through her. Gokalnath in 1551 wrote the life of Krishna ('Forty-eight talks of Krishna.') The Rama cult was preached by Tulsidas who preached the worship of Rama as an incarnation of Vishnu. Besides Tulsidas there were other reformers who departed from orthodox Hinduism and founded their own sects. Their teachings bear the influence of Muslim preachers. Dadu denounced idolatry and caste, rejected the Hindu ceremonies and laid stress upon the simple faith in God. Laladasis, Dharmadasis, and Sadhus pointed out the value of repeating Ramanama and the duty of leading pure and clean lives. In Bengal, the followers of Chaitanya preached Bhakti. They held that there could be no deliverance without Bhakti. According to them, Krishna is the Supreme Soul.

**In the Deccan.** The Deccan also witnessed the rise of great religious movement in the 16th century. Eknath was one of its pioneers. He laid stress on Bhakti by virtue of which women, shudras and all others could achieve God. Tukarama was another leading saint of Maharashtra. He enjoined worship with a keen lofty heart and exhorted people to show kindness according to their powers. Another saint who had a profound influence on the lives of the Maratha people was Ramdas, the spiritual guide of Shivaji. Salvation, according to him, is to be found in Rama alone. Purity in thought and deed, unselfishness, truthfulness, forgiveness, humanity, charity, and kindness towards all are the surest passports to heavenly bliss.

**Vernacular Literature (B.A., P.U., 1936).** The first author of note is Malik Mohd. Jayasi who flourished in the reign of Sher Shah Suri. He wrote a book called the Padmavati (the story of Padmavati). With the accession of Akbar to the Mughal throne, the history of Hindi literature entered upon a new epoch. During his time his tolerant spirit furthered the cause of Hindi. People like Mirza Abdur Rahim composed verses in Hindi and also appreciated the works of Hindi poets. Amongst the courtiers of Akbar, Todar Mal, Raja Bhagwandas, Mansingh and Birbal wrote verses in Hindi. Birbal even won the title of *Kaviraja*. Other poets who flourished in the reign of Akbar were Karn and Nav Hari Sahai. Much of the poetry produced in the days of Akbar was religious. Surdas, the follower of the Krishna cult, flourished during this time. Other writers were Nanda Dass, Parmanand Dass and Kumbhav Dass. Raskhan, another well-known Hindi poet, was a disciple of Vithalnath and a worshipper of Krishna. The *Ramacharitmanas* of Tulsidas, who popularized the Rama cult, was also composed in this



period. Works were also written by Nabhaji, Keshav Dass and his pupils, Sundar, Senapati and Tripathi, who flourished in the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Sundar was a Brahman of Gwalior. He got the title of *Kaviraja* and *Mahakaviraja* from Shahjahan. Another poet was Bhushan Tripathi. He was a pro-Hindu poet. His patrons were Shivaji and Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela. Other poets were Matiram Tripathi, Devakavi of Etawah and Behari Lal Chaube whose patron was Mirza Raja Jaisingh. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Hindi poetry began to decline. The era of great poets came to a close. The disintegration that set in the Empire had a disastrous effect on the arts and Hindi literature. Much of Urdu poetry was not written during this period in the north. Urdu flourished in the Deccan in the kingdoms of Bijapore and Golkanda. Wali of Aurangabad was a celebrated Deccan poet of this time. His poetry aroused great interest at the Mughal capital and laid the foundation of Urdu poetry. Several poets wrote in imitation of his work. The most important of them are Hatim (1699-1792). Khan Arzu (1689-1756), Abru and Mazhar (1698-1781). These people have been called the fathers of Urdu poetry in the north.

(P.U., B.A., 1938)

**Mughal Architecture.** The Mughals were great builders. The buildings which they erected in all parts of the country bear testimony to their magnificent taste. During the days of Akbar and later on in the times of his successors, Indian architecture and painting became essentially Indian in character. There are certain historians like Fergusson who believe that the Mughal style of architecture was foreign in origin. This theory of Fergusson has been criticized by Havell, who maintains that India had a particular power of absorbing foreign elements. The art and culture of foreign countries did influence the art of India, but it cannot be said that the inspiration of Indian master builders was wholly foreign. Under the Mughals there was a good deal of fusion of cultures. According to Marshal in a country like India it cannot be said that architecture ever conformed to a single universal type. Much depended on the personal tastes of the emperors. After Babar the Persian style was followed by Humayun and Akbar.

**Before Akbar.** Babar did not feel satisfied with the buildings at Delhi and Agra. He had a very poor opinion of Indian art and skill and imported pupils of Sinan, the famous architect of Constantinople to construct his buildings. Out of all the buildings that Babar built only two have survived. Humayun, his successor, on account of anxiety and trouble, found little time to indulge in his artistic fancy. There is only one building at present found at Fatehabad in the Hissar District decorated according to the Persian style. The Surs, who snatched power from Humayun's feeble hands, were great builders. They have left us some of the finest specimens of mediæval architecture. The two most remarkable buildings of Sher Shah's time, the Purana Qila near Delhi and his own tomb at Sahasram, reflect Persian influence.

**Under Akbar.** Akbar took a keen interest in buildings and kept control over the price of building materials, the wages of craftsmen and collected data for forming proper estimates. During his reign the Persian and Hindu influences had their full play in architecture. The earliest building of Akbar's reign was the tomb of Humayun. This tomb is



more Persian than Indian in design. Akbar built his palace at Fatehpur Sikri and in this building we have the influence of Hindu art. But most characteristic of Akbar's buildings is the tomb at Sikandra. The tomb is built after the model of Buddhists. A close study of Akbar's buildings justifies Abul Fazal's observation that "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garments of stone and clay."

**Under Jahangir.** Jahangir's tastes were different from those of his father. He showed a greater love for painting than for architecture and did not care even to complete the tomb of his father by giving it a dome. But the gifted Empress Nur Jahan made up to some extent the neglect on her husband's part. She built a tomb known as *Itmadul-Daulah* in the memory of her father. It is wholly built of marble. The beauty about this tomb is the inlay of precious stones of different colours in a most delicate manner. Some writers are of opinion that this was introduced in India by the Florentines, but there is no evidence to support this view. Another building is the tomb of Jahangir on the bank of the Ravi built by Nur Jahan.

**Under Shahjahan.** The most magnificent builder among the Mughals was Shahjahan. He carried the decorative architecture to perfection, and made an extensive use of different colours which characterized the buildings of Nur Jahan. The arts of the jeweller and the painter were successfully blended into unity.

**Decline under Aurangzeb.** With Shahjahan's death art declined, for his successor Aurangzeb was a puritan, who had neither the will nor the money to patronize art. The only notable building, which is regarded as the latest specimen of the Mughal style of architecture, is the Badshahi Mosque (1674) at Lahore. The Sultans of Bijapore and Golkanda were also men of fine taste. Their buildings are a mixture of Hindu and Mohammadan styles, and are most elegant and richly decorated.

**Social Life.** The history of India is essentially a history of the kings, their wars, their conquests and not of the people. Muslim historians wrote nothing about the people as they attached no importance to them. Abul Fazal and a European traveller have referred to the social and economic conditions of the people. Society in the Mughal times was organized on the feudal basis with the king as the highest officer of the state. The court of the king was the centre of wealth and culture. The Mughal nobles in imitation of the king and their patrons led an extravagant and luxurious life. Drink was a common evil confined only to the upper classes and a good many persons died of intemperance. All the Mughal Emperors with the sole exception of Aurangzeb indulged in liquors. The harems were a common feature of the time and from the king down to the nobles, everybody maintained a large number of women and dancing girls. Dinners were sumptuous and dainty dishes were provided as is written by Sir Thomas Roe. Meat was a common article of food. Fresh fruits were brought from Bokhara and Samarkand and ice was also used. It is said that in the summer season all the ranks used it, but the nobles used it throughout the year. The magnificence of the court compelled the use of costly dress and jewellery. There were various kinds of sports and



amusements in which the nobles took part. Gambling was not unknown to the people. The houses were palatial to look at and very nicely decorated. No officer or noble man was permitted to take his accumulated wealth out of the country to his home in Persia or elsewhere.

**Middle Class People.** The life of middle class people was free from show. The lesser officials of the court lived according to the standard which was determined by the nature of the work they had to do. On the whole, as Mr. Moreland suggests, the life these people led was tolerably comfortable. The merchants used either to conceal their wealth or to lead highly frugal lives lest they be deprived of their wealth by the local governor or Faujdar. Terry and Bernier support this statement. The merchants living on the west coast of India maintained, however, a higher standard of life.

**Lower Classes.** Their life was harder than that of the other class. Their clothing was scanty. Woollen garments were not used and even shoes were scarcely used. Under normal conditions there was no starvation. During the days of Akbar the peasantry led a comfortable life as the state demand was fixed and the attitude of the king was benevolent. Sati and child marriage prevailed among the Hindus. Jewellery and metallic ornaments were used both by the Hindus and the Mohammadans. There was no scheme of popular education. Restrictions against liquor, opium and other drugs were not rigorously enforced.

**Opinions of Foreigners.** The nobles were well up and their luxury was beyond description as was that of the Court. According to DeLeat the chief concern of every man's life was to secure a surfeit of every kind of pleasure. Below the nobles was a small middle class, but their condition was not very prosperous. The lot of the lower classes was really hard. According to Sir Thomas Roe they were not in affluent circumstances. From an account of another foreigner we learn that there were three classes of people whose status was little removed from slavery. These were the workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers. The workmen were not paid adequate wages. Their services were not voluntary. They were seized by force and made to work in the houses of the nobles or officers who paid them what they liked. They were given only one meal a day and this consisted mainly of *Khichri*. i. e., rice mixed with pulse with a little butter. Their houses were built of mud with thatched roofs and scarcely with any furniture in them. The number of servants was large because the wages were low. Honesty was rare among them, and they demanded *dustur* to supplement their wages. The shopkeepers had to suffer much loss as they had to supply articles to the king and his officers at less than the market rates. Hindus were clever businessmen and the Muslims practised all crafts except dyeing and weaving. The Ganges was considered to be sacred and the pilgrims used to have a dip in the Ganges. Child marriage was prevalent among the Hindus. Belief in astrology was common to both the Hindus as well as Muslims. The Brahmans had much influence with the latter, who never undertook a journey without enquiring about the auspicious date and hour. The Muslims worshipped the Pirs and Prophets and on the occasion of 'Id cows were not sacrificed. There was a great deal of hatred between the Shias and the Sunnis. In the



earlier part of Shahjahan's reign there was peace and plenty, but afterwards at the close the condition of the people became worse. Beggary was prevalent among them. Tavernier praises the Hindus as a thrifty, sober and honest people and says, "Hindus are morally well, when married they are rarely unfaithful to their wives. Adultery is rare among them and one never hears of unnatural crimes." During the reign of Aurangzeb the condition of the people steadily declined. The bankers of the country were honest. Even strangers deposited with them lakhs of rupees without documents and the money when demanded was returned at once.

**Under Aurangzeb.** The society had, however, greatly deteriorated under Aurangzeb. The Mughal nobility had lost its moral stamina. Both the Hindus and the Muslims believed in astrology and worshipped fakirs and saints. Human beings were sacrificed to please the gods. Slavery still existed; slaves were freely bought and sold. The standard of public morality was not high and the lesser officials accepted bribes without shame or scruple. The mosques even were not free from vices. In short, society in the north of India in 1707 was in the process of dissolution and it could not withstand the invasion of the Persians and the Marathas.

**Economic Condition.** Baber has given a description of the people of India in his *Memoirs*, but it is far from accurate. There is a passing mention in *Humayunnama* of the cheap prices that prevailed in Hindustan and we are told that at Amarkot four goats could be had for one rupee. Sher Shah during his reign abolished the old mediæval currency, and issued copper coin called the *dam*. The *dam* varied in weight between 211 and 322 grains. He abolished all internal customs and levied duties only at the frontier and the place of sale within the empire. After Sher Shah's death great changes took place in the economic condition of the people. We get some idea of these in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal. The *dam*, *prisa* or *fulus* was continued. It was a copper coin which weighed 5 *tankas* or 1 tola, 8 mashas and 7 surkhs and was the 40th part of the rupee. A rupee of silver was 11½ mashas in weight and was first introduced by Sher Shah. The *dam* was the coin generally used by the people and the revenue of the empire down to the days of Aurangzeb was calculated in *dams*. The wages were low. An unskilled labourer usually earned 2 *dams* or  $\frac{1}{20}$ th part of a rupee whereas a highly skilled labourer was paid 7 *dams* or about 3 annas a day in modern currency. In spite of low wages the workman had more to eat than he has now and was happier than his compatriot of today because the prices were very low. Abul Fazal has given an exhaustive list of prices which is too long to be reproduced here. The vegetables were very cheap and so were the living animals. A Hindustani and a Kashmiri sheep could be had for Re. 1-8 each and a cow in a province of Delhi for Rs. 10. Mutton was sold at 65 *dams* per *man*. Akbar's *man* was equal to 54½ pounds or nearly two-third of the present *man* of 82 pounds. The modern *seer* is a little more than two pounds in weight, whereas the *seer* of Akbar was slightly more than two-third of two pounds. The value of the rupee in English money was 2s. 3d. generally. From these prices it is clear that in the capital and its neighbourhood, a rupee could purchase ten times more grain than it did in the pre-war days in northern India.



**Views of Smith and Moreland.** Mr. Moreland and Dr. Vincent Smith admit that the ordinary labourer in Akbar's day had more to eat than he has now and was happier than his compatriot of to-day. There was not much alteration in the currency after Akbar's death. The rupee contained 175 grains of silver and was equal to 2s. 2d. or 2s. 3d. in English money. The rupee was worth 40 dams up to 1616 and from 1627 onwards its value was 30 dams or a little more or less. There were rupees of several denominations and weights, but the *chalani* (current) was accepted as the standard coin. The *man* was still equal to 40 seers, but the seers differed in weight under Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.

**Famines and Epidemics.** Famines were more frequent than they are now, and caused much suffering to the population. In 1555-56 a famine broke out in the neighbourhood of Agra and Biyana and in 1575 and 1574 in Gujrat where it was followed by a pestilence. Prices rose very high and the people suffered much. There was a famine again which lasted four years from 1595 till 1598. Epidemics and floods added to the misery of the people. Akbar was the first ruler to start relief measures in famine-stricken areas, and an officer was appointed by him for this purpose. But the succour afforded by the state was hardly commensurate with the widespread misery that prevailed in the country. Again in 1616, a terrible epidemic called *waba* (bubonic plague) broke out in northern India and swept away large numbers of men. In 1630, during the reign of Shahjahan, a terrible famine broke out in Central India. The effect of the famine on trade was disastrous. Indigo became scarce and the price of the cotton cloth went up and that of gold and other imports fell. Roads were infested with robbers and it was difficult to send goods from one place to another. From 1635 to 1643 famine raged in different parts of India intermittently, and scarcity was felt by the people. But in 1645-46 there was an intense famine in the southern section of the Coromandal coast. The rains failed again in 1646 and great misery prevailed on the Madras coast. In 1650 the Surat factors reported deficiency of rain in all parts of India and the consequent rise in prices. Again in 1658 the prices of provisions doubled in Surat and a large number of men were swept away by famine and disease. Distress in Sind was also very acute. A year later scarcity was again felt in the Deccan and in Gujrat where prices rose very high in 1660 while Sind was still in the throes of a dire famine. No serious famine broke out during Aurangzeb's reign, but his perpetual wars caused much distress and resulted in the bankruptcy of his government and the impoverishment of the people. Cultivation was neglected, industries died out and thousands of men were reduced to a state of destitution and misery.

**Trade Manufacture and Agriculture.** The state encouraged its *karkhanas* where valuable kinds of stuff were prepared. The imperial workshops at Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur and Ahmedabad turned out excellent work. The result of this was improvement in taste and the high quality of production. Cloth was also manufactured privately, as for instance, shawls at Lahore, carpets at Fatehpur Sikri, and cotton cloth in Gujrat at Burhampur, and Dacca was famous for its delicate fabrics. India imported articles of luxury from foreign countries such as porcelain of high quality from China. The custom duties were not high and this afforded a great encouragement to foreign traders. But merchants were forbidden to carry bullion out of the country. The principal exports of India were Indigo and wool. Akbar did much to encourage cultivation and under the direction of Raja Todar Mal much



waste land was reclaimed. Tobacco was introduced either late in 1604 or early in 1605. The karkhanas continued to function down to the days of Aurangzeb. In the 17th century Bernier saw many of them in which artisans of all kinds worked for the state. The governors of the provinces patronized local products as they had to supply the Emperor with the choicest articles produced in their areas, but at the capital, says Bernier, the artisans and manufacturers were not treated well. The only artisans or artists, who attained to eminence were those who were in the pay of the Emperor or some wealthy nobleman.

**Its Decline.** The bankruptcy and decline of the administration during Aurangzeb's reign spelled the ruin of arts and crafts, and agriculture. The peasants were no doubt more prosperous than other classes of the population, but they suffered most from the chronic wars and military marches, which did a great injury to the crops. Public peace and security of highways are necessary for trade, but these were disturbed by wars and rebellions. In the Deccan the depression in trade was more severe, village industries died out altogether, and the industrial classes suffered miserably. Bernier dwells at length upon the decline of arts and crafts and the unsettled condition of the country, which was inimical to all trade and commerce. Prof. J.N. Sarkar rightly observes, "Thus ensued a great economic impoverishment of India—not only a decrease of the 'National Stock', but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilization, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country."

**Q. 77. What were the causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire and how far was Aurangzeb responsible for it ?**

#### CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND AURANGZEB'S SHARE

**Internal Causes.** (1) Aurangzeb's fanatic policy towards the Hindus in the shape of demolishing their temples and the imposition of *Jezya* coupled with his maltreatment of the Rajputs and the Marathas turned them into his deadliest foes. His haughty attitude towards Shivaji when he paid a visit to Agra after the treaty of Purandar made Shivaji all the more against him. Mr. Lanepoole remarks : "His mistaken policy towards Shivaji provided the foundation of a power that was to prove a successful rival to his own Empire." (2) Aurangzeb's long absence in the Deccan for over 26 years (1681-1707) practically left the north without a master. The long campaigns in the south had further weakened the army which, in the words of Sarkar and Elphinstone, had ceased to be efficient. (3) His impolicy in destroying the Shia Kingdoms of the south with a view to gratify his Sunni fanaticism. Elphinstone remarks : "This destruction of the Shia kingdoms left the field open for the Marathas and provided them material with which they were able to fight Aurangzeb successfully." (4) His continued mistrust of his officers and generals. His suspicious nature led to the vicious system of joint commands which would unnecessarily lead to long sieges. (5) His over-centralization of power sapped the foundation of the Government. It is physically impossible for one man to rule such a vast empire efficiently. (6) Aurangzeb's foolish will in dividing the Empire between his four sons aggravated matters still further and his successors were never sure of their succession. Under the rigid paternal control, the sons lost all initiative and capacity for government. (7) The mansabdari system proved disruptive in its effects. The luxury, corruption and oppression of the state seemed to have been a permanent defect in the administration. William Norris says that in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign, the treasury was empty, wars ceaseless, the army was irretrievably disorganized and the officers especially of the army were



discontented and even disloyal. (8) "There were great ministers and generals, but the mass of the people were human sheep."—*Bernier*. No empire can endure long which does not contain self-respecting, liberty-loving, mutually tolerant, and progressive people, and Mughal India did not contain such people. (6) Another cause which was eating like a canker into the roots of the Mughal Empire was the miserable economic condition of the people. It is said that just at the death of Aurangzeb national bankruptcy had started.

**External Causes.** (1) The most potent external cause was the repeated assaults delivered by the Rajputs, Sikhs, the Jats and Shivaji who were the joint underminers of the Mughal Empire. The blow struck by the Marathas shattered the imperial prestige, demoralized the Mughal army, and emboldened the enemies of the Empire throughout India and this brought to dust the mighty fabric of the Mughal Empire. (2) Neglect of sea-power. (3) The Advent of the Europeans. (4) The prostrated Mughal Empire was further weakened, nay practically ruined, by the invasion of Nadir Shah Durrani and Ahmad Shah Abdali. To sum up "The Mughal state owes its decline and ultimate downfall," says an authority, "to a combination of causes of which perhaps the most important were the uncontrolled domination of a selfish and extravagant bureaucracy and an inequitable economic system which steadily impoverished the revenue producing classes of the population. These two evils in combination with religious persecution, engendered conditions which prevented the empire from successfully resisting the attacks of external forces and rendered it an easy prey to internal treachery."

**Q. 78. Give an account of the Mughal legacies in India.**

### MUGHAL LEGACIES IN INDIA

(1) **System of Administration.** The first thing that India got from the Mughals is their *system of administration*. Some features of that administration are still to be met with in India. (i) The land revenue system, the division of the country into *Subas* and *Sarkars* and the collection of revenue both in kind and in cash, were distinct improvement upon the old state of things. (ii) All the twenty subahs of the Mughals were governed by means of exactly the same administrative machinery with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Officials were frequently transferred from one province to another, thus realizing the imperial oneness of the whole of India. Persian was the common language used in the official records. (2) **Articles of Luxury, Fine Arts, Architecture and Gardening.** The Muslim influence was greatly felt on the articles of luxury, fine arts, architecture and gardening. The Muslims, leading generally a more luxurious life than the Hindus, encouraged several manufactures and fine arts. New articles of food and new styles of cookery were introduced. Indo-Muslim art sprang up in which the mediæval Hindu and Chinese schools were blended together. A new style of architecture was introduced and industries of a refined kind, shawl making, kinkhab, muslin, carpets, etc., were promoted. Paper was also introduced by Mohammadans. Painting received a new impetus under them, and literature made great progress. It was only in the reign of Aurangzeb that these things were discouraged, but they could not be blotted out. (3) **Growth of Vernacular Literature.** The Mughals gave a feeling of security, which in its turn brought leisure and a passion for the working of the mind. There was sudden growth of literature in all provinces. The Bhakti movement started in Bengal received a new impulse as did the monotheistic movement of the Sikhs in the Punjab. The writers in Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi and Marathi, the principal vernaculars of India, produced many thoughtful works. Kavi Ram Dass and Ram Prasad in Bengal, Tulsi Dass in Hindustan, Tuka Ram in Maharashtra, Sur Das in Agra are still considered as writers of great eminence, and their works are read and appreciated by the people of India and foreign countries. (4) **Uniformity of Social**



**Manners and Dress.** A kind of uniformity of social manners and dress, irrespective of creed, was started among the upper classes; and along with that a common *lingua franca*, called Hindustani or Urdu and an official prose style. (5) **Touch with the Outer World.** Touch with the outer world was restored and Indian navy and sea-borne trade were revived. The contact between India and other Asiatic countries had been established in the early Buddhistic age, but had been lost when the new Hinduism was recognized in the 18th century. Renewal of this contact promoted Indian industry and trade. (6) **Centralized system of Government.** A centralized system of government gave internal peace and order over a large part of India, especially in the north of the Vindhyas. (7) **Improvements in the Arts of War.** Improvements in the arts of war, and the introduction of gunpowder which claimed superiority over the old methods of the Hindus and their elephants. (8) **Historical Literature sprang up.** The Mughal Emperors patronized learning and it is to their liberal encouragement that India owed a good collection of historical literature. The prominent historians of the period were Farishta and Abul Fazal, both of whom lived in Akbar's time. Another Muslim historian, Khafi Khan, lived in Aurangzeb's time and has written a valuable history of that age. (9) **Revival of Monotheistic Religions and Sufism.** In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the Mohammadan ascendancy in Hindustan rising from Mahmud's raids and falling rapidly into the weak hands of Aurangzeb's successors, left a few traces of its long domination, as Mr. Lanepoole remarks, "A new vernacular, compounded of the languages of the Shahnama and the Ramayana, a multitude of exquisite monuments of the Muslim faith, inspired by analogies in far western lands of Islam, but modified and if one may say so, sensualized by the grosser architecture of India; a few provinces still owning Mohammadan rulers; a large Muslim minority content to dwell among 'infidels' and to obey the behests of the Christians from the distant islands of the West—such are the chief legacies of Islam to India."

**Q. 79. In what way and to what extent did religious considerations effect politics during the Mughal period?**

#### EFFECTS OF RELIGIOUS CONSIDERATIONS OF THE POLITICS UNDER THE MUGHALS

**Two Schools of Thought.** Religion has played a very important part in the history of the world. It was in the forefront during the Mughal period of Indian History and affected the whole trend of politics. There were two schools of thought, one of Akbar and the other of Aurangzeb.

**Akbar's Views.** Akbar was a man of extremely liberal views as regards religion. His grandfather and father, Babar and Humayun, were both above religious prejudices. He looked to the inner and not to the outer aspect of it. He recognized that religions were only paths to God and not fundamentals for the worship of God. He looked upon Hinduism, Mohammadanism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism with the same eye. He did not give preferential treatment to any one of them, but treated them alike. A born Muslim, he married Hindu princesses, observed Hindu rites, and worshipped the sun. He employed Hindus in some of the highest offices of the state. Rajas Bhagwan Dass, Man Singh, Todarmal and Birbal, were among his greatest friends, and most loved and respected by him. He understood well, that the greatest security for his Empire was to be founded in the hearts of his subjects, whether Hindus or Muslims. He did not want to be the king of the Muslim minority only, but the king of Hindustan, Hindus and Muslims alike. He abolished the obnoxious taxes imposed upon the Hindus, like the Poll Tax and the *Jezya*. He was amply rewarded for this attitude. The Rajputs fought his battles and formed the strongest supporters of his Empire. Jahangir and Shahjahan, Akbar's successors, followed his august footsteps in treating Hindus and Muslims alike.



**Aurangzeb's Views.** A change came in the time of Aurangzeb. He was a religious bigot, and opposed to all religious heresy, whether Hindus or Shiah. His re-imposed the *Jezya*. The Brahman seminaries were forcibly closed. Hindu temples were pulled down, and mosques were built in their places. Hindu preachers were punished, and Hindu religious practices were proscribed. "All Hindus were forbidden to carry arms or ride on elephants, *palkis* or Arab or Persian horses."

**Its Effects on Politics.** It was but natural that the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzeb should provoke discontent, and rebellion among the vast bulk of his Hindu subjects. The jats of the Mathura district, infuriated by the destruction of the splendid temple of Kesar Raja, rose in revolt and gave the imperial forces much trouble for years. In March, 1672, the Satnamies revolted near Narnaul, and it taxed the imperial power seriously to exterminate these 5000 stubborn peasants fighting for their faith and home. In 1676, the Rajputs broke out in open rebellion and these magnificent soldiers which were the pillars of the Empire under Akbar, became its deadliest enemies for ever afterwards. The same religious bigotry urged Aurangzeb to wage war against the Shia kingdoms of the south. He could not rest while heresy, according to him, was rampant in the land. It was again his religious bigotry that led to the war of extermination with the Marathas. Religion was both the making and destruction of the Mughal Empire.

**Q. 80. Trace the rise of Sikhism up to the death of Guru Gobind Singh.**

Or

**Q. 81. Give an account of Mughal-Sikh relations from (1526-1707).**

### SIKHISM TO THE DEATH OF GURU GOBIND SINGH

Or

#### MUGHAL SIKH RELATIONS (1526-1707)

##### GENEALOGICAL TABLE

Guru Nanak (1469—1538)

Guru Angad (1538—52)

Amar Das (1552—74)

Ram Dass (1574—81)

Arjan Dav  
(1581—1606)

Prithvi Chand  
(worldly man)

Mahavir  
(became a Faqir)

Hargobind (1606—44)

Gurditta  
(Predeceased his father)

Teg Bahadur (1664—75)

Har Rai  
(1644—61)

Gobind Singh  
(1675—1708)

Ram Rai  
(was sent to Aurangzeb's Court and by his behaviour he displeased his father who disinherited him)

Har Krisban  
(1661—64)  
(died of small pox)



**The Sikhs and Guru Nanak (1469—1538).** The Sikhs or disciples originally were a pious sect of the Hindus. The sect was founded by Guru Nanak about the end of the 15th century. He was born in the village of Talwandi. His father's name was Kalu. He was naturally of a pious disposition and of reflecting mind. He travelled far and wide but ultimately settled at Kartarpur. His mission in life was the purification of Hindu religion, the reformation of society and to live virtuously. He was a bridge between Hinduism and Islam. His movement was not confined to any one place but like a great ocean the wave spread to the three corners of the peninsula. The themes of his teachings were the existence of the omnipresent and omnipotent God, and the transitoriness of the world. He exhorted men to give up hypocrisy, worldly attachment and falsehood. Edwin Carpenter remarks that Guru Nanak's work was most definite in its practical results. He died at the age of 70, leaving behind him many zealous disciples.

**Guru Angad (1538—52).** He succeeded Nanak but little is related about his ministry. He invented the Gurmukhi alphabet. He bestowed his apostolic blessings upon Amar Dass, finding that none of his sons was a worthy successor.

**Guru Amar Das (1552—74).** He was an active preacher. He succeeded in obtaining converts mostly from the Jats. He denounced the inhuman practice of *Sati*. The tolerant Akbar heard him with great zeal and patience. He divided his spiritual jurisdiction into dioceses over each of whom he placed a pious Sikh.

**Guru Ram Das (1574—1581).** The fourth Guru was Ram Das, the son-in-law of Guru Amar Das. He is also said to have been held in esteem by Akbar and was granted the site of the tank and Golden Temple at Amritsar, which became the headquarters of the Sikh faith. During the time of the first four Gurus, the Sikhs lived in peace and led a purely holy life. They had no thought of military organization or political power.

**Guru Arjun (1581—1606).** He was the first man who understood clearly the vital importance of the teachings of Nanak. He made Amritsar the proper seat of his followers for propagating the Sikh religion. He arranged the various writings of his predecessors and by adding verses of other reformers he completed the *Adi Granth Sahib* known as the Bible of the Sikhs. He combined business with spiritual guidance and acquired wealth from the offerings of his faithful followers. He is said to have helped Prince Khusru in his revolt and was fined by Jahangir. On his refusal to pay the fine he was put to death in 1606. Some say that Diwan Chandu Shah of Lahore desired to give his daughter in marriage to his son. He refused. Diwan Chandu Shah thus became his enemy and brought about his death. This execution roused the zeal of the Sikhs who were trained to the use of arms by Guru Hargobind. They soon developed into a military race.

**Hargobind (1606—1645).** By rigorous training he turned an originally peaceful sect of the Sikhs into a fierce military order. It is under the apostleship of this Guru that the meek and inoffensive Sikhs were transformed into a military organization. Consequently he became a military leader as well as a spiritual teacher. He remained in prison



at Gwalior for twelve years during Jahangir's reign, but after his death he continued to fight with the officers of Shahjahan. The Sikhs greatly increased in number. This fixed policy of Guru Arjun and the armed system of his son had already formed them into a kind of a separate state within the Empire.

**Har Rai (1645—1661).** Har Rai incurred Aurangzeb's anger by inter-meddling in political affairs by supporting Dara. He was set aside because of his disputed legitimacy. He died at Kartarpore in 1661.

**Har Krishan (1661—1664).** Har Krishan remained in office for 37 years. His brother Ram Rai, the son of a maid, contested the succession, but when the matter was referred to Aurangzeb, he allowed the Sikhs to elect their own Guru, who elected Har Krishan. He died of small-pox at Delhi in 1664. His ministry was uneventful.

**Teg Bahadur (1664—1675).** He was represented as a rebel at the imperial court and was put to death in 1675 as he refused to embrace Islam. He was the first Guru who gave the Sikhs a distinct political existence and established the Khalsa or the government. He was misrepresented by Ram Rai, summoned to Delhi and escaped punishment by the intercession of Raja Ram Singh with whom the Guru then proceeded to Bengal. He stopped at Patna on the return of the expedition from Assam. Guru Govind Singh was born here.

**Guru Govind Singh (1675—1708).** Guru Govind Singh, born at Patna, succeeded his father at the age of 15. He then settled at Anandpore where he remained for about 15 years. He was the real organizer of the Sikh military power. The execution of his father made a deep impression on him and while brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became an irreconcilable foe of the existing government. He resolved upon awakening his followers to a new life. He was a capable organizer and transformed the Sikhs into a military commonwealth. His design was to found a kingdom upon the waning glories of Aurangzeb's dominion. He gave the Sikhs certain rules of life known as the *five K's*—(1) *Kara* (iron bangle), (2) *Kangha* (comb), (3) *Kirpan* (dagger), (4) *Kachh* (short drawers), (5) *Kes* (uncut hair) and formed them into a common brotherhood so that the Sikhs were called the Khalsa or the Free. He abolished the caste distinctions and declared that the lowest in the Sikh society was on a footing of equality with the highest. He prohibited the use of tobacco, liquor and other intoxicants. He also preached monotheism. So the Sikhs began to fight against their oppressors. The Guru's funds ran out, his children fell into enemies' hands, two of them were bricked alive at Sirhind. But he was one of those, who tried to face the buffets of nature, caprices of fortune and all the inscrutable vicissitudes of life without perturbation and to face even the most adverse fate. After Aurangzeb's death, his son Bahadur Shah I treated him with respect. The Guru accompanied him in his Deccan campaign against his brother, but he was murdered when asleep at Nander in the Deccan by a Pathan youth, whose father had been killed by him in a private quarrel.

**Political Effects of Govind's Career.** Govind Singh, a truly great man of India, saved the Hindus, when they were quite helpless and defenceless, revived their martial spirit and saved the Sikh community



from an hereditary theocracy by declaring the Granth Sahib and the *Panth* as the final authority in all matters. Politically, the effects of his efforts were considerable. K. M. Pannikar writes :—"The Mughal authority in the vital province of the Panjab was completely shattered at the time of Aurangzeb's death. The military tradition of the Khalsa which he emphasized and perfected, practically eradicated the vestige of Muslim authority in the 150 years that followed his death. The Panjab, which had for 700 years been entirely under Muslim occupation, again became a Hindu province under the successors of Govind and undoubtedly what made this possible was the strength, solidarity and the national ideals which Govind gave to the Hindus in general and his own Sikh community in particular."

**Banda Bairagi (1670-1716).** After Govind's death, the Guruship came to rest in the holy Granth and the Khalsa community. After him the leadership was assumed by his chosen disciple Banda Bairagi in 1708. He was originally a Rajput of the Dogra tribe. He was born in 1670 at Rajauri and his real name was Lachhman Das. He had become a sadhu and was living on the banks of the river Godavari. Guru Govind Singh exhorted him to take up his work. He had Rajput impetuosity, boldness and resolution, and was of relentless disposition. His special mission was to wreak a signal vengeance upon Wazir Khan, the Commander of Sirhind, who had executed Guru Govind Singh's sons. The Sikhs were again united by him. They overran the Panjab and razed Sirhind to the ground perpetrating great atrocities and thus took terrible revenge with appalling ferocity. But he was betrayed by some of the Sikhs and was executed with great barbarity by the Mohammdans. After him the Sikhs were hunted down like wild beasts and were crushed for the time-being. On the fall of the Mughals they gradually raised their head under Ranjit Singh and became the rulers of the Panjab.

**Q. 82. Describe the machinery of justice in Mughal India.**

(P.U., B.A., 1935)

#### MACHINERY OF JUSTICE UNDER THE MUGHALS

**Mughal Emperors as Fountains of Justice.** The Mughal Emperors of India prided themselves on their love of equity, and regarded the administration of justice as an important duty which the sovereign could not afford to neglect. According to Akbar, the divine element in monarchy was the fountain of all justice, and following the immemorial eastern tradition, he himself tried cases in open court on a fixed day. He was the 'highest court of appeal and sometimes acted as the court of first instance too.' The Mir Arz had to be present at the palace continuously. Once in the time of Akbar as many as seven Mir Arz were appointed, with Abdur Rahim as the head Mir Arz, owing to the pressure of work. The emperors were lovers of justice. "If I were guilty of an unjust act," said Akbar, "I would rise in judgement against myself." Peruschi writes on the authority of Monserrate that "as to the administration of justice he is most zealous and watchful. In inflicting punishment he is deliberate, and after he has made over the guilty person to the hands of the judge and court to suffer either the extreme penalty or the mutilation of some limb, he requires that he should be three times reminded by messages before the sentence is carried out."



Access to the Emperor's court through all kinds of obstructions from the porters and underlings, courtiers and other middlemen, was not very easy. The emperors emphasized speedy justice and punishment of defaulting officers and there was nothing like an Administration Law to set the official on a higher footing than the common people.

**The Judicial Officers.** The **Sadar-i-Sudur** or the Chief Sadr looked into the cases arising out of the endowments of land made by the emperor or prince for the support of pious men, scholars and monks. He was also the emperor's almoner and disbursed the sums ear-marked by him for charitable purposes. Below him there was a Sadr in each province. The **Qazi-ul-Quzat** was the highest judicial officer of the kingdom and he was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. There was "no system, no organization of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them." Cases were mainly tried and disposed of by (1) the **Qazi**, (2) the **Mufti**, and (3) the **Mir Adil**. The Mufti "who was urged to spend his days and nights in reading books on jurisprudence and the reports of cases from which one can learn precedents" expounded the law; the Qazi made investigations into and tried cases; and Mir Adil drew up and pronounced the judgment. The Qazis tried civil and criminal cases of Hindus as well as Muslims. While deciding cases in which the parties were Hindus they had to consult the customs and usages of the community. There was nothing like legislation in the modern sense of the term, or a written code of law making for quick decision or execution of judgment. The twelve ordinances of Jahangir, and the *Fatwah-i-Alamgir*, a law digest compiled by a school of theologians under Aurangzeb's supervision at a cost of about two lakhs, were the only notable exceptions.

**Types of Law.** The law administered by the judges were chiefly the sacred law, *viz.*, (1) Quranic injunctions, (2) Sumas or Hadis or sayings of the Prophets, second in importance only to the Quran, (3) Fatwas or previous interpretations of the Holy law by eminent jurists, (4) Digests prepared from time to time by the learned doctors of the four schools of Islamic law, *viz.*, the Hanafi, the Malki, the Shafi, and the Hanbali. In criminal cases no distinctions were made on religious grounds, but in civil cases, where the parties were Hindus, their traditional rights and customs were paid due regard to. The record of the cases was not kept. Decisions were given verbally.

**Punishments.** The courts often inflicted severe punishments. Amputation, mutilation, and whipping needed no reference, but no capital punishments could be inflicted without the emperor's consent.

**Its Defects.** The long distances, the absence of the means of communication, the stress of war, the diversity of justice administered, and the prevalence of bribery amongst the officers made it impossible for the Emperor to exercise vigilant control over the provincial viceroys, who enjoyed ample discretionary powers, although in theory their powers were limited.

**Q. 83. Discuss the Law of Succession to the Mughal throne.**

(P.U., B.A., 1937)



**LAW OF SUCCESSION TO THE MUGHAL THRONE**

**A disputed succession.** The Mughal India, as in other Mohammadan countries, due to the absence of a fixed law of inheritance, such as the law of primogeniture, the fittest rather than the eldest son was the successor to his father's position. This always made a war of succession inevitable at the death or indisposition of every monarch. The fight was, however, confined to the royal brothers or their sons. No outsider had any chance to make a successful bid for the Crown. The absence of a fixed law of succession was not an unmixed evil; from the uncertainty of the succession the state benefited indirectly. The throne generally went to the fittest among the rival candidates for sovereignty. No unworthy person could ever hope to win it or, having won it, to keep it long. There being no statutes bearing on the subject of succession, every one was tempted to try his luck and make a bid for the throne, and the nearer one stood to it the stronger was the temptation. "Kingship knows no kinship" was the general belief.

**Under Babar and Humayun.** The Mughal emperors were themselves alive to the danger of a civil war among their sons after their death. Babar had not been troubled by his brothers, as both his brothers died of drink before he came to India, Jahangir in 1507 and Nasir in 1515. When Babar was lying ill he had no difficulty in foreseeing such a contingency—a civil war among his sons. He had four sons. Each of them thought that he had as much right to the throne as Humayun. None of the younger brothers paid any deference to his father's wishes. The brothers mistook Humayun's generosity for his weakness.

**Under Akbar.** When Humayun died, his death was not made public until Akbar's return to Delhi. "Before the decree for the accession went forth, Bairam Khan.....enjoined on Pir Mohammad Khan Sherwani not to allow the news of the death of the late Emperor to be spread abroad". Akbar had few rivals. His half-brother Mohammad Hakim Mirza was much too young to put up a fight for the throne. The question of succession again loomed large when Akbar's reign was drawing to a close.

**Under Jahangir.** There was a war of succession between Shahriyar, the son-in-law of Nurjahan, and Prince Khurram.

**Under Shahjahan.** The illness of Shahjahan was a signal for a terrible war of succession among his four sons in which Aurangzeb came out successful. Before his death Aurangzeb had executed a document suggesting a partition of the Empire among his sons, but his successors did not respect his wishes and, as usual, there was a war of succession in which Bahadur Shah emerged victorious. The disputed succession had become a law, therefore, in the Mughal dynasty.

**Q. 84. Give an account of the Religious Policy of the Mughals.****RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE MUGHALS**

**A Policy of Toleration.** The Mughal Emperors with the exception of Aurangzeb believed in the policy of religious toleration. They realized that in a country like Hindustan it was essential to keep the laws of God and the principles of state separate. It was according to this principle that the Mughal Emperors never resorted to the ruthless intolerance and fierce persecution of the early Muslim kings. The Mughals regarded the non-Muslims as much their subjects and as much under their protection as people of their own faith. Under them the Hindus were eligible even for the highest responsible posts. They were allowed to have their own religion and social system with justice and full rights of citizenship. Officers, soldiers, statesmen and public servants were recruited without any distinction of caste, colour and creed.

**Babar.** Unlike Timur Babar was tolerant in matters of religion. No doubt in the beginning in order to rouse the drooping spirits of his followers, he made use of this religious cry, but after ascending the throne of Delhi, Babar abandoned his policy of persecution. In his "Memoirs" there is no mention of the destruction of Hindu temples or a wholesale massacre of the infidels on account of their religion. Babar in his secret will to his son Humayun impressed upon him the desirability of refraining from the sacrifice of cow, the demolition of the places of worship of any community and the quarrel between the Shias and Sunnies. In short Babar was remarkably free from narrow-minded religious bigotry.

**Humayun.** Humayun was free from religious bigotry. He gave particular encouragement to the native races of warriors, the brave Rajputs, and appointed



many of them to important offices under him. He recruited them for his army. Occasionally he mixed with idolators in their temples and even assisted them at their ceremonies. Another example to show his non-fanatic nature is the restoration of Vikarmajit of Chittor and fight against the Gujrat king in which Humayun was a great and only factor. His response to Karnvati's request to act as her brother in protecting Chittor, breathes the spirit of romance and chivalry. How can any one expect a man of such amiable and human nature to go the way of religious fanatic?

**Akbar.** Akbar started his career as an orthodox Mohammadan and earned the title of Ghazi by touching with his sword the head of the captive Hemu, to please his minister Bairam Khan. After having become free from Bairam's tutelage, Akbar rose above the narrow-minded dogmatism of his religion. According to Father Caterran, Akbar granted the fullest liberty for preaching Christianity throughout his empire. The Christians were permitted to perform their ceremonies freely in public. Akbar even appointed a Christian to look after the education of his second son and invited to his court the Jesuits to preach Christianity. He was even more tolerant to the Brahmans than to Christian Fathers. He constantly associated with them and discussed with them important points of religion. He was also indulgent to the Buddhists and Zoroastrians. The ceremony of 'Raksha-bandhan' was regularly observed and he used to mark his forehead like a Hindu and was a worshipper of the Sun and the sacred Fire.

**Jahangir.** Jahangir was as tolerant as his father. Though he restored the Mohammadan confession of faith to the coin of his realm, still he remained free from the taint of religious bigotry. He issued instructions to his officials never to force Islam on any one. Sir Thomas Roe remarks that Jahangir heard the laws of Moses, Jesus and Mohammad and discussed them in his presence. He did not allow any one to be molested because of his religious views. Manucci tells us that Jahangir had great affection for the Jesuit Fathers, whom he provided with a house and a church in Lahore. The Jesuit Fathers were allowed also to instruct the princes. He also took an active part in the celebration of Hindu festivals e.g., Raksha-Bandhan, Dussehra, Basant and used to give away on Sankranti day a good deal of gold and silver in charity. On one occasion, however, Jahangir's behaviour was incompatible with his general policy of toleration which he showed after the conquest of Kangra by ordering a bullock to be slaughtered there. The execution of Guru Arjan Dev also smacks of fanaticism.

**Shahjahan.** Under Shahjahan we notice a slight change in the religious policy. Temples under construction at Benares were pulled down. At Mathura, too, the Muslim fanatics razed to the ground the magnificent Hindu temples. After the defeat of the Portuguese, the Christian prisoners both male and female, were treated badly. They were first persuaded to embrace Islam and those who did obey or agree, were shown kindness, others were imprisoned. After suppressing Jujhar Singh Bundela, Shahjahan sent for the members of his family and gave them the choice between Islam and Death. On their refusal they were executed. But in matters of administration Shahjahan was as tolerant as his ancestors. According to Keene the proportion of Hindus among the Amirs of Shahjahan was larger than under Akbar. Shahjahan treated both communities alike. The Hindus looked upon him as their benevolent sovereign and remained happy and contented under his rule.

**Aurangzeb's intolerance.** With Aurangzeb, the religious policy became completely that of persecution and intolerance. Not only the Hindus, but the Muslims of the Shia sect were persecuted sternly. Aurangzeb was an orthodox Muslim and it was through his orthodoxy and religious fervour that he gained the throne. Himself extremely puritan in his attitude on life, he would not allow art like music to develop. All artistic activities, and amusements, e.g., liquors, dancing, brothels were banned. He was himself a moralist and he wanted to spread morality in his kingdom not by the tolerant method of Asoka, but by his own "Puritan method". So Farmans after Farmans were issued proscribing all non-Muslim practices or festivals. Demolition of the Hindu temples was effected with great zeal, e.g., Visvanath's temples at Benares and Kesar Rai's at Mathura. In the Rajput wars about 250 temples were demolished in Mewar alone. The Brahmans were not allowed to preach their idolatrous faith. Additional taxes were imposed on the traders. Jezia was re-imposed and many Hindu officers were dismissed. In spite of all this, when the burden on the Hindus seemed not to be as effective as he intended, he adopted other means to induce the Hindus to embrace Islam. Hindu



religious fairs were banned. Non-military Hindus were prohibited to ride or to carry arms. Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Shia kingdoms of the south, the blunder he committed in weakening the solidarity in the Deccan, had its nemesis in a country-wide outburst of revolution which proved to be fatal to the Mughal Empire.

**Q. 85. Describe some of the outstanding merits of the Mughal monarchy in India.**

### OUTSTANDING MERITS OF THE MUGHAL MONARCHY

**Mughal Government Sympathetic.** The general tone of the government under the Mughals was mild and humane. The state did not interfere in the private affairs of the people and social customs of the country were never superseded by enactment. Disorders were suppressed with a strong hand. The Mughals always tried to establish peace and order. The nobles and the peasants received the royal protection. The government maintained a close and strict supervision on all matters about agriculture. The army of the Emperor was warned against harming the ryots. The agriculturists were under the special protection of the Emperor who knew that land revenue was the mainstay of the government.

**Art.** Even art flourished because of royal patronage. The arts flourished throughout the Mughal period. Father Caterran bears testimony to the great excellence of Indian painting during Jahangir's reign: "In this time there were found in the Indies native painters who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals." "Fine clothes were manufactured in the country. Gold and silver threads were freely used in the preparation of clothes by the upper classes."

**Architecture.** Mughal Emperors were great builders, and decorated the country with magnificent buildings. Vast sums were spent on public works. Along the main roads were built serais and rest houses for the travellers. Even to this day Mughal buildings attract visitors from all parts of the world.

**Literature.** The Mughals were patrons of learning and learned men, poets, prose writers flocked to their courts due to their liberality. Some of them are authors of great distinction. Akbar for the first time created the office of the Poet Laureate and conferred it on *Gazali*. Besides the kings and princes, the nobles, too, were great patrons of learning, e.g., Abdur Rahim, Khan Zaman, etc. Poetic assemblies were frequently held at the houses of most of the nobles. There were several big libraries in the country.

**Justice.** Justice was regarded as a sacred thing by the Mughals and the people had the right of appeal to the emperor. The Mughals followed a policy of religious tolerance. No efforts were made to secure universal outward conformity with the religion of the ruler. Even Aurangzeb did not make adherence to Islam a necessary condition of state service. We do not come across in Mughal India any Five Miles Act, or Corporation Act or Act of Uniformity. The enforcement of compulsory worship was never attempted as it was in the days of Elizabeth. Wars of religion were never known. That the Mughals took a great interest in the welfare of their subjects is evident from the following statements of Akbar and Aurangzeb, the former remarks that "Tyranny is unlawful in everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world." While the latter is of opinion that "Sovereignty signifies protection of the people and not self-indulgence."

**Q. 86. Give an account of the Education under the Mughals.**

### EDUCATION UNDER THE MUGHALS

**Education a Private Concern.** Education was a purely private concern, a handmaid of religion among the Mohammadans as well as the Hindus. The duty of the state to educate its future citizens was not recognized in Mughal India. The state had no department of education. The Sultan or Padshah made large grants of land or money to mosques, monasteries and individual saints or scholars. This, however, was recognized as a religious and not a political duty, nor were the recipients of these favours bound to maintain schools with the money. But in actual practice a primary school called *Maktab* was attached to almost every mosque. Here the Mullah of the mosque used to assemble the Mohammadan boys and girls of the neighbourhood and teach them to write the alphabet and commit the Quran to memory. The education imparted was of elementary type. Some of the



monasteries did contain scholars and theologians. But the lazy illiterate faqirs outnumbered them and hence the monasteries of Mughal India were not as a rule seats of learning like the monasteries of Christian Europe. They were, however, families of hereditary Muslim scholars living in certain towns whose reputation attracted pupils from all parts of the country and who practically maintained high schools or colleges and imparted the highest instruction in their special subjects. The Mohammadan kings, no doubt, rewarded those scholars, but these private town colleges were without any permanent source of income and stability.

**Arabic as Medium of Instruction.** Arabic had become a dead language since the 13th century, but the highest Mohammadan education was imparted through this medium. All books of science, not to speak theology, were written in Arabic. Persian was studied only as an accomplishment in cultivated society, like French in Europe. The most advanced Muslim students of India used to visit Mecca and stay there for one year to give the finishing touch to their education. A Mecca degree commanded the highest respect in India and was often considered as the necessary qualification for Kaziship. The tutors of the princes were often chosen from this class of people.

**Female Education under the Mughals.** Mughal Emperors employed learned Persian women to teach their girls. The ladies studied the humanities in preference to theology and Persian rather than Arabic. But all of them who made some progress in their studies had to commit the Quran to memory. Some of these princesses e.g., Zaibunnisa, Nur Jahan, Makfi, Mumtaz Mahal, distinguished themselves in literature. The nobility also engaged private lady tutors for their daughters. Middle class people usually kept their daughters in ignorance except in very rare cases where the fathers acted as teachers at home. Unlike Persia and Arabia, mixed classes of both sexes were not held in India and the girls of the poor were left in absolute illiteracy; the purdah system was an obstacle to the dissemination of female education. Akbar's reign marks a new epoch in the advance of education in schools and colleges. He made some changes in the methods of studies and in the curriculum. He also established some new educational institutions. Dr. N. N. Law says that under the Mughals the Public Works Department was entrusted with the work of building schools and colleges. Humayun built a Madrasa at Delhi. Jahangir had promulgated a regulation in his dominions that whenever a well-to-do or a rich traveller died without any heir, his property would revert to the crown to be utilized for building Madrasas and monasteries. After his accession to the throne Jahangir repaired even those Madrasas which for the last 30 years had been the dwelling places of birds and beasts and filled them with students and professors. Shahjahan also took part in educational activities and founded an Imperial College at Delhi. It was only under Aurangzeb that the Hindu schools and temples were destroyed. But even he encouraged the education of the Mohammadan youth in various ways. Keene writes that Aurangzeb founded numerous colleges and schools.

**Q. 87. What were the checks on royal power in Mughal time ?  
Is it correct to regard Mughal rule as benevolent despotism ?**

(P.U., B.A., 1936)

### CHECKS ON ROYAL POWER

**The Despotic Powers of the King.** The Mughal monarchy in India was quite absolutist. Like Louis XIV of France, the Mughal king could well say "*L'état c'est moi*" (The state is that is myself). He had no "Prime Minister" to share responsibilities with him. He was his own Prime Minister : He was himself the generalissimo to whom all military officers were subordinate. Wherever the Emperor went, he carried his capital with him. The nobles moved like satellites around the royal sun. The financial resources of the king were unlimited. All land belonged to him and as Mandeleslo, a German traveller, says, "The Great Mughal was the heir-general to all the officers in his service." In fact he was the Heir-General to all his subjects. In such an over-centralized state no one dreamed of natural rights so long as the royal sceptre was wielded by a powerful hand. "State Law" was a command of the sovereign and was binding on all. *Vox legis, vox populi* was unknown. Law expressed the absolute will of the king. He was its sole interpreter. The Mughal rule was more despotic than the Abbasides. In Mughal India there were no responsible corporations of merchants, as under the Abbasides Caliphs. The administration was not carried on by the community or representatives of the community as in Persia



and Europe : dependent principalities like the free cities of the middle ages were unknown in India.

**It was a Benevolent Despotism.** No doubt it was the king's breath that gave life to the administration. Mughal monarchy was essentially absolutism ; but its absolutism was practical rather than constitutional. It was absolute not because law made it so, (for, according to the Quran, a king enjoyed no special privileges or immunities, but was subject to the same restrictions as a commoner) but because its military and financial resources tended to make it supreme and absolute. Moreover tradition strengthened the position of the monarch and popular acquiescence sustained his power. The individual subject was a loyal, but not an intelligent citizen. He did not feel active interest in the state but was a passive recipient of protection which the State afforded and which he tried to deserve by rendering implicit obedience to it. Hence the king met no resistance from the submissive and the fatalist people. Even the baronial resistance never found popular support. Thus if there occurred any conflict between the monarch and people, it was never national. Nor was it constitutional for it was never a conflict of radically opposed views. Moreover the Mughal system of Government provided for no constitutional settlement of disputes arising between the ruler and the *grandees*. The people submitted to the established system because they could imagine none better. As a result there were no possibilities of a glorious or bloodless revolution. The Mughal government was no arbitrary despotism. It alone stood between the people on the one hand and a turbulent nobility and bigoted clergy on the other. The social order could remain intact only so long as the sovereign could command the habitual obedience of his subjects. Lack of governance could never be tolerated in mediæval India. Thus there was ample justification for strong monarchy in Mughal India. It was for the benefit of the contemporary India that the Mughal sovereignty was despotic.

**Checks to Mughal Despotism.** (1) **Obedience to the Quranic injunctions.** Every Mohammadan state is bound to obey literally the Quranic injunctions. The sacred law recognized no power of positive legislation in the head of the state, since God through Mohammad had legislated once for all. Now it was the Ulemas who interpreted the Holy Law. The influence of this religious baronetcy has always been a great factor in all mediæval Muslim states. It is only in modern Turkey and Persia that the power of the Church has been abolished. Secularization has been proceeding apace now. The king, who in the Mughal period was himself the Khalifa and wielded important religious power, could effect changes in the Shariat by issuing ordinances. Thus the king could do away with Islamic injunctions that did not appear opportune. The reign of Akbar and to some extent of Jahangir may be termed a period of secularism. But then followed a century of reaction in which Islamic fanaticism got the upper hand, leading to revolutions and the final break-up of the Mughal Empire.

(2) **The Nobles.** The other check to Royal power was the mighty nobles. But they counted little when the reigning king was strong. On the other hand, if the reigning king happened to be weak, he became a puppet in the hands of his nobles. The Sayyid brothers furnished a striking example. The Emperor was a veritable prisoner in their hands. The revolt of Mahabhat Khan indicates the great impossibilities of a revolt of organized nobility.

(3) **Revolt of the people.** The final check on the Mughal monarchy was the revolt of the people. Mediæval India knows the revolt of the princes, native as well as Muslim, but the popular revolts were rare. The masses believed in *Jus Divinum*, or rather the divine right of kings, and never thought of resisting the king's will.

**Q. 88. Describe the Feudal System as it existed under the Mughals. What are its merits and demerits ?**

Or

**What was the Jagir System under the Mughals ? What were its merits and demerits ?** (P.U., B.A., 1934, 35, 36, Sept.)

**The Feudal System Explained.** The Feudal system and the Jagir system are one and the same. Like the baronial fiefs of feudal Europe, the society during the Mughal period was also based on Feudalism,



according to which the king was considered as the master of the whole land which was parcelled out to the nobles or *mansabdars* holding high offices in the state. These so-called *jagirdars* had in return to render military service to the king by supplying him with a number of soldiers proportionate to the extent of land received from the king at their own expense. They were required to pay a fixed amount of money to the Royal Treasury by way of annual tribute out of the revenues collected by them. Like the feudal lords in Europe, these *jagirdars* used to exercise absolute power over their *jagirs*. As a matter of principle, the *jagirdars* were to render military service as mentioned above, but sometimes, these *jagirdars* were exempted from the observance of the rule, viz., they had neither to provide any military contingent nor to collect the taxes.

**Its Merits.** The *jagir* system was not without its merits. The distant provinces of the Empire did not pay the tribute regularly. In some cases it had become impossible to collect these dues. They collected the revenues and paid a fixed share to the state.

**Its Defects.** This system had certain inherent defects and there was much scope for misuse. (1) The *jagirdars* used to keep inefficient men who were wholly unfit for active service. (2) At the time of receiving payment, the *jagirdars* used to collect a large number of low class men, who were made to put on uniforms and ride on ponies. (3) The *jagirdars* never kept the stipulated number of men as laid down in their agreement with the Emperor. (4) These *jagirdars* used to raise much more than the nominal value of the *jagir* and therefore were a source of oppression to the people. (5) There was much scope for oppression and the persons had no means of getting their grievances redressed.

**Its Remedies.** These above-mentioned defects were removed by adopting the following precautionary measures :—(1) The system of branding the horses to avoid fraudulent musters was started by Sher Shah and followed by the Mughal Emperors. (2) The introduction of military reforms. (3) Cash payment in place of *jagirs*. (4) The preparation of descriptive rolls in order to avoid false muster rolls. (5) The Emperor kept the question of appointment, dismissal and suspension in his own hands. (6) These *jagirs* were frequently changed from one part of the country to another.

**Q. 89.** "Though outwardly a feudal aristocracy, the Mughal nobility should be regarded as a hierarchy of pedigree." Expand.

(P.U., B.A., 1936)

**Hereditary nobility unknown to Islam.** Islam did not believe in hereditary nobility. Everyone was a peer during his life time and it ended either with his death or with his removal from the service. With the confiscation of the *jagirs*, the peerage also came to an end. The nobles received these *jagirs* after strenuous labour. They had to win the goodwill of the Emperor before they became entitled to these grants of lands. Only men of real worth could aspire to them. Offices of trust and responsibility were not the monopoly of members of the Mughal race, but they were filled by men of all classes, irrespective of caste and creed; provided they were fit for the posts. This was an



inducement to many warriors and learned men to come over to the Mughal Court to try their luck. It was out of this band of fortune-hunters that the Mughals used to recruit the nobility.

**The Recruitment of Nobles.** The nobility in the days of the Mughals consisted of the following pedigree. (1) The Turani, who came from the north of river Oxus, belonged to the reigning dynasty, were Sunni in belief, and were consequently the recipient of special favour. Most of them have displayed great ability, military as well as civil. (2) The Irani, who came from the south of Oxus, i.e., Persia, were Shia in belief and came to Delhi to try their luck. Some of them were men of noble birth and came to India on account of political reasons. (3) The Afghans, who came from Kabul and Kandhar, were mostly uncultured. Some of them even rose to high positions. (4) The Hindustanees, i.e., the Mohammadans born and bred up in India. They are actually the descendants of foreign immigrants in the second or third generation e. g., the Sayyid Brothers.

**Mansabdari System.** These nobles were further divided into different grades or mansabs which were about 33 in number, ranking according to the number of troops, they were supposed to supply to the Mughal Emperors in times of war. For detailed account read the reign of Akbar.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Write an account of the civilization and culture of Mughal India. (P.U. 1934)
2. Describe the Feudal System as it existed under the Mughals. (P. U. 1934 Sept.)
3. What light do the writings of European travellers throw on the contemporary history of the Mughal Period ?
4. How far is it correct to regard the Mughal Empire in India as a Muslim State ? (P.U. 1935)
5. Discuss the Law of Succession to the Mughal throne. (P.U. 1935)
6. Describe the machinery of Justice in Mughal India. (P.U. 1935)
7. Self-sufficiency is the key-note of Indian economic life under the Mughals. (P.U. 1935 Sept.)
8. Discuss the merits and defects of Mughal feudal system. (P.U. 1935 Sept.)
9. Describe the state of education under the Mughals. (P.U. 1935 Sept.)
10. What were the checks on the royal power in Mughal times ? Is it correct to regard the Mughal rule as a benevolent despotism ? (P.U. 1936)
11. Though outwardly a feudal aristocracy, the Mughal nobility should be regarded as a hierarchy of pedigree. Expand. (P.U. 1936)
12. Write a short essay on art and literature during the Mughal Period. (P.U. 1936)
13. What was the Jagir System under the Mughals ? What were its merits and demerits ? (P.U., B.A. 1936, Sept.)
14. Discuss the positive functions of the *Ghusalkhana* during the Mughal period. (P.U. 1936 Sept.)
15. Show how the Mughal Emperors tried to keep the state free from church control. (P.U. 1936 Sept.)
16. Explain in outline the principles on which the provincial governments of the Mughal Empire were organized and describe the duties of the chief provincial functionaries. (P.U. 1937)



17. Give some account of the status, responsibilities and powers of the mansabdars of the Mughal Empire. What was their relation to the Emperor ?  
(P.U. 1938)
18. Discuss the achievements of the Indians during the Mughal period in the realm of architecture and art.  
(P.U. 1938)
19. Give some account of the more important travellers and missionaries who visited the Court of the Great Mughals.
20. Describe carefully the economic condition of the agricultural classes and the urban population during the Mughal period.
21. Give an account of the great Muslim or Hindu thinkers and men of letters during the period of the Great Mughals.  
(P.U. 1939 Sept.)
22. How far is it true to describe the Mughal government as a national government ?  
(P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)
23. How far is it correct to say that the Mughal state in India was theocratic in conception ? Discuss the results of the attempts made by Akbar to alter the traditional theory.  
(P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)



## PART II

# THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE MUGHALS (1707-1857)

## AND

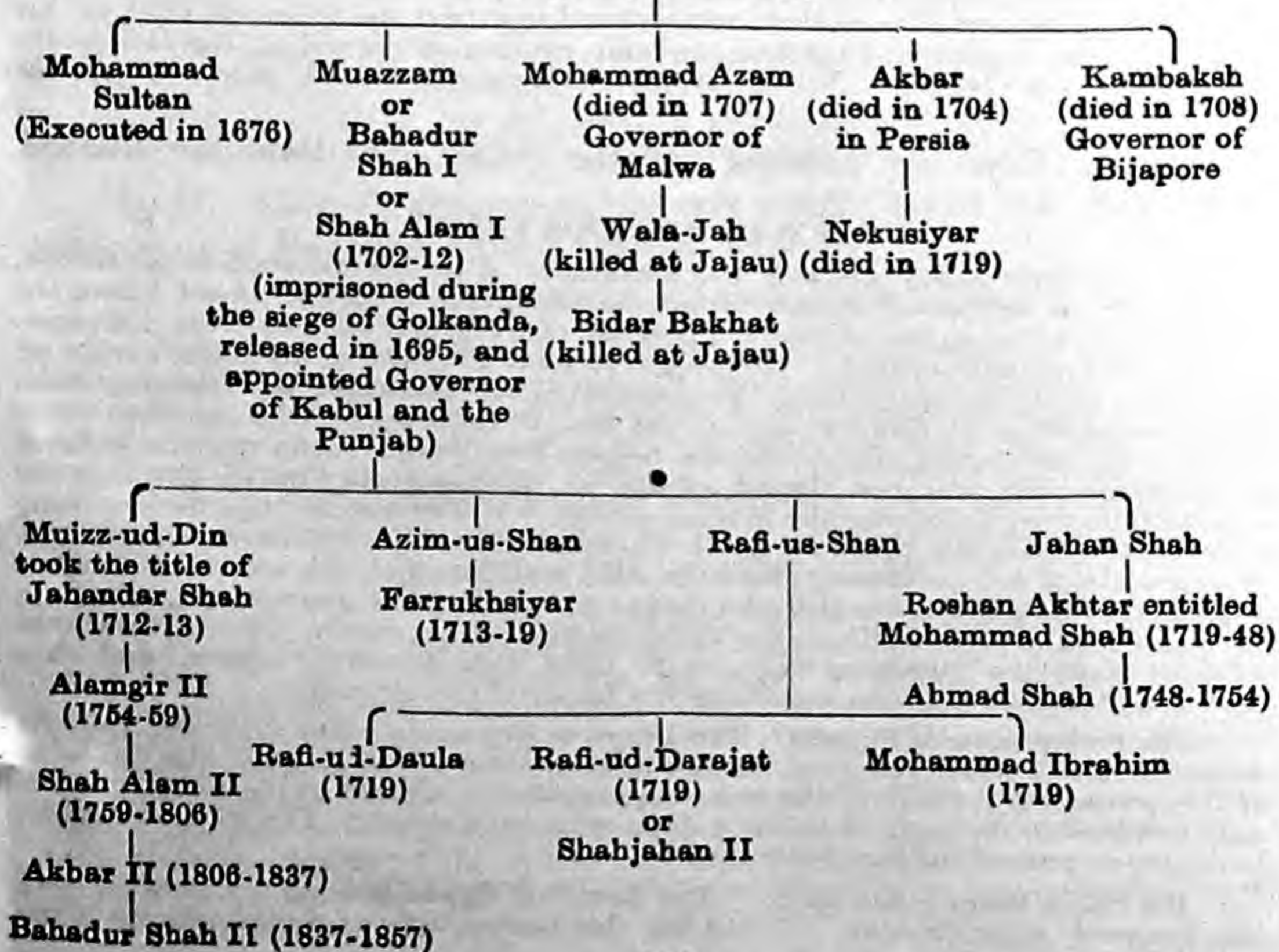
# THE EXPANSION OF THE MARATHA POWER

## THE LATER MUGHALS

(1) 1707—1712	...	Muazzam or Bahadur Shah I or Shah Alam I
(2) 1712—1713	...	Jahandar Shah
(3) 1713—1719	...	Farrukhsiyar
(4) 1719	...	Rafi-ud-Daula
(5) 1719	...	Rafi-ud-Darajat
(6) 1719—1748	...	Mohammad Shah
(7) 1748—1754	...	Ahmad Shah
(8) 1754—1759	...	Alamgir
(9) 1759—1806	...	Shah Alam II
(10) 1806—1837	...	Akbar II
(11) 1837—1857	...	Bahadur Shah II.

## Genealogical Table of the later Mughals.

Aurangzeb (1658—1707)





## CHAPTER XIII

### THE SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZEB (1707-1857)

**Q. 90. Give an account of the War of Succession or the Civil War after the death of Aurangzeb.**

#### WAR OF SUCCESSION AFTER THE DEATH OF AURANGZEB

**The Three Claimants.** After the death of Aurangzeb in his camp at Ahmadnagar on 3rd March 1707, there began a bitter fratricidal war among the three surviving sons of the deceased Emperor for the Imperial throne. They did not at all respect the will of their father as regards the partition of the Empire among themselves. The three claimants were (1) Muazzam, the eldest, also called Shah Alam I and Bahadur Shah I, who was the ruler of Kabul and the Punjab. (2) Mohammad Azam (the second), the ruler of Malwa and Gujrat, and (3) Kambakhsh (the third) who was at that time the ruler of the Deccan. Prince Kambakhsh assumed all the airs of royalty, but he did not leave the Deccan, as he held possession of Bijapore, Golkanda and Hyderabad.

**Prince Azam Killed at Jajau (1707).** Prince Mohammad Azam also issued coins in his own name and marched to Agra to make his bid for the Imperial throne. At *Jajau* near Samugarh to the south of Agra, Prince Muazzam, aided by Munim Khan, the able Governor of Lahore, his own son Azim-us-Shan, the ruler of Bengal, and a contingent from Guru Gobind Singh, met on June 10, 1707, the army of his brother Azim, who had refused to partition the kingdom as desired by their father. Prince Azam, who like Dara had lost the sympathies of most of the officers by his arrogant behaviour, was defeated and killed with his two sons. Prince Muazzam (Shah Alam I) proclaimed himself Emperor, assuming the title of Bahadur Shah I.

**Kambakhsh killed (1708).** Bahadur Shah I then marched south with Guru Gobind Singh to meet Kambakhsh, who refused to accept the generous offer of his brother for the partition of the kingdom and insisted on contesting the succession. Kambakhsh was defeated in a battle near Hyderabad and died of wounds in 1708.

**Q. 91. Give an account of the reign of Bahadur Shah I (1707-1712).**

#### REIGN OF BAHADUR SHAH I

**Conciliatory policy towards the Marathas.** After his accession to the throne, Bahadur Shah appointed Munim Khan as the Chief Minister. Asad Khan, the late Emperor's Vizier, was offered the position of *Wakil-i-Mutlak* or Vice Emperor, but he refused and retired. He sought to undo the evils of his father's reign by adopting a policy of conciliation. He conciliated the Marathas by releasing Sahu at the suggestion of Zulfikar Khan, the son of Asad Khan, who had been taken prisoner by Aurangzeb along with his father, Shambhaji. Sahu was also granted the *Surdeshmukhi* and the *Chauth* of the six subhas of the Deccan, although the collection was to be made by the Mughal officers. The release of Sahu besides being a conciliatory measure, proved a great diplomatic stroke. Sahu's arrival at the Maratha court led to rivalry between him and Tara Bai, the widow of his uncle Raja Ram, who claimed the Maratha throne on behalf of her younger son, the Raja of Kolhapore. Munim Khan, the Vizier, supported her claim. The civil war that followed kept the Marathas engaged in their own domestic affairs and thus prevented them from giving trouble to the Imperial Government.

**His Policy towards Rajputs.** The Emperor also made peace with the Rajputs on terms which virtually conceded their independence. The Rajputs like the Rana of Udaipur and Ajit Singh of Marwar were practically restored to the position which they had held in the reign of Akbar. *Jazia* was also abolished. The Raja of Amber, too, later on secured Mughal friendship.

**His Policy towards the Sikhs. The Revolt of Banda Bairagi.** The Sikhs gave the Emperor some trouble. Owing to the persecutions of Aurangzeb, the Sikhs



had become an aggressive militant sect and under the leadership of Banda Bairagi, who was holding his court at Sadhaura in the Ambala District, where he struck coins and used the royal title, they pillaged the town of Sirhind and committed terrible atrocities on the Mohammadans. In order to avert this serious danger, the Emperor personally marched against them. On his approach, Banda withdrew to the fortress of Lohgarh in the hills near Sadhaura. He defeated them and drove them into hills out of Lohgarh, but their leader Banda escaped. In 1711 the Imperial troops re-occupied Sirhind, but Banda during the rest of the reign of Bahadur Shah I frequently descended from the hills and ravaged the plains of the Punjab.

**Bahadur Shah I's Death.** After the Lohgarh campaign, Bahadur Shah I retired to Lahore and encamped in the plain before the city. There he lived for six months, but took very little interest in the affairs of state. He ordained that the *khutba* or Friday weekly prayer should be recited in Shia form. It aroused much resentment amongst the citizens of Lahore and the Afghan soldiers who were all Sunnis. In view of this they peaceably disposed and aged Emperor withdrew the order and permitted the recitation of the *khutba* in its usual form. He died in 1712 at the age of 71.

**His Character.** The prolonged repression which Bahadur Shah I had endured under his father, had already destroyed his spirit. Although he had no vice in his character, yet he could not govern. He was a man of mild and equitable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault. Though not a great sovereign, still he was more successful than his successor, maintaining the dignity of the Empire. But he was over-generous, for which he earned the nickname of *Shah-i-bekhabar*—the “Heedless King.” He was too old to save the declining empire. He was quite faultless in his private life. It is said that if he had been in the prime of his life, he might possibly have done much to arrest the progress of the dissolution of the empire by his conciliatory and tolerant policy.

**His Administration.** Bahadur Shah's Court was a hot-bed of intrigues and he was too old to suppress them. It was in his reign that those factions were formed which contended against one another in the reigns of the later kings. There were three parties, *Turanian*, the *Persian* and the *Hindustani* or the *Native*. Of these the first and the last generally favoured the tenets of the Sunnis and the other those of the Shias. He was not favourably inclined towards the Hindus who were not appointed to high offices in the state. The Turanians were also not much encouraged. In spite of his not being a bigot, his reign still showed some traits of intolerance as shown by his father. His reign was free from domestic troubles.

**Q. 92.** Give an account of the war which broke out among the successors of Bahadur Shah I for the throne.

### WAR OF SUCCESSION AFTER BAHADUR SHAH

(1) After the death of Bahadur Shah I, in 1712, there broke out another war of succession among his four sons, Jahandar Shah, Azim-us-Shan, Jahan Shah, and Rafi-us-Shan, all of whom were with their father at the time of his death. Azim-us-Shan, the ablest of the four, was killed in a battle with the other three brothers, who soon fell out amongst themselves for the possession of the Imperial throne. Jahan Shah and Rafi-us-Shan were next killed in a battle, and Jahandar Shah secured the throne with the help of Zulfikar Khan, now supreme in the State.

### HISTORY OF SUBSEQUENT RULERS

(2) **Jahandar Shah (1712-1713).** He was an utterly degenerate representative of the house of Taimur, Babar and Akbar. He was one of the most contemptible rulers, who ever sat upon the throne of Delhi. Frivolous, profligate, cruel and cowardly, servilely devoted to a favourite lady, Lal Kunwar, whose relatives he promoted wholesale to high honours to the disgust of the old nobles and the able experienced servants of the state, he soon became generally odious and despicable. He had secured the throne with the assistance of Zulfikar Khan, the son of Asad Khan. He was defeated and killed along with his minister Zulfikar Khan after a reign of eleven months by his nephew Farrukhsiyar, the son of Azim-us-Shan, who was assisted by the two famous *Sayyid Brothers*—Hussain Ali, the Deputy Governor of Patna, and Abdullah, the Governor of Allahabad.



(3) **Farrukhsiyar (1713-19).** The new Emperor was a mere figurehead. He was feeble, cowardly and contemptible and strong neither for evil nor for good. He had no resolution or discretion of his own. The real power was in the hands of the two Sayyid brothers, Abdullah Khan as Vazir or Prime Minister and Hussain Ali as Commander-in-Chief of the army, though the burden of government fell upon the latter as the former was a soldier and was not qualified for a high ministerial post. The Sayyids are generally designated as the 'King-Makers' like the Earl of Warwick in English History, because they set up and deposed kings at their own sweet will.

**His Dealings with Ajit Singh.** Ajit Singh of Marwar had expelled the imperial officers from his state during the wars of succession, and had captured Ajmer. Hussain Ali Khan was sent against him, but the Emperor, at the instance of his favourites, who were hostile to the Sayyids, secretly encouraged Ajit Singh to resist the imperial troops. Hussain Ali overran Jodhpur and Ajit Singh was obliged to send his son to court and to offer his daughter in marriage to Farrukhsiyar.

**The Execution of Banda (1716).** The most important event of his reign was a successful campaign against Banda, who had caused much trouble to Emperor Bahadur Shah I. His followers were driven from Sadhaura and Lohgarh and he was ultimately besieged in Gurdaspore. The Sikhs after a gallant fight made an unconditional surrender. On their refusal to accept Islam, they were murdered at Delhi and Banda with his infant son was barbarously cut to pieces.

**Relations with Sahu.** The Marathas in the Deccan proved very troublesome. They forced Hussain Ali, the governor of the Deccan, to make a humiliating treaty, by which he agreed to allow Sahu to levy the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over the whole of the Deccan. Farrukhsiyar refused to ratify this treaty.

**Dealings with the E.I. Company.** It was also during this reign that the East India Company obtained important trading privileges as well as exemptions from custom duties. These privileges had been given in return for professional services rendered to the Emperor by an able doctor Hamilton.

**Death.** The Emperor got tired of the authority of the Sayyids, but he unfortunately neither possessed the real ability to deprive them of their influence nor was he content to allow the ministers to pursue their own ways. The Emperor soon fell under the influence of some of his anti-Sayyid friends, who went on fanning the flame of mutual discontent between him and his Sayyid ministers, who became so much disgusted that they deposed him and put him to death in 1719. "It is not too much to say," says Irvine, "that Farrukhsiyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire him or regret him."

(4) **Rafi-ud-Daulah,** (5) **Rafi-ud-Darajat,** (6) **Mohammad Ibrahim,** (7) **Mohammad Shah (1719-48).** After the murder of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid Brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdullah, set up in quick succession three normal Emperors on the throne, Rafi-ud-Daulah, Rafi-ud-Darajat, Mohammad Ibrahim. They then placed on the throne Roshan Akhtar, under the title of Mohammad Shah who reigned till 1748.

**Different Invasions.** The weakness of the Imperial government, besides encouraging the independence of the provincial governors of which we shall talk later on, invited attacks from different quarters. The Peshwa Baji Rao (1720-40) with his Maratha followers advanced to the very walls of Delhi and actually began to plunder its suburbs. Nadir Shah, the Persian king, an account of whose invasions is given elsewhere, poured into India and looted Delhi ruthlessly. Ahmad Shah Abdali, of whom we shall mention later on, made his first invasion on India in 1747 and next in the reign of Ahmad Shah (1748-54) wrested the Punjab from the Empire. The process of decay went on and there was no strong ruler to stop it.

**Q. 93. Who were the Sayyid Brothers and what part did they play in the Mughal period? Why did they fall? (B. A. 1936 Sept.)**

#### THE SAYYID BROTHERS, THEIR RISE AND FALL

**The Rise of Sayyid Brothers.** There were two brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdullah, the former was the Governor of Bihar and the latter of Allahabad. They were Indian-born Musalmans from the Doab and



were known for their valour and bravery. They rose into power in the days of Farrukhsiyar and on account of the great power that they wielded, they are called 'King-Makers,' like Richard Neville, the Earl of Warwick, in English History. Hussain Ali was sent out as governor of the Deccan, while Abdullah became the Prime Minister. They were Shias by faith and were hated by the important Sunni leaders at the court.

**Their part in Mughal Politics.** (1) Farrukhsiyar was raised to the throne in 1713 after the assassination of Emperor Jahandar Shah and his able minister, Zulfikar Khan. (2) The execution of Emperor Farrukhsiyar, who, notwithstanding his inability as a ruler, formed a plot to rid himself free from the clutches of the Sayyid Brothers. But they were timely informed of it and consequently got the Emperor executed. (3) Three puppet kings, Rafi-ud-Daulah, Rafi-ud-Darajat and Mohammad Ibrahim were put on the throne in quick succession and done away with in six months. (4) The Sayyid Brothers, then, placed Roshan Akhtar, the son of Jahan Shah, with the title of Mohammad Shah upon the throne. He formed a plot to get rid of the Sayyid Brothers. Circumstances helped him in this matter.

**Their contributions to the Mughal Empire.** The Sayyid Brothers were, like Akbar, the advocates of the spirit of tolerance in matters of religion. They were much opposed to the reactionary policy of Aurangzeb. It was at their suggestion that Mohammad Shah (1719-48) abolished the *Jezia* and consequently won over the sympathies of the Rajputs, and also appointed Raja Ratan Chand, a grain merchant, as *Dewan* in place of Inayat Ullah Khan. In order to counteract the machinations of the bigoted party at the court, they formed a Hindustani party which included the Hindus and the Mohammadans amongst its members. The Rajputs were also the chief supporters of the Sayyid Brothers on account of their conciliatory policy.

**Causes of their Downfall.** There were many circumstances which hastened the downfall of the Sayyid Brothers. (1) The nobles whom they had raised to high positions turned against them. (2) The infamous murder of Emperor Farrukhsiyar and other princes of the Royal blood had alienated the sympathies of the people from them. (3) The supremacy of the two brothers had disgusted many nobles of the court. (4) The formation of a party against them under the joint leadership of Saadat Khan, the Governor of Oudh and Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had been turned out of the Governorship of the Deccan by Hussain Ali in 1712. (5) The Emperor Mohammad Shah was secretly in sympathy with this party. (6) The Hinduising policy of the Sayyid Brothers such as the abolition of the *Jezia*, the appointment of Hindus to the various posts and the marriage of the daughter of Ajit Singh with the Emperor, tolerance in matters of religion etc. were very much resented by the Turanian and Iranian Parties. There was an open rebellion against them. Hussain Ali, who marched out to crush the revolt from the Deccan, was killed and his brother Abdullah was defeated near Agra and taken prisoner. This was the tragic end of the Sayyid Brothers and their power.



### THE EFFECTS OF THEIR EXECUTION OR THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SAYYID RESOLUTION

If the Sayyids had been spared, they could have established a strong state on a national and tolerant basis with the support of Indian Mussalmans and the Hindu princes. They could have avoided the invasions of Nadir Shah and Abdali by establishing a strong government in the country. The rapid rise of the Marathas and the English could have been effectively checked. The power and prestige of the Mughals would also have remained intact. On the other hand, their execution did not improve the state of affairs as expected. The Mughal Emperor became free from the domineering influence of the Sayyid brothers, but he again fell into the hands of evil counsellors and Nizam-ul-Mulk retired to the Deccan in disgust.

**Q. 94. Trace the rise of the independent powers of Oudh, Bengal and Deccan at the time of the downfall of the Mughal Empire.**  
(P.U. B.A., 1934)

**The Rise of Independent States.** While the Emperors became puppets in the hands of ambitious nobles and lost authority in their own capital, the inevitable centrifugal tendency began to work in the different parts of the Empire. The provincial governors soon freed themselves from Imperial control and became virtually independent princes and founders of local dynasties, though pretending a theoretical allegiance to the phantom Mughal Emperor. Of these the most prominent were the subedars of Oudh, of Bengal, and of the Deccan. Oudh comprised not only the modern Oudh, but also some districts near Allahabad and Cawnpore. The Bengal subah included the three sub-provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orrisa. The Deccan subah contained Berar, Khandesh, Malwa and for a time Gujrat also.

#### 1. THE RISE OF OUDH

##### Nawabs of Oudh

Saadat Khan (1724-41)

Daughter = Safdar Jang (1741-54)

Shuja-ud-Dowlah (1754-1775)

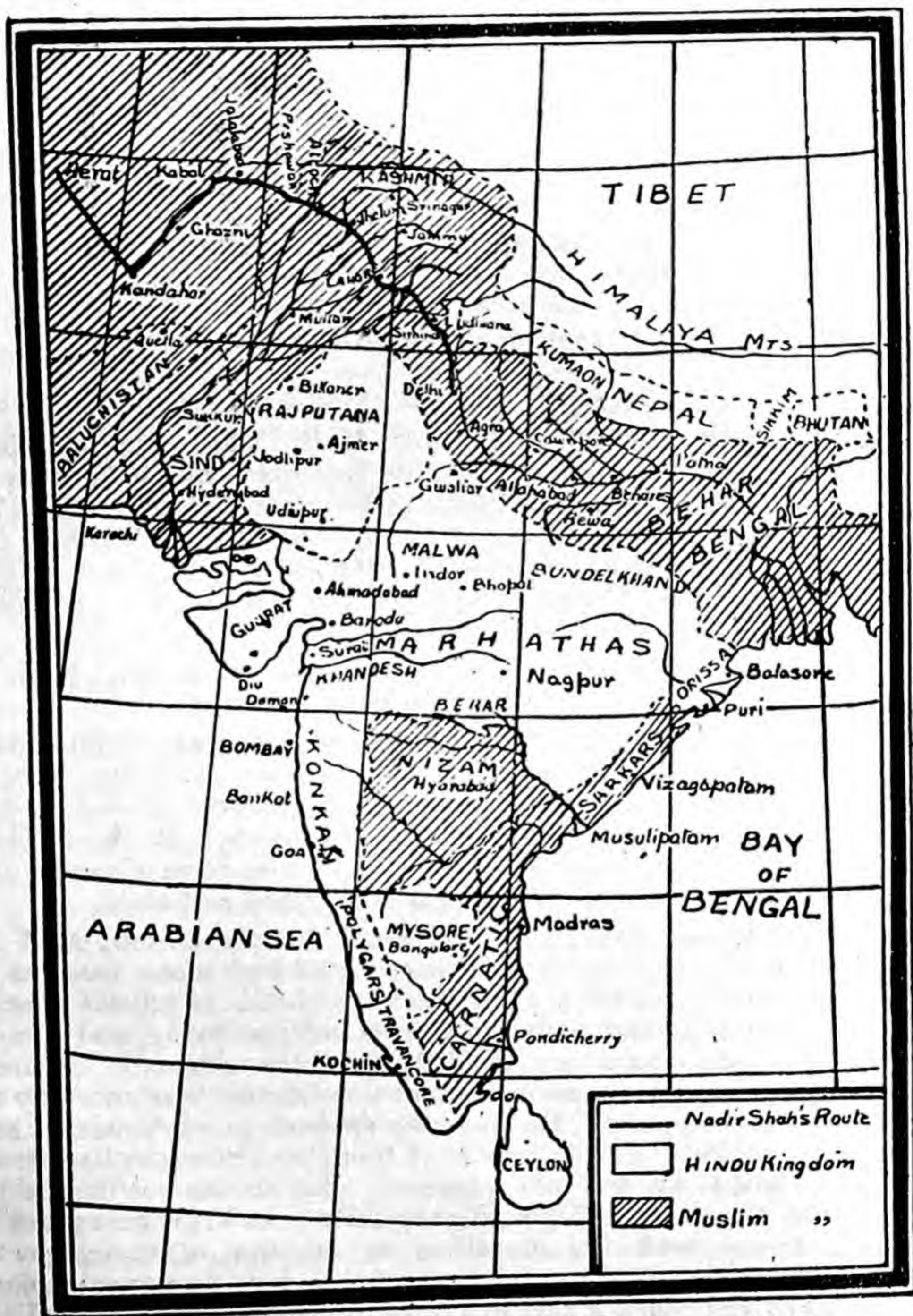
**Saadat Khan (1724-1741).** Saadat Khan, who came of a Persian family from Khorasan, was the founder of the kingdom of Oudh. He had been originally appointed as the Faujdar of Biana and joined in the Turani conspiracy to assassinate Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan. He quarrelled with some of the favourite nobles of Mohammad Shah's court and was, therefore, sent away as Governor of Oudh in 1724. This appointment proved a boon for him and he rapidly rose into power. At the time of Nadir Shah's invasion, he was recalled to Delhi for negotiations with Nadir Shah, but he committed suicide the same year.

**Safdar Jang (1741-54).** Saadat Khan was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law Safdar Jang, who was also appointed Vizier in 1748. This office, in spite of the opposition of Asaf Jah's son and grandson, was held by him until his death in 1754.

**Shuja-ud-Dowlah (1754-75).** After Safdar's death in 1754, his son Shuja-ud-Dowlah, who succeeded him to the Nawabship of Oudh,



also became the Vizier. He is also an important figure in the history of northern India. He played a very important part in the battle of Buxar (1764) when he along with other Mohammadan princes such as Mir Kasim of Bengal and Emperor Shah Alam II, tried to drive the English



The Break-up of the Mughal Empire in 1739

out of India, but suffered a defeat. He was also connected with the Rohilla War and its subsequent atrocities. He died in 1775.



## 2. THE RISE OF BENGAL

**Nawabs of Bengal**

Murshid Kuli Khan (1703-25)

|  
Daughter=Shuja-ud-Din (1725-39)|  
Sarfaraz Khan (1739-40)Mirza Muhammad  
(an adventurer from Turkistan)|  
Ali Vardi Khan  
(1740-56)

Haji Ahmad

|  
Daughter=Zain-ud-Din|  
Siraj-ud-Dowlah (1756-57)

**Murshid Kuli (1703-25).** Murshid Kuli, who was appointed Governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1703, had made himself practically independent in Delhi. After the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, he transferred his capital from Dacca to Murshidabad, while he continued to send regular tributes to Delhi. He realized the same duties from the servants of the Company as from the natives by preventing the misuse of the '*Dustucks*'. Murshid Kuli died in 1725.

**Shuja-ud-Din (1725-39).** After the death of Murshid Kuli, his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-Din, became the Nawab of Bengal.

**Sarfaraz Khan (1739-40).** **The Battle of Gheriah (1740).** After Shuja-ud Din's death in 1739, his son Sarfaraz Khan (1739-40), became the Nawab of Bengal. But Sarfaraz Khan soon became a victim to a conspiracy planned by Haji Ahmed and his brother Ali Vardi Khan. Ali Vardi Khan marched out from Bihar and met Sarfaraz Khan in the field of *Gheria* in 1740 where the latter was defeated and slain.

**Ali Vardi Khan (1740-56).** To justify his usurpation, Ali Vardi Khan took care to secure an imperial patent and sent some presents to the Emperor Mohammad Shah. With some preliminary official changes in keeping with the patent, he began to rule independently, and proved himself an able administrator. He developed the economic resources of the country, and prevented the misuse of the '*dustucks*' by the servants of the company. He has been spoken of as a 'prudent, keen and valorous soldier' and it is said of him that there was hardly any qualification which he did not possess. But he was not destined to enjoy long the Nawabship of Bengal peacefully. In 1731, he agreed to conclude a treaty with the Marathas on account of their repeated invasions of his territory, by which he agreed to pay an annual tribute of twelve lakhs and ceded a part of Orissa to the Marathas. Ali Vardi Khan died in 1756.

**Siraj-ud-Dowlah (1756-57).** After the death of Ali Vardi Khan, his nephew, Mirza Mohammad, later on known as Siraj-ud-Dowlah became the Nawab. His reign is a turning point in the history of the country. His misgovernment and oppressive rule soon brought him



into conflict with the English at the battle of Plassey (1757) in which he suffered a defeat and was killed later on.

### 3. THE RISE OF THE DECCAN

#### The Nizam Family

Khawajah Abid Khaliji Khan (Governor of Ajmer)

Mir Shahab-ud-Din (Ghazi-ud-Din) Khan (Governor of Gujrat)

Mir Qamar-ud-Din, Nizam-ul-Mulk.

Also known as Asaf Jah (1713-48)

**Career of Nizam-ul Mulk (1713-25).** The Deccan subah also became practically independent of Imperial control under Nizam-ul-Mulk, also called Kilich Khan. He held various posts in different parts of the empire till the year 1713, when he was made Governor of the Deccan as a reward for espousing the cause of Farrukhsiyar. But owing to intrigues at the Delhi court he was recalled from his office in the Deccan by the end of 1713, and Sayyid Hussain Ali was appointed in his place. But after the fall of the Sayyid brothers, Nizam-ul-Mulk again became the master of the six subahs of the Deccan towards the end of 1720. But the very next year he received an imperial summons to return to Delhi at once and in 1722 he was appointed the Vizier. But his enemies poisoned the mind of the Emperor Mohammad Shah against him and in utter disappointment he left Delhi and went to the Deccan. The governorship of the Deccan in the meanwhile had been conferred on Mubariz Khan, who with his hostile proceedings had alienated the Marathas. Nizam-ul Mulk obtained their help, defeated and killed Mubariz Khan in the battle of *Shakhar Kheda* (1724). He was thereupon deprived of the Vizirat, the governorship of Malwa and Gujrat, but he was confirmed in the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1725).

**Nizam-ul-Mulk as the first Independent ruler of the Deccan (1725-48).** From this period may be dated the Nizam-ul-Mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad state. He realized that the pretensions of the growing Maratha power were incompatible with the establishment of his own authority in the Deccan and there began, therefore, a quarrel between him and the Marathas, which ultimately ended in 1731 in the treaty of *Bhilpore* made between Baji Rao I and the Nizam-ul-Mulk. At the time of Nadir's invasion, the Nizam was called to Delhi in order to negotiate the terms of peace with Nadir. Though successful in the beginning, he failed to satisfy the increasing demands of Nadir Shah, who instigated by Saadat Khan, the Nawab of Oudh, imprisoned him. After Nadir's departure he retired for good to the Deccan where he died in 1748 at the age of 91. After this the Deccan succession question gave further opportunities to the European powers to fish in the troubled waters of the south.

**Minor Independent States** Besides the above three important independent states, there were other minor states which became independent at this time under one ruler or the other such as (1) The Sikhs in the Punjab, (2) Mysore, (3) Ajmer, under Rana Ajit Singh, (4) Rohilkhand under the Afghans, (5) The Marathas under Baji Rao I, (6) Arcot etc.

**\*Q. 95. Give an account of Nadir Shah's invasion and point out its results.** (P. U. 1935)

#### NADIR SHAH'S INVASION AND ITS RESULTS

**Nadir Shah's Career.** The famous Nadir Shah, originally known as Tahmasp Kuli Khan, the greatest warrior Persia has ever produced, was born in a humble



family. His early life was stained with many dark deeds, but the schooling of hardships and privations had given him an indomitable energy, a fiery valour and great ability. He came into prominence when he freed his country in 1732 from the incompetent Shah Tahmasp (1727-32), the son of the deposed Shah Hussain. As there was no competent man to rule over Persia, Nadir himself ascended the throne in 1736 after the death of the last lawful Safvi ruler, who was only a minor. Nadir Shah was killed by his nobles in 1747.

**Causes of his Invasion.** (1) Mohammad Shah had promised to Nadir Shah that he would not admit fugitives from Persia into his dominions. He did not keep the promise and gave shelter to many such people in his country. (2) Nadir Shah sent an envoy to complain of this breach of faith, but he was detained. (3) The weakness of the Mughal Emperor at Delhi actuated him to avail of this state of affairs. The fabulous wealth of India also prompted him to enrich himself with its spoils.

**The Battle of Karnal (1739).** On these grounds, Nadir Shah captured Peshawar, crossed the Indus at Attock, brushed aside a force at Wazirabad, defeated Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore, and thence marched to Delhi. The ease-loving Emperor and the selfish nobles of his court shook off their lethargy only when the Persians were within a hundred miles of Delhi. When it was too late, the imperial forces marched forward to oppose Nadir's advance, but the imperial troops which were 200,000 horse and foot and 5,000 field guns, were defeated by Nadir's Army in February, 1739, at *Karnal*. Of the Indian army 30,000, according to one account, 17,000, according to another, were slain. The vanquished Emperor sued for peace by sending the Nizam-ul-Mulk to Nadir's camp.

**Terms of the Treaty.** According to the terms of the treaty, Nadir was to go back to Persia at once and a war indemnity of 50 lakhs was to be paid to him in instalments, the full amount being payable to him as soon as he had crossed the river Indus back to his country. Saadat Khan, the ruler of Oudh, on finding that the Nizam was gaining immense prestige at the Mughal court, advised Nadir to demand much more from the Emperor, while a terrible famine stared the Mughal camp in the face. Nadir raised his demand to twenty crores of rupees as indemnity and pressed the Nizam to write to the Emperor to visit the Persian camp. Considering that resistance to Nadir would produce greater troubles, Mohammad Shah revisited Nadir's camp only to be imprisoned there with his followers. With the captivity of the Emperor, "the key for opening the whole empire of Hindustan came into the hands of Nadir."

**The Sack of Delhi.** A few days after this, Nadir Shah entered Delhi with the captive Emperor and occupied the palatial building of Shahjahan. Sometime after, a rumour got afloat in the city that Nadir had died. The inhabitants of Delhi attacked some of the soldiers of Nadir who in anger gave orders for a general massacre and loot. The carnage lasted from nine in the morning to two in the afternoon. Thousands of men, women and children were murdered in cold blood and even the neighbouring villages were looted. Untold wealth fell into the hands of the victor. The famous *Koh-i-Noor* and the *Peacock Throne* were forcibly seized and the king and his nobles were all deprived of their precious jewels. As estimated by Nadir's own secretary,



he realized at Delhi, the total indemnity of fifteen crores of rupees in cash besides a vast amount in jewels, apparel, furniture and other valuables from the imperial storehouse. The great invader left the Mughal Empire "bleeding and prostrate."

**Results of Nadir Shah's Invasion.** (1) The Invasion of Nadir Shah dealt a death blow to the Mughal Empire and hastened its downfall. (2) The rottenness of the Empire was also revealed by Nadir's invasion, which consequently destroyed its prestige. (3) The Afghans from the north-west, and the Marathas from the south were encouraged in their encroachments. (4) By destroying the provinces which the Maratha attacks had not yet violated, Nadir Shah ruined the finances of the Empire and added to the already prevailing confusion and anarchy. (5) In Afghanistan and the north western frontier of the Punjab there was established a power which served as a constant menace to the Mughal authority at Delhi. Thus the Trans-Indus provinces including Sind, Kabul and the Western Punjab were now finally lost to the descendants of Babar. (6) Internal dissensions between the nobles made the confusion still greater. There prevailed general anarchy in the country and the independent chiefs got an opportunity to begin wars. (7) A plot formed by Mohammad Shah to break up the power of the Nizam failed. (8) Safdar Jang, the son of Burhan-ul-Mulk, was confirmed as the Governor of Oudh; Zakariya Khan, the son of Khan Dauran, was appointed Governor of the Punjab, and Ali Vardi Khan became the Governor of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. (9) The Governor of Lahore agreed to send 20 lakhs of rupees annually to Nadir Shah, who removed the Persian garrison from the east of the Indus. (10) Finally Nadir Shah ordered the Marathas and others to respect the settlement he had made and to obey Mohammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, in future. (11) The Emperor was to give his daughter in marriage to Nadir Shah's youngest son.

**Q. 96. Give an account of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions of India with reference to the third battle of Panipat and point out their results.** (P.U. 1935, 1936)

### AHMAD SHAH ABDALI'S INVASIONS AND THE THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT WITH ITS RESULTS

**Abdali's Career.** Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani, a favourite general of Nadir Shah, was the head of the Abdali or Durrani clan of the Afghans. Of him, Nadir Shah had said, "I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Shah in capacity and character." After the murder of Nadir Shah in 1747 by his nobles on account of his cruelty, Ahmad Shah declared himself as king at Kandhar. He later on seized Kabul and founded the modern kingdom of Afghanistan. As the rightful successor of Nadir, he laid claim to the western Punjab. To make good this claim he led five expeditions into Hindustan which culminated in the great disaster at Panipat in 1761, known as the Third Battle of Panipat. He died in 1773.

**First Invasion (1748).** On the death of Zakariya Khan, the Governor of the Punjab and Multan, his younger son Shah Nawaz Khan became the master and entered into treasonable correspondence with Ahmad Shah Abdali. His uncle Kamar-ud-din, Mohammad Shah's minister, tempted him with the promise of the government of the provinces of Kabul, Kashmir, Sind and Multan in order to break his alliance with Ahmad Shah who, according to the treaty, asked for the passage from Shah Nawaz Khan who gave a flat refusal. This breach of faith cut Ahmad Shah to the quick. He crossed the Indus and invaded the Punjab with 30,000



horses. Shah Nawaz Khan was defeated at Lahore. Ahmad Shah Abdali then proceeded towards Delhi and at Sirhind Prince Ahmad, son of Mohammad Shah, met Abdali's forces who were thrown into confusion. Abdali began his retreat to Afghanistan. The news of this victory was received with great joy in Delhi and the Turkish officer Muin-ul-Mulk was rewarded for his services with the governorship of the Punjab.

**Second Invasion (1749).** Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab in 1749, but had been induced by Muin-ul-Mulk, the Governor of the Punjab, to retire on receiving a heavy indemnity.

**Third Invasion (1752).** In 1752 he again invaded the Punjab and defeated the governor. Ahmad Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, and his courtiers felt frightened lest he should repeat the outrage of Nadir Shah. Before he could reach the capital the Emperor purchased peace by the cession of the Punjab and Multan to Abdali, who retained Muin-ul-Mulk as the governor of these provinces.

**Fourth Invasion (1756).** After the death of Muin-ul-Mulk, Ghazi-ud-Din, the Vizier of the Emperor Alamgir II, treacherously took Lahore from the widow of Muin-ul-Mulk and appointed Adina Khan as governor. In order to wreak vengeance, Abdali marched against him. Abdali occupied Delhi which he sacked and where he caused a terrible slaughter. The horrors of Nadir Shah's massacre were repeated. Abdali not only sacked Delhi but took indemnity from Oudh, plundered Mathura and besieged Bharatpur and Agra. Owing to the outbreak of disease among his soldiers and the fierce heat of the Indian summer, he retired to Kabul in 1757 after appointing Najib Khan, with the title of Najib-ud-Daula. Taimur, the eldest son of Abdali, was married to a royal princess.

**Fifth Invasion (1761).** This invasion was made against the Marathas, a detailed account of which is given in the next chapter. The Marathas suffered a defeat and their power practically came to an end.

**Q. 97. Show how the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali affected the political condition in India.** (P.U. 1935)

### THE INVASIONS OF NADIR SHAH AND AHMAD SHAH ABDALI AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE POLITICAL CONDITION IN INDIA

[Hints. Nadir Shah's Invasion :—(1) There was already disintegration in the kingdom and the invasion of Nadir Shah afforded them an opportunity to become independent of the central Mughal authority. It gave a rude shaking to the Mughal Empire. (2) Sind, Kabul and the Western Punjab passed into the hands of the Persians.]

**Abdali's Invasions:**—(1) They finally put an end to the Mughal Empire. (2) The Marathas who were conceiving an idea of re-establishing a Hindu Empire were frustrated as the result of the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761. His invasions prepared the field for the British to establish third authority as the Marathas and Muslims had weakened each other on account of the deadly conflict.]

**Q. 98. Give an account of the successors of Mohammad Shah.**

### SUCCESSORS OF MOHAMMAD SHAH

(1) **Ahmad Shah (1748-1754).** Mohammad Shah was followed by his son Ahmad Shah. His short reign extending over six years was a period of great disturbance. The Rohillas rose in open rebellion and the government was forced to seek the aid of the Marathas. His reign witnessed also the repeated invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, by whose orders the country was ravaged and the inhabitants of Delhi and Mathura were massacred as in the days of Taimur. The Punjab was annexed to Abdali's kingdom. In 1754, he was deposed and blinded by his Vizier Ghazi-ud-Din Firoz Jang, the son of the Nizam-ul-Mulk of the Deccan. It is said that the power and the extent of the Empire were much reduced in his reign and before his death in 1754 it was reduced to a small district around Delhi.

(2) **Alamgir II (1754-59).** After the death of Ahmad Shah, Aziz-ud-Din, the son of Jahandar Shah, who had all this time remained in confinement, was released, and sat upon the throne as Alamgir II. But the new Emperor "found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne as he was formerly in confinement." Ghazi-ud-Din, the Vizier, was now all in all. He tried to rid himself free from the control of the Vizier, Ghazi-ud-Din but he lacked the capacity and the courage to do it and his attempt only brought ruin upon him. He was treacherously murdered by the



Vizier's orders. Under him Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India a fourth time as the Vizier had treacherously seized the Punjab from the widow of Muin-ul-Mulk.

(3) **Shah Alam II (1759-1806).** After Ahmad Shah Durrani's departure, Ghazi-ud-Din took the reins of government in his own hands. The Emperor was only a figurehead. Jealousies and intrigues once more arose at court against the Vizier on account of his unscrupulous dealings. In order to deal with his enemies, the Vizier invited the Marathas to his help, who, in response to his call entered Delhi and conquered the Punjab under Raghoba, the brother of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61). All Muslim powers joined against the Marathas under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Abdali and crushed their power at the historic field of Panipat (1761). After the third battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Durrani recognized Shah Alam as the Emperor. In 1765, the Emperor granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English in return for a yearly pension of 26 lakhs of rupees as a result of the battle of Buxar (1764). This pension was forfeited when he left British protection and joined the Marathas.

(4) **Akbar II (1806-37).** After the death of Shah Alam II, in 1806, his son Akbar II lived at Delhi with Imperial title only till 1837.

(5) **Bahadur Shah II (1837-57).** The dynasty was finally extinguished with Bahadur Shah II (1837-1857). He was suspected of helping the Sepoys during the Indian Mutiny and was deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Trace the history of the establishment of independent states in Bengal, Bihar and Oudh under the later Mughals. (P.U., B.A., 1934)

2. Trace the rise of the Nizam and the development of his power as the ruler of an Indian state. (P.U., B.A., 1935)

3. Show how the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali affected the political condition in India. (P.U., B.A., 1929)

4. What part was played by the Sayyed Brothers in the history of Mughal India? (P.U., B.A., 1936 Sept.)

5. Give an account of the War of Succession after the death of Aurangzeb.

6. Summarize the chief events of the reign of Farrukhsiyar.

7. Summarize the chief events of the reign of Bahadur Shah.

8. Write notes on :—

Banda Bairagi, Ali Vardi Khan, Ghazi-ud-Din, the Battle of Jajau, Saadat Khan, Ajit Singh and the Battle of Shakhar-kheda.

9. Compare and contrast the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali with those of Babar.

[Hints.—*Comparison.* (1) Both led five expeditions into Hindustan and won victories at Panipat. (2) Both were invited ; Babar against the Lodhis and Abdali against the Marathas. (3) The situation in India on both the occasions was distracted. (4) The Hindu powers such as the Rajputs in the case of Babar and Marathas in the case of Abdali were threatening the Delhi kingdom in order to set up a Hindu kingdom.

*Differences :—*(1) Babar stayed after the conquest, while Abdali did not. (2) Babar fought against the Mohammadan rule of Delhi, while Abdali against the Marathas with the help of the Muslim powers.]

10. Explain :—"The Mughal rule began and ended on the field of Panipat."

[Hints :—In the first battle of Panipat 1526, Babar, after having defeated Ibrahim Lodhi, laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. His successor Humayun proved a failure but his grandson Akbar re-established it finally after the second battle of Panipat after defeating the successors of Sher Shah under Hemu. The Mughal Empire had its palmy days up to the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. After him, there comes in disintegration so much so that in 1739, we come across a number of independent states. The Marathas were coming into prominence and were threatening the kingdom of Delhi. Abdali was invited and he defeated the Marathas in the battle of Panipat in 1761. This victory overthrew the Marathas and gave a blow to the already broken power of the Mughals. With the death of Alamgir II in 1759 by Gazi-ud-Din his minister with the help of the Marathas, the Mughal Empire had come to an end.



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE EXPANSION OF THE MARATHA POWER

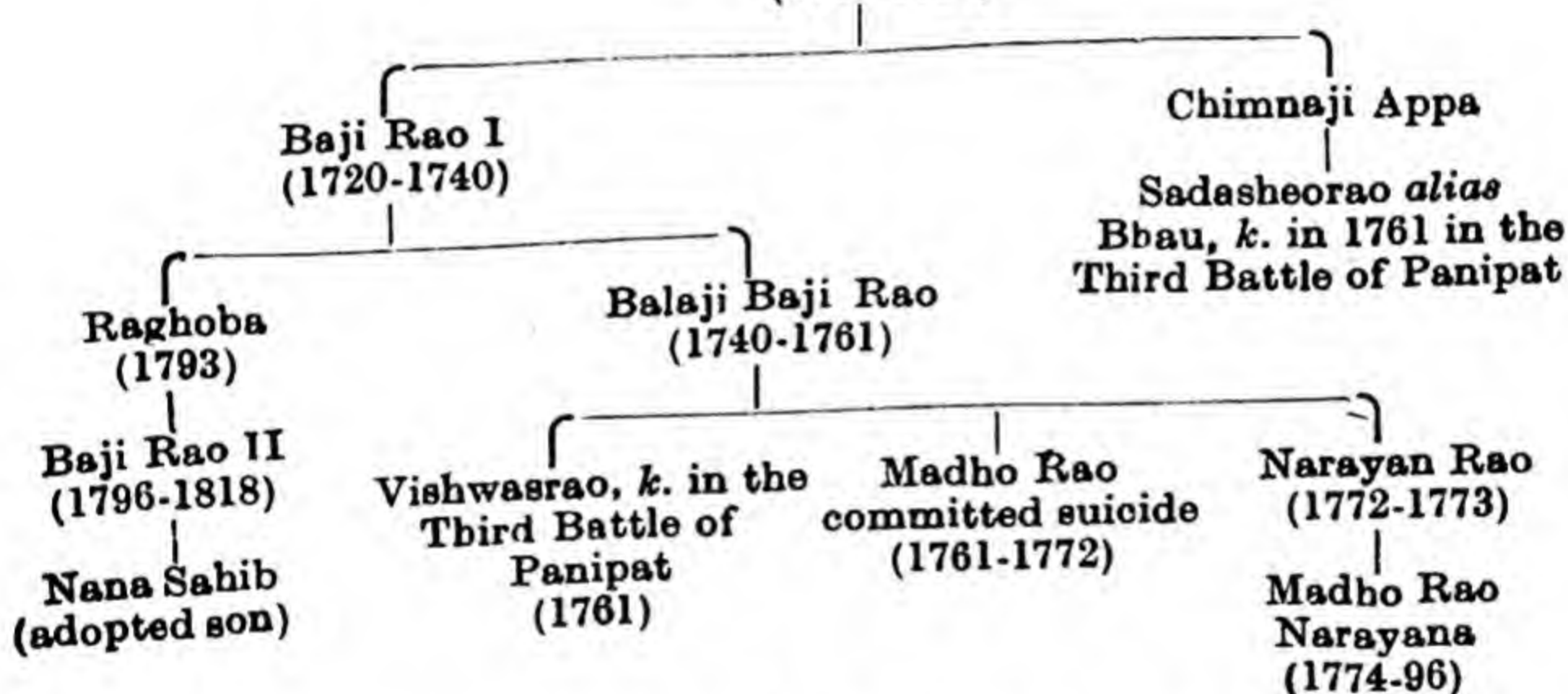
#### THE CHART OF THE MARATHA POWER

##### *The Peshwas*

(1) Balaji Vishwanath	...	1714-1720
(2) Baji Rao	...	1720-1740
(3) Balaji Baji Rao	...	1740-1761
(4) Madhav Rao	...	1761-1772
(5) Narayan Rao	...	1773-1774
(6) Madho Rao Narayana	...	1774-1796
(7) Baji Rao II	...	1796-1818

##### *Genealogical Table*

Balaji Vishwanath  
(1714-1720)



**Q. 99. Give an account of the expansion of the Maratha power under the Peshwas.** (P.U., B.A., 1934)

#### EXPANSION OF THE MARATHA POWER UNDER THE PESHWAS

##### 1. Balaji Vishwanath (1714-20)

**His Rise.** At the suggestion of Zulfikar Khan, Bahadur Shah released Sahu in 1707. Kept in prison for eighteen years since his childhood, Sahu was totally unfit to wield power. So for a few years after the arrival of Sahu in Maharashtra, the Marathas were absorbed in their own domestic troubles, which culminated in a protracted civil war. With the help of a Chitpavan Brahmin from Konkan, named Balaji Vishwanath, Sahu ultimately triumphed. Vishwanath gave proofs of his civil and military abilities, and in recognition of his brilliant services, Sahu appointed him the Peshwa on 16th Nov., 1713. Theoretically, the Pratinidhi was superior to the Peshwa, but by dint of their abilities Vishwanath and his son Baji Rao I made the Peshwa the actual head of the Maratha Empire.



**Achievements.** The degeneration and intrigues of the Mughal court combined with Balaji's ability, gave the Peshwa the supreme power, not merely in the Deccan but in the whole of India. But it was in the time of Farrukhsiyar that the Marathas secured a decided position of advantage. When Hussain Ali came to the Deccan as a ruler, he was harassed by the Marathas in several indecisive engagements. The Emperor encouraged the Marathas against Hussain Ali, who, therefore, changed his plans, and made peace with them on the following terms :—(1) All the territories belonging to Shivaji were to be restored to Sahu and the provinces of Khandesh, Gondwana, Berar, and the districts of Hyderabad and Karnatic conquered by the Marathas were to remain in their possession. (2) *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over the six subahs of the Deccan were assigned to Sahu, who in return had to maintain 15,000 horses for the Emperor's service, to pay an annual tribute of ten lakhs of rupees, and to preserve peace and order in the six subahs of the Deccan. The Peshwa was also to share the abwabs or additional cesses. This has rightly been called "the landmark in the history of the Marathas." By it the Marathas came to be looked upon as an imperial authority.

**Visit to Delhi.** To foil the designs of the anti-Sayyid party at the court, Hussain Ali with his new allies the Marathas, deposed the Emperor, Farrukhsiyar, blinded him and placed Rafi-ud-Darajat on the throne and got the treaty confirmed by him. The Marathas' part in the attractive business of king-making at Delhi is "a momentous episode in their history." They saw with their own eyes the ruinous condition of the Mughals, who were once surrounded with the halo of glory and victory. *Seeing this wretched condition, the Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath, thought of founding a Hindu Empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire and in order to realize his ambition he sought alliances with the Rajputs and other Hindu chiefs.* Balaji Vishwanath assigned separate areas to the different Maratha officials for collecting *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* and this added to their prestige and strength.

**Death.** Balaji Vishwanath died in 1720.

## 2. Baji Rao I (1720-40)

**Policy.** After Balaji's death, his son Baji Rao, was vested with the office of Peshwa in 1720 in spite of the opposition of a hostile party. He initiated the forward policy of Maratha expansion in the north in spite of the opposition which urged Sahu first to consolidate his empire in the south. In order to realize his ambition, he made alliances with the Rajputs. Thus there were, as Prof. Sinha remarks, two decisive factors in the successful execution of Baji Rao's policy :—"the first was the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire ; the second, the friendliness of the Rajputs."

**Early Conquests.** In spite of the activities of an opposition party at home, Baji Rao proceeded at the head of a large army to give effect to his policy of aggression in the north. He entered Malwa in 1723 and defeating its governor Sayyid Bahadur Shah, captured Ujjain, its capital. He left his chieftains Pamar at Indore and Ranaji Sindhia at Ujjain to collect the annual contributions for him. In 1723, the Marathas also imposed regular tax on Gujrat. In 1725, when Gujrat was



transferred from the Nizam-ul-Mulk to Sarbland Khan, the Marathas made several raids into the country and the whole of Gujrat was ravaged.

**Quarrel with Nizam-ul-Mulk : The Battle of Bhilapore (1731).** In 1725, when the Nizam-ul-Mulk returned to the Deccan, he became convinced that the activities of the Marathas stood right in the way of his supremacy and he devoted himself, heart and soul, to oppose them. He incited many Maratha chiefs against the Peshwa and even tried to poison the mind of Sahu against Baji Rao. By grant of jagirs, he turned many Maratha chiefs into his allies and also instigated Sambhuji, the ruler of Kolhapur, against the Peshwa. Thus Nizam-ul-Mulk, Triumbak Rao Dhabade and Sambhuji made a common cause against Baji Rao. But the allies were defeated on the plains of *Bhilapore* in 1731 and Dhabade was killed. The death of Dhabade knocked the bottom out of the Nizam-ul-Mulk intrigues, who thought it proper to make peace with the Peshwa. Baji Rao also sought peace, for so long as there was no peace in the south, he could not proceed to the north. So a treaty was concluded by which the Nizam and the Peshwa promised to give a free hand to each other. The Nizam was allowed to gratify his ambition in the south and the Peshwa in the north. The effects of the compromise were startling.

**The Peshwas and the Mughals.** Soon after this Baji Rao marched at the head of a large army to the north, conquered Malwa and Bundelkhand. In 1737, the Peshwa pushed on to the vicinity of Delhi, but did not attack the imperial capital. Mohammad Shah summoned Nizam-ul-Mulk for help and he responded to his appeal. But the combined forces were defeated by the Peshwa near *Bhopal* and the Mughals were compelled to make a treaty by which the whole of Malwa and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbudah and the Chambal were granted to the Peshwa. Fifty lakhs of rupees were paid to the Peshwa as war indemnity. When the treaty received the imperial sanction, the Maratha power, already established *de facto* became so *de jure* even in Hindustan proper.

**The Marathas and the Portuguese.** On the western coast, the Marathas had captured Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese.

### 3 Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61)

**The Death of Sahu.** After Baji Rao, his son Balaji Baji Rao, was appointed to the Peshwaship in spite of the opposition of some Maratha chiefs, especially Raghuji Bhonsla of Berar. In 1749, when Sahu died he left a will behind investing the Peshwa with the whole government of the Maratha Empire on the condition of his perpetuating the Raja's name and keeping the dignity of Shivaji's family. This will also directed that the state of Kolhapur should always be considered as an independent state. The jagirs now existing should be confirmed to their respective holders. Thus the Peshwa became the real head of the Maratha Empire and the Raja remained in his hands as the "Mayor of the Palace." But this settlement was not accepted without opposition. Tara Bai in co-operation with Dhamaji Gaekwar rose in arms, but she was suppressed by the Peshwa.



**Forward Policy.** Mr. Sardesai points out that the Peshwa made two fatal mistakes :—(1) He rejected his father's ideas of "Hindu Padi-i Padshahi" with all the Hindu chiefs under one flag. He tried to further his own interests at the cost of the Confederacy. The depredations of his lieutenants alienated the Rajputs and thus destroyed all chances of combination of the Hindu states under one flag against the Muslim power, native, or invading. (2) He effected a revolutionary change in the military organization of the army. The army came to be composed not only of light infantry and cavalry as in the days of Shivaji, but also of the foreign artillery-men and mercenary soldiers of all descriptions. He did not realize that his army could not be expected to work as satisfactorily as the national army acting under the inspiration of a common ideal.

**The Battle of Udgir (1760).** In spite of the defects in his policy, he was, however, successful in the beginning. In 1756, he sent Raghunath to the north accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar. In 1757, the Marathas appeared before Siringapatam and realized *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from Carnatic. They also invaded the Hindu State of Mysore and extorted 32 lakhs of rupees from the Raja. The Nawab of Arcot promised to pay two lakhs by assignments. They also exacted tributes from the principalities to the south of the river Krishna. They helped the English under Clive and Watson in reducing the pirate Angira. They defeated Nizam Ali of Hyderabad at the battle of *Udgir* in 1760. Nizam Ali was compelled to conclude a treaty by which Marathas obtained the whole province of Bijapore, nearly the whole of Aurangabad, a part of Bidar and several fortresses including the famous fortress of Daulatabad.

**Q. 100.** Give an account of the third battle of Panipat. What were the results of this battle? Why were the Marathas defeated?

#### The Third Battle of Panipat (1761)

**Fifth Invasion (1761). Causes of the Third Battle of Panipat.** (1) The Marathas had overrun the greater part of Hindustan and Malwa and considerable tracts in Rajasthan, and were suspected of the design of overthrowing the pageant of Mughal sovereignty at Delhi. (2) Their pretensions were odious not only to the Muslim nobles of Delhi, but to many of the chiefs of Rajasthan, and Ahmad Shah Abdali received letters from many imploring him to free the country of the burden of Maratha oppression. (3) Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's brother, had offended the Afghan king by invading the Punjab, then a province of Kabul under the government of Taimur, the son of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and in September 1758, Jankoji Sindha insolently appointed Sabaji Bhonsla the governor of the Punjab. (4) Ahmad Shah Abdali this time secured the co-operation of the harassed Rohillas and also the Nawab of Oudh. The Rajputs and Sikhs, who had been alienated by Balaji's unsympathetic policy, remained neutral.

**The Third Battle of Panipat (1761).** The Afghans and the Marathas met at the historic field of Panipat where Bhao fixed his camp and Ahmad Shah encamped about eight miles away from the Maratha lines. The two armies remained in front of each other for more than a month. In the Maratha rank, the generals became divided in their opinions



about the plan of warfare and on account of these differences the Jat leader left the Maratha army. Other Maratha chiefs like Holkar fought half-heartedly. On the 14th of January, 1761, the Maratha army began the offensive operations. The Marathas divided themselves into three wings, the Bhao in the centre, Ibrahim Khan Gardi was posted to his left and Sindbia to his right. On the opposite side Ahmad Shah commanded the centre personally, the Rohillas on the right and the Nawab of Oudh on the left. The Marathas fought with the valour of despair and gained some initial success. On hearing this Ahmad Shah Abdali collected fresh reinforcements and made a terrible attack on the Maratha army from all sides. This close and violent attack lasted for an hour, during which they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle axes and even daggers. But after this, all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Maratha army at once turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of the dead. The Maratha Commander Sadasiv Rao was slain and so was also Visvas Rao, the Peshwa's son. Several other leaders also fell in action and the slaughter was immense. The news of this terrible disaster was brought to the Peshwa, when he was coming up with reinforcements. The Peshwa on hearing this news proceeded to Poona and soon died of a broken heart.

**Result of the Battle at Panipat (1761) or The Effects of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions.** (1) The battle of Panipat, the most desperate of the three battles fought on the field of Panipat, dealt a terrible blow on the Marathas, but it did not completely crush their power for ever. Ahmad Shah had to go back on account of domestic dissensions. After his return, the Marathas made up their losses under Madho Rao (1761-1772). (2) The dream of the Marathas to lay the foundation of a Hindu empire was shattered into pieces. (3) The battle of Panipat decided "the fate of India." The Marathas and the Muslims weakened each other in this deadly conflict and thus facilitated the establishment of the British Empire in India. Dr. Desai remarks that at the battle of Panipat, 'the field was made clear for the third power, viz., the English.' (4) It dealt a death blow to the power of the Peshwa and with it disappeared the unity of the Marathas. (5) The Maratha Confederacy was dissolved and dissensions broke out among the Maratha chiefs. (6) If Plassey had sown the seeds of British supremacy in India, Panipat afforded time for their maturing and striking roots. (7) The third battle of Panipat also closed the history of the Mughal Empire.

**Why were the Marathas defeated?** The Marathas suffered a defeat on account of the following reasons : (1) The Maratha general Sudasheo Rao committed the fatal mistake of giving up the guerrilla method of warfare and of engaging himself in a pitched battle against Ahmad Shah Abdali. (2) The desertion of Holkar at the critical moment of the war, hastened the defeat of the Marathas. (3) Owing to the growth of the Maratha power, all the Mohammadan powers made a common cause with Abdali in order to oust the Marathas from the Punjab. (4) The division amongst the Maratha generals over the methods of warfare. (5) The Rajputs and the Sikhs remained neutral. (6) The Maratha army had by this time become denationalized. (7) The Forward Policy of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao was not wisely carried out. He neglected



his father's idea of a Hindu sovereignty with all the Hindu chiefs under one flag. (8) The Peshwa tried to further his own interests at the cost of the Maratha Confederacy.

**Q. 101.** Give an account of the Maratha Confederacy. Name the various states which were included in the Confederacy Why is it called a curious and baffling political puzzle ?

### MARATHA CONFEDERACY

**Its Origin.** Baji Rao I, the Second Peshwa (1720-1740), while extending his conquests, entrusted the work of collection of the Maratha dues from the conquered provinces to some of his able Maratha officers. After the death of Sahu in 1749, the Peshwa was made supreme and he was to carry on the affairs of the government on behalf of the Royal family, while the Maratha Chiefs were confirmed in their respective places, provided they owed allegiance to the Peshwa. But after the death of Madhav Rao, (1761-72), the Marathas began to follow the centrifugal tendency of independent growth as the succeeding Peshwas were too weak. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century their organization became loose, members owed only a nominal allegiance to the Confederacy, each being for all practical purposes an independent unit.

**The Object of the Confederacy.** The object of the confederacy was to make the position of the Peshwa supreme over the other chiefs in the Maratha Empire. Their sole business was to collect the *Chauth* from the territories placed under their control, but in all matters, political or financial, they were to look upon the Peshwa as their sole guide, without whose permission nothing could be done, he being the sole authority in the state.

**Members of the Confederacy.** Among the practically independent Maratha leaders, who were the hereditary generals of the Peshwa was Raghuji Bhonsla II, the Raja of Berar, who possessed territories extending from Nagpur to Cuttack. The territories of Gaekwar, another leader of the Confederacy, roughly comprised Gujrat and the Kathiawar peninsula, with its capital at Baroda. The Holkar of Indore's territory embraced the south-western part of Malwa and after Malhar Rao Holkar's death, these were governed by his daughter-in-law, Ahalya Bai. Madhoji Sindhia of Gwalior possessed Eastern Malwa, the lands west of the Jumna and the Upper Ganges—Jamna Doab. Besides these there were some minor members of the Maratha Confederacy among the piratical chiefs of Western India, who caused frequent trouble to the Company till they were finally suppressed in the year 1812.

**Its Character : Confederacy "a Curious and baffling Political Puzzle."** Besides their loose allegiance to the Confederacy, the different members of the Maratha Confederacy were divided by "mutual distrust and selfish intrigue." The Raja of Satara, the nominal head of the Confederacy, was already living virtually as a prisoner in his palace, while all powers in western India had really passed into the hands of the Peshwa by the will left behind by Raja Sahu on his death in 1749. By this will the Peshwa became the sole administrator of the Maratha Confederacy. It also provided that the Maratha chiefs then holding Jagirs were to be confirmed in their respective Jagirs and the



Raja of Kolhapur was to be considered as independent. So by this document the Raja became only the "Mayor of the Palace." But the later members of this ministerial dynasty were also nothing more than puppets in the hands of their able minister, Nana Farnavis. So we see that the Raja was merely a puppet in the hands of the Peshwa, and the Peshwa a puppet in the hands of Nana Farnavis and that the Maratha chieftains had converted their charges into principalities, practically independent of the central authority at Poona. Mr. Roberts has aptly described the constitutional position of the Maratha Confederacy at this time as a "curious and baffling political puzzle."

**Q. 102. Give an account of the Maratha System of administration.** (P.U., B.A., 1934)

### MARATHA SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

**Its Nature.** The Maratha system of administration was a compound of the principles drawn from three different sources ; principles taken from the ancient works on Hindu polity, principles borrowed from the administration of Shivaji and his followers, and the modifications introduced later on by the Peshwas. Ram Raja, a representative from Shivaji's family, was only a nominal head and the whole power had shifted into the hands of the Peshwa. After the death of Sahu in 1749, full powers were conferred on Balaji Baji Rao, the Peshwa, by a will left behind by Sahu. The Peshwa who now held a prominent position, was recognized as such by the other Maratha chiefs.

The Maratha system of administration can be discussed under the following heads :—

(1) **Judicial System.** The Maratha judicial system has been described as very imperfect, there being no rules of procedure, no regular administration of justice and no codified law. In both civil and criminal matters, decisions were based upon custom and upon rules embodied in ancient Sanskrit compilations like those of Manu and Yajnavalkya.

**Civil Law.** In civil cases the main object aimed at was amicable settlement and arbitration was therefore the first step in the disposal of a civil suit. If arbitration failed, the case was transferred for decision to a Panchayat appointed by the Patel in the villiage and by a leading merchant (*Shete Mahajan*) in the urban areas. An appeal lay from the decision of a Panchayat to the Mamlatdar, who usually upheld the verdict of the Panchayat, unless the parties concerned were able to prove that the Panchayat was either prejudiced or corrupt. In serious or important cases, it was the duty of the Mamlatdar to appoint an arbitrator or Panchayat, the members of which were chosen by him with the approval and suggestion of the parties concerned. In such cases the Panchayat's decision was subject to an appeal to the Peshwa or his legal minister called the Nyayadhisha.

**Criminal Law.** In criminal cases much the same procedure was observed, though a Panchayat was less frequently appointed than in civil disputes. The chief authorities in criminal matters were the Patel in the village, the Mamlatdar in the district, the Sarsubedar in the province and the Peshwa and his Nyayadhisha at the headquarters, and they administered a law which was merely popular custom tampered by the trying officer's own ideas of expediency. No regular form of trial



of the accused was prescribed. Flogging was frequently resorted to with the object of extorting confessions of guilt, and in the case of crimes against the state, torture was usually employed.

**Methods of Punishment.** The punishment for serious offences against the person was originally fine, or confiscation of property or imprisonment, the fine being proportionate to the means of the offender. But after 1761, capital punishment and mutilation were inflicted upon persons convicted of grievous hurt, dacoity and theft as well as upon those found guilty of murder and treason. The usual methods of execution were hanging, decapitation, cutting to pieces with swords or crushing the skull with a mallet exceptions being made in the case of Brahmans, who were poisoned or starved to death. Powers of life and death were originally vested in the ruler only, and the principal feudal chiefs within the limits of their respective jagirs. The punishment of mutilation consisted usually in cutting off the hands or feet and in the case of female offenders in depriving them of their noses, ears or breasts. False evidence or fabrication of false documents were free from any penalty, the only notice taken being that the Nyayadhisha gave them a mild rebuke.

(2) **Revenue System.** (i) **Chauth and Sardeshmukhi.** The sources of revenue were six : The most important were the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*. The *Chauth* was sub-divided into the following shares :— (a) *babti* or 25 per cent. reserved for the Raja or ruler ; (b) *mokasa* or 66 per cent. granted to the Maratha Sardars and chiefs for the maintenance of troops ; (c) *Sahotra* or 6 per cent granted to the Pantachiva ; (d) *Nadgaunda* or 3 per cent. awarded to various persons at the ruler's pleasure. This sub-division of *Chauth* continued under the regime of the Peshwas, and when the territories which paid both the levies were finally incorporated in the Maratha dominions, the remaining three-fourths of their revenues after deducting the *Chauth* were styled jagirs, and were granted to different individuals. During the Peshwa's rule, a somewhat similar sub-division was made of the *Sardeshmukhi*, which was previously credited to the account of the Raja.

(ii) **Land Revenue.** The second source of revenue was the agricultural assessment upon village lands, which were generally divided between two classes of holders, the *Mirsadar* and *Upri*. The former was supposed to be the descendant of the original settlers and possessed permanent proprietary rights and could not be ejected from his holding so long as he paid his rent regularly to the government. The latter was a stranger and a tenant-at-will, who merely rented and cultivated his fields with the permission and under the supervision of the Peshwa's district officers. Allowance was also supposed to be made for the character of the crop and the facilities existing for irrigation, and special rates were imposed upon cocoanuts and other plantations, and also upon waste or permanently unproductive lands. The assessment was payable either in cash or in kind and in seasons of drought and distress remissions of the assessment and advances of money and grains were made. In addition to the regular village lands certain lands were regarded as the private property of the Peshwa. It was of four kinds : pasture, garden, orchard and cultivated land. *Mamlatdar* was responsible for the collection of the revenues.



(iii) **Miscellaneous Taxes.** The third source of income consisted of miscellaneous taxes which varied in different districts. (a) A tax on land irrigated from wells, (b) house tax recovered from every one except a Brahman and a village officer, (c) an annual fee for testing weights and measures, (d) a tax on marriage and on remarriage of widows, (e) taxes on sheep and he-buffaloes, (f) pasturage fee, and (g) a tax on the cultivation of melons in river beds.

(iv) **Custom Duties.** The fourth source of income was custom duties which were of two kinds, *mahatarfa* and *jakat*. The former was a tax on trades and professions, and the latter comprised duties on purchase and sale and ferry charges.

(v) **The income from the forests.** Another source of income was derived from forests by the sale of permits to cut timber for building or for fuel, by the sale of grass, bamboos, fuel, wild honey, and by fees for pasturage in reserved areas. Licenses for private mints also brought some profit to the state treasury. These licences were issued to approved goldsmiths, who paid a royalty and undertook to maintain a standard proportion of alloy on pain of fine and forfeiture of licence.

(vi) **Proceeds from justice.** The administration of justice produced a small and uncertain amount of revenue. In civil disputes relating to money bonds the state claimed a fee of 25 per cent. of the amount realized which really amounted to a bribe to secure the assistance of the official who heard the case. In suits for partition of property worth more than Rs. 300 in value, the parties were to pay a fee of 10 per cent on the value of the property. In criminal cases, persons suspected or found guilty of adultery had to pay a fine.

(3) **The Village Administration.** It was the backbone of the Maratha system of administration. The highest village officer was the *Patel*, who performed judicial, revenue and administrative functions. His office was hereditary and was also subject to sale and purchase. He was responsible for the welfare and good conduct of the village. His remuneration consisted of a share from the produce of every villager. He acted as an intermediary between the Peshwa and the villagers. He was assisted by the *Kulkarni*, a village clerk and record-keeper. He was always a Brahman. He was responsible for the good conduct and welfare of the village. He was rewarded by a certain number of presents by the villagers. The next officer was the *Chaugula*, who was incharge of the bundles of correspondence. He also assisted the Patel. The next were the *Bara Balutes*, i.e., twelve hereditary village servants to perform the communal duties and supply the wants of the village. They received a recognized share of the crops and other presents in return for their services to the community. In some places the *Bara Balutes* were assisted by an additional body of twelve village servants styled *Bara Balutes*. Up to the reign of Peshwa Madho Rao (1761-72), the village artisans like carpenters and the blacksmiths etc., were liable to forced labour (*begar*) on behalf of the state.

(4) **The District Administration.** The district was under the charge of a Mamlatdar, who was assisted by a deputy called *Kamvisdar*. The Mamlatdars and Kamvisdars were directly subordinate to Peshwa's Secretariat in Poona. They were appointed for short terms only, but



in practice they managed to secure renewals of their offices. As the direct representatives of the Peshwa, they were responsible for every branch of the district administration, including agriculture, industries, civil and criminal justice, the control of militia (*sile bandis*), the police and the investigation of social and religious questions. They also fixed the revenue assessments of each village in consultation with the Patel, heard and decided complaints against the village officers, and were responsible for the collection of the state revenues. From defaulters revenue was realized with the aid of militia.

(5) **The Central Government or The Hazur Daftar.** The focus of the Maratha administration was the Peshwa's Secretariat at Poona, styled the Hazur Daftar, which was composed of several departments and bureaus. It dealt, broadly speaking, with the revenues and expenditures of all districts, with the accounts submitted by the district and village officials with all disbursements of public revenue in the form of *inams* (reward), *saranjams*, etc.; with the pay and privileges of all grades of the public service and with the budgets, of the civil, military and religious establishments. The daily registers (*Rozkard*) of the various departments recorded all revenue transactions, all grants and payments and all contributions and exactions levied on foreign territory.

### THE MARATHA MILITARY SYSTEM

**The Army.** The Maratha army was composed of the mercenary forces of the feudal chiefs and the regiments under the immediate command of the Peshwa. The latter had undergone a radical change since Shivaji's time. The Maratha army at this time was composed of persons brought from northern India and trained under the command of foreign officers. The army was composed of infantry, cavalry and artillery. The cavalry was entirely composed of the Marathas, the infantry was mostly drawn from northern India and the artillery was manned and commanded by the Portuguese and Indian Christians. This heterogeneous element in the army never gave stability to the state. Ultimately the lack of cohesion in the army induced by following this policy and coupled with the personal unpopularity of the last Peshwa contributed largely to the downfall of the Maratha confederacy.

**Demerits of the System.** (1) The Maratha state did little towards the economic improvement of the country and (2) the intellectual advancement of its inhabitants. (3) Being essentially a predatory power, it regarded itself as always in a state of war, and a large proportion of its revenue was supplied by marauding expeditions into the territory of its neighbours. (4) Unlike other ancient and contemporary Hindu governments, it constructed no great works of public utility and its interest in education was confined to the annual grants (*dakshina*) to deserving pandits and v aids.

**Merits of the System.** Some writers on Maratha affairs have sought to discover the germ of modern postal communication in the system of intelligence maintained by the Maratha Government. The comparison has no value in view of the fact, that although the spies and messengers did carry messages and letters with astonishing rapidity throughout India, they were primarily employed for political and military purposes, and not for public convenience. They represented in fact during the eighteenth century the official system of intelligence,



which was originally described in the *Arthashastra* and was preferred by Chandragupta Maurya in the third century B.C.

**Q. 103. Give an account of the history of the Sikhs after the death of Guru Gobind Singh till the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.**

#### **HISTORY OF THE SIKHS AFTER THE DEATH OF GURU GOBIND SINGH UP TO THE RISE OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH**

Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru, did not nominate any successor and so none succeeded him to the spiritual headship of the Khalsa. But he had authorized one of his followers named Banda, 'the slave', sometimes called 'False Guru' to take over military command.

**Banda Bahadur** (1708-16) was originally a Rajput of Dogra tribe. His original name was Lachhman Das and he was born in the Poonch State. When quite young, he left the world, and became a Sadhu and started *Bhakti* on the banks of the river Godavery. Guru Gobind Singh on his way to the Deccan appealed to Banda, his chosen disciple, to carry on the work of national liberation after him. His special mission was to wreak vengeance on Wazir Khan, the commandant of Sirhind, who had cruelly executed the young sons of Guru Gobind Singh. Banda Bahadur came to the Panjab and united the Sikhs. Having taken advantage of Bahadur Shah's absence in Rajputana, he attacked the town of Sirhind and killed the Governor and took a terrible revenge on the Mohammadans. The Sikhs then plundered Saharanpur and Karnal. Having patched up his quarrel with the Rajputs, Bahadur Shah and his Vizier Munim Khan, defeated the Sikhs, and Banda managed to escape to the hills of Nahan Sirmur in 1710. After the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712, there broke out a bitter fratricidal struggle amongst his sons. This confusion and anarchy gave Banda chance to come out of his hiding place and renew his conquests. Under Farrukhsiyar, Banda, owing to split among the Sikhs, was signally defeated, taken prisoner and put to death with cruel tortures. Many of his followers were murdered in cold blood (1716).

**The beginning of Misls.** The Sikh power was for a time crushed, but not overthrown. The Sikhs seized the opportunity of the anarchy and confusion in Northern India, brought about by Nadir Shah's invasion, to extend their hold over the Punjab. In bands of small numbers called *Misls*\*, which were 12 in number, they occupied a greater portion of the Punjab. This brought them into conflict with Ahmad Shah Abdali, in the course of which several battles were fought in which the Afghans were mostly successful, but the Sikhs took vengeance with such effect that the Afghans could not profit much by their success. The last great victory of Ahmad Shah Abdali was in the year 1761 at Panipat, but he could not follow up his success. After Abdali's death in 1773, the Sikhs rallied their forces and before long drove out Abdali's Governors of Sirhind and Lahore. The leaders of the *Misls* then divided the whole of the Punjab among themselves. But between 1764 and 1799 about a dozen of their most important leaders divided the central Punjab amongst themselves till one by one, all of them were reduced to submission by Ranjit Singh before the close of the first quarter of the

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\*The Misls were religious-cum-political confederacies working on the principle of equality and fraternity bound by the common tie of faith in the ten Gurus and the 'Adi Granth' and burning with zeal to fulfil the mission of the Gurus.



19th century, and the theocratic confederacy of the Sikhs was transformed into the compact and united kingdom of the Khalsa.

**Their Names† :** (1) Ahluwalia Misl at Kapurthala. (2) Bhangi Misl at Lahore. (3) Kanheya Misl at Gurdaspur. (4) Ramgarhia Misl held districts of Jullundur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur. (5) Sukarchakia Misl at Gujranwala. (6) Nakkais at Pakpattan. (7) Karor Singhia Misl held lands in Jullundur Doab. (8) Nishania Misl between Ambala and Saharanpur. (9) Dulewala Misl at the right bank of the upper Sutlej. (10) Shahid Misl. (11) Phulkian Misl at Patiala, Nabha and Jhind. (12) Singhpuria Misl.

**Their Common Features : or The Sikh Policy in the Pre-Ranjit Singh Period.** (1) Misls were named either after their leaders or after the locality in which they were situated. (2) They were composed chiefly of the Jats. (3) The founders of Misls began their careers as plunderers. (4) Internal administration was carried not according to any fixed laws, but according to local customs and traditions. (5) They were constantly at war with one another. This was the political condition of the Sikhs before Ranjit Singh. They lacked cohesion, their independent temperament brook no allegiance to a superior authority. They fought amongst themselves and against their enemies. By dint of military skill and bravery in the battle-field they defeated and displaced the Mohammadan Governor and became the masters of the Central Punjab.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Describe the Maratha system of administration and bring out its merits and defects. *(P.U., B.A., 1934, 1937, Sept.)*
2. State the political history of India from 1740—60 with special reference to the part played by the Marathas. *(P.U., B.A., 1934, Sept.)*
3. Give the relations between the Nizam and the Marathas during the eighteenth century. *(P.U., B.A., 1925, Sept.)*
4. Describe the circumstances or the causes that led to the rise of the Sikh power in the Panjab (1707—1799). *(P.U., B.A., 1935 and 1940 Sept.)*
5. How did the third battle of Panipat affect the position of the Marathas as a political power in India? *(P.U., B.A., 1936)*
6. Describe the chief features of the organization of the Maratha state during the days of the early Peshwas. *(P.U., B.A., 1938, Sept.)*
7. Describe the events that led to the third battle of Panipat. Could it be correctly described as a misfortune for all concerned? *(P.U., B.A., 1939, April)*
8. Discuss the chief causes of the decline and fall of the Maratha confederacy. How far was it due to the imperfections of the Maratha political and administrative system? *(P.U., B.A., 1939, Sept.)*
9. Discuss the character of the Maratha confederacy, and recount the causes of its decay and downfall. *(P.U., B.A., 1941)*
10. Comment on this statement :—"Despite the great part it had played in Indian politics for the past century the Maratha confederacy had made no positive contribution to the development of true nationalism."—*Rushbrook Williams.*
11. *Explain* :—"The fate of India has been decided more than once on the vast plain of Panipat."

[**Hints :** (1) First Battle of Panipat (1526) by which the first Muslim Empire was extinguished and the Second Mohammadan Empire of the Mughals was founded by Babar. (2) The Second Battle of Panipat (1556). The Afghan power was crushed and the Mughal Empire was restored by Akbar. (3) The Third battle of Panipat (1761). The Maratha Empire and the Maratha confederacy were smashed by Abdali and all their hopes for establishing the Hindu Raj were frustrated.]

† The first 6 Misls were situated to the north of the river Sutlej. This part is called the 'Manjah'. The second 6 Misls were situated to the south of the river. This part is called the 'Malwa'.



## PART III

# THE RISE AND EXPANSION OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA (1600-1946)

## SECTION I (1600-1774)

1. The Advent of Europeans.
2. The Anglo-French Struggle (1726-1818).
3. The Governors of Bengal (1757-1774)

### Portuguese Governors

Almeida	...	1505-1509
Albuquerque	...	1509-1515

### French Governors

Martin	...	1697-1735
Dumas	...	1735-1741
Dupleix	...	1741-1755

### English Governors of Bengal

Clive (First Administration)	...	1757-1760
Holwell (officiating)	...	1760-1760
Vansittart	...	1760-1765
Clive (Second Administration)	...	1765-1767
Verelst	...	1767-1769
Cartier	...	1769-1772
Warren Hastings	...	1772-1774

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE ADVENT OF EUROPEANS

**Q. 104. Give an account of the discovery of the direct sea-route to India by Europeans.**

**Trade Routes Before 1498** Commercial intercourse both maritime and over-land between India and Europe is perhaps as old as civilization, as the products and manufactures of India were in great demand in western markets. From the dim ages of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchies, it had continued to the Ionian Greeks and then Alexander's invasion gave it an enormous impetus. The expansion of the Roman Empire further facilitated this trade. Amongst the channels of trade three were very important: (1) Through Afghanistan and Central Asia, merchandise from Northern India went first to Kabul or Kandhar, and thence, to Balkh, Samarkand, Astrakhan and from the Caspian Sea reached the Black Sea. (2) A more southern line was through Persia to Damascus, or Alexandria and in a greater or less degree, the whole of the coast of Asia Minor and Syria served as a commercial centre for the Indo-European trade. This was known as the great Asiatic land-route, almost the whole of which was once controlled by the Persian monarchies. (3) From central and southern India as well as from its eastern portion, the sea was the means of communication and was largely used by the Indians to carry on their trade with Ceylon, Africa and Egypt, at the proper season. The Indian vessels used to leave the harbours of Cochin, Calicut, Goa and Gujrat during the north east monsoons and made rapid voyages to the Persian Gulf or to Aden,



and also to the coasts of Egypt. They discharged their cargoes at Cossein, Mocha, or Gedo, in the Red Sea or at Bushair or Basra, in the Persian Gulf. The emporiums for the southern trade were Alexandria, Smyrna, and other ports in the Mediterranean. Palmyra was the emporium for the overland trade, and from all these centres the Venetians and the Genoese had a monopoly of the carrying trade to Europe.

**Arab Monopoly.** The old trade routes mentioned above were practically closed down in the 7th century A.D. due to the conquest of these countries by the Arabs, who monopolized the bulk of the trade. They now began to carry Indian merchandise to the markets of the countries situated on the Mediterranean Sea. But when Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453, this overland route was also closed. From this time, the eastern trade became the monopoly of the Genoese and the Venetians. The other European national were excluded from any share in this lucrative business. This led to the discovery of a sea-route to India.

**Discovery of a sea-route by Vasco-da-Gama (1498).** A direct sea-route to India was, about this time, considered practicable. The Portuguese sea captains, in their pursuit of the hated Moors, had already explored a part of the Western coast of Africa as well as a portion of the interior of the country or the homes of the Moors. A free use of scientific nautical instruments like the compass had removed a good deal of the terror of the ocean from the minds of the explorers, who now began to venture further afield. (1) Prince Henry of Portugal (1393-1460) started a regular school for the scientific training of sea-men, who would carry on the work of exploration. The result of these activities was that nearly the whole of the African coast became known to the Portuguese. By 1471, the Equator was crossed, and the river Congo was reached in 1481. (2) In 1486-87, Bartholomew Diaz sent by King John II was carried by storms past the Cape of Good Hope. (3) Ten years later, another Portuguese navigator, Vasco-da-Gama, took up this work under King Emanuel. He left Portugal in 1497 and following the route of Diaz, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, sailed up the east coast of Africa and reached Mozambique. Ships from India were lying in the harbours of Melinda, and there he obtained the services of an Indian pilot. He sailed for India on April 22, 1498 and after a month's voyage, Vasco-da-Gama cast anchor near the beautiful city of Calicut, of which the Hindu ruler Zamorin offered him a friendly reception and granted him the privilege of trading in his dominions.

**Vasco-da-Gama's Return (1499).** Vasco-da-Gama carried on trade on a very small scale with the friendly Hindu princes of the Western coast. He diverted the trade from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic ocean. The Arab traders took it as an intrusion in their monopoly, and began to oppose him. Due to this jealousy, Vasco-da-Gama left India in 1499 after three months' stay. The Arabs tried to win over the sympathies of the state by liberal presents and poisoned the ears of the Raja Zamorin by saying that trade was not the real object of their visit, but it was to spy the country with a view to conquer it for establishing an Empire.

### Other Voyages

(1) **Pedro Alvarez Cabral (1500-01).** Another expedition consisting of 13 vessels was despatched from Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, under Cabral. Due to bad weather, the fleet was driven to Brazil and thence it reached Calicut in 1500, where a factory was established with the permission of the Raja. This factory was later on destroyed by the Arabs through jealousy. Another factory was also built at Cochin which met the same fate. Cabral returned to Portugal in 1501. (2) **Joao-Da-Nova (1501).** He was in charge of the third expedition. The Zamorin Raja was hospitable to him. On his way back, he discovered the island of St. Helena which became a coaling station. (3) **Vasco-da-Gama (1501-03).** He came a second time to India, founded a factory at Cannanore and returned to Portugal in 1503. In spite of the Arab opposition, the Portuguese fully availed of this discovery and established trading centres at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore and opposed the Arabs with cruelty and oppression. The Arabs had to yield at last and this gradually led to the rise of the Portuguese power in India. After the departure of Vasco-da-Gama, the Zamorin attacked the Portuguese in Cochin, but he suffered a defeat. This defeat established the superiority of European over Asiatic soldiers and laid the foundation of European ascendancy in India.

**Q. 105. What circumstances favoured the Portuguese to make settlements in the beginning, and with what objects did they come ?**



### CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOURABLE FOR THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS

(a) **Favourable circumstances for the Portuguese** In four respects the Portuguese were singularly fortunate. (1) On the Malabar coast, they came in touch with a number of small princes who were jealous of each other. (2) The country round Cochin and Calicut was not fertile enough to supply the needs of the inhabitants. (3) The Portuguese found that there was no state worth the name which could make either great or sustained efforts to prevent their establishment. (4) Their warships were stouter and more formidable than any ships they met in Indian waters.

(b) **Three objects.** The Portuguese had three clearly defined objects before them when they came to India. (1) The Pope had allotted the New World to Spain and the Eastern lands to Portugal by drawing a line of demarcation and the Portuguese wanted to do in India what the Spaniards were doing in America. (2) They came here to increase their natural wealth by trade and plunder and found an empire in India. (3) They wanted to convert the inhabitants of India to Christianity by preaching, and if that failed, by the sword.

**Q. 106. Give an account of the Portuguese Viceroys of India.**

Or

**Q. 107. Trace the history of the rise of Portuguese power in India and account for its decline.** (P.U., B.A., 1934 Sept.)

#### The Portuguese Viceroys and the Rise of Portuguese Power.

(1) **Almeida and his "Blue-water" policy (1505-1509).** The spread of Portuguese acquisitions in India warranted the appointment of a Viceroy. Don Francisco de Almeida therefore, was the first Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in India. Almeida may be described as the leader of the 'Blue Water' policy. He disbelieved in the policy of multiplying settlements on land, holding that Portugal did not possess men enough to occupy many forts, and that such factories as might be established should rely for protection on Portuguese fleets in command of the sea. He regarded as visionary any idea of establishing Portuguese empire in the east, and asked them to confine themselves exclusively to trade maintaining the doctrine that the greater the number of fortresses you hold, the weaker will be your power; let all your forces be on the sea. "Let it be known for certain," he declared "that as long as you may be powerful at sea, you will hold India as yours; and if you did not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore."

**War with the Egyptians (1509).** The discovery of a sea-route to India via Cape of Good Hope changed the trade routes and the Egyptians thereby suffered some losses. At the instigation of the Venetians, who were equally affected by this change, the Egyptians sent an expedition against the Portuguese, in which Almeida was defeated and his son was killed in 1509. Next year, the Portuguese re-conquered Dien, and this victory strengthened their position again in India. Moreover, the conquest of Egypt by the Turks made them safe.

(2) **Albuquerque and His Policy (1509-15).** Albuquerque had been despatched to India in 1506 with the object of counteracting the Muslim influence in the Indian Ocean. He succeeded Almeida as Viceroy after the expiry of his term in 1509 and his idea was to found a Portuguese empire in the east, based on the following four points as remarked by Mr. Stephens: (1) 'He desired to occupy certain important points for



trading purposes, and to rule them directly ; (2) he desired to colonize the selected districts by encouraging mixed marriages with the native inhabitants ; (3) where he could not conquer or colonize, he desired to build fortresses ; and (4) when this was impracticable, he desired to induce the native monarchs to recognize the supremacy of the King of Portugal and to pay him tribute.' In brief, the guiding principle of his policy was to establish complete Portuguese control over Indian trade. And an integral part of that policy was not only to hold command of the sea, but also to establish strongly fortified settlements on Indian soil. The home authorities approved of this policy. "But it failed partly from its inherent defects, partly from the extraordinary folly of the attitude adopted by the Portuguese Government after he was gone."

**His Work.** In view of the above policy, Albuquerque built a fort at Cochin with the permission of the Zamorin Raja, took Goa from the Bijapore Sultan in 1510, Dieu from the Mir of Gujrat, and established fortified factories at Colombo and Malacca. He excluded the Moham-madans from office. He appointed Portuguese officers to exercise revenue and criminal jurisdiction assisted by the Hindu clerks, for whose education he established schools. He upheld the constitution of the ancient Hindu village communities, and enrolled native soldiers commanded by Hindu officers. He abolished Sati and encouraged mixed marriages in order to increase the influence of his country. This policy did not prove useful. He conquered Ormuz in the Persian Gulf but failed to get Aden. Like his predecessor, he never believed in the policy of occupation.

**Estimate of his Character.** "He had traits in his character that appealed peculiarly to orientals : his valour, his strict veracity, his integrity and charitableness. He was feared and at the same time loved. He was not a man to be daunted by one failure, and never rested till he had achieved his resolve. A patriot every inch his reputation for disinterestedness was very high." His countrymen unanimously style him 'the Great' on account of his administration. Though some of his actions were violent, yet his general administration led his compatriots to shower upon him the highest praises.

**Death (1515).** In spite of all he did for his country, his last days were clouded by the ingratitude of his countrymen. His supersession broke his heart and he died in 1515 and was buried at Goa 'amidst the regrets of Europeans and natives, by whom he was equally loved.'

**The Growth of the Portuguese Possessions After Albuquerque.** The Portuguese captured Dieu and Bassein in 1534, and Daman in 1538. In 1538, they successfully defended Dieu against the Gujrat forces, aided by the Pasha of Egypt, under orders from his superior, Suleman the Magnificent, the Ottoman Sultan of Constantinople. In 1538, they also got the permission to establish a factory at Gola, the would-be Hugly. In 1540, Francis Xavier began his missionary work in India. In 1545, the fort of Dieu was again hard-pressed by the king of Gujrat, but was relieved by the Portuguese. In 1571, a confederation was formed against the Portuguese consisting of the kings of Bijapore, Ahmadnagar, and Calicut, but it failed to take possession of Goa.

**Their Decline.** In 1604, the Portuguese were driven from Amboyna by the Dutch. In 1622, the Persians seized Ormuz. Shahjahan crushed their power in Bengal in 1631. The Dutch occupied Malacca in 1640, and drove the Portuguese from Ceylon in 1656. Bassein was conquered by the Marathas in 1739. After this the only three places left in their possession were Goa, Dieu and Daman situated on the Malabar coast.



**The Causes of their Decline.** (1) The cruelty of the Portuguese especially to the Mohammadans was horrible, and under Albuquerque it culminated in the poisoning of both the Zamorin of Calicut and a Persian officer at Ormuz. (2) After the death of Albuquerque, the Portuguese Government based its policy on a desire to make conversions by fair means or foul, rather than from political or commercial motives, and engaged in an insane attempt to force the natives of India to adopt Christianity. (3) The high-handedness of the Court of Inquisition hastened the downfall because of its atrocious persecution. It created an unbridgeable gulf between the rulers and the ruled. (4) The Local Governments established by the Portuguese were utterly corrupt. Men were degraded by their marriages with native women who were given to debauchery. (5) The temporary union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580 under Philip II dragged her into European quarrels and thus with her limited resources, she could not control this distant empire of the east. She became free in 1640, and by that time other European nations had taken the field. (6) The advent of the Dutch, the English and the French in India. (7) The discovery of Brazil diverted most of their activity to that quarter. (8) Their trading methods had more than a flavour of piracy about them. (9) Portugal was too small a country to spare either men or money to maintain effectively such a vast empire situated at so great a distance. (10) Lastly, the successors of Albuquerque were, with very few exceptions, corrupt and incapable; while in cruelty and violence they surpassed the founders of the Empire. They were weak in their policy. (11) The dream of a huge empire cherished by Albuquerque was replaced by a cheap, commonplace commercialism and intolerant and unwise religiosity.

**Q. 108. Give an account of the rise of the Dutch power in the East.**

### THE RISE OF DUTCH POWER IN THE EAST

**Houtman's Expedition (1594-98).** The first assault upon the Portuguese monopoly of the eastern trade came from the Dutch. Having won their independence from Spain at the cost of much bloodshed and suffering, they felt the pulsation of a new life and entered upon a career of naval and commercial expansion. The Dutch, whose sole object of coming to India was trade and no interest in the internal politics of the country, felt foiled in their attempts to find a new sea-route to India and China, fell back upon the Cape-route. They sent four ships under Houtman, who had some knowledge of the east, via Cape of Good Hope. He reached Java in 1596 and was opposed by the Portuguese and imprisoned whence he managed to escape and returned to Holland in 1598. In 1598 the Dutch fitted out as many as five expeditions to trade with the east and some of these were extremely successful.

**The United East India Company of the Netherlands (1602).** Encouraged by their success, the Dutch in 1602 amalgamated their private trading companies and formed the United East India Company of the Netherlands under state patronage. From the first the Dutch directed their attention to controlling the spice trade, and so they coveted the Malay Archipelago rather than the mainland of India. With the permission of the king of Golconda, the Dutch established a factory at Masaulipatam (1605). Later on factories were also established at Surat, Broach, Cambay, Agra, Chinsurah and other places for purchasing textiles. They overcame the opposition of the Portuguese, whose settlements they attacked and occupied one after another. They conquered Java in 1619, and effectively checked English competition in the Malay Archipelago by the infamous massacre of the Englishmen at Amboyna (1623). They captured Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641, and ousted them from Ceylon in 1658. These conquests gave them the control of the



commerce of the Spice Islands. In India the principal Dutch strongholds were Nagapatam on the Madras coast and Chinsura in Bengal, but they had many other minor settlements both on the Malabar and the Coromandal coasts. The Dutch never acquired any formidable military power in India. Their possessions in India grew insignificant before the rising English settlement and were eventually conquered by the English. But the Dutch retained their supremacy in the Malay Archipelago. It may be stated here that the Dutch power in India was largely jeopardized on European battlefields.

**Q. 109.** Comment on the statement, "The high-handed policy of the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago was a blessing in disguise for the English."

## THE BREAK UP OF DUTCH POWER

The English East India Company, in the early years of its career in the East, was more desirous of developing its trade with the Spice Islands and the Archipelago than on the mainland of India. But the Dutch were already having a prosperous trade in the Spice Islands. They could not tolerate rivals and proceeded to drive them out by the use of their superior physical force. Their vindictive rivalry culminated in the massacre of Amboyna, where a number of Englishmen and Japanese were tortured and put to death, and the English had to devote their entire attention to India. However unpleasant the fact at that time appeared to be, it was pregnant with vast possibilities in the future, though they were then unforeseen. From the commercial point of view, the profits of trade in India exceeded those in the Spice Islands. But an enviable lot awaited the Company in the domain of territorial acquisitions, which went beyond its wildest dreams. The high-handed policy of the Dutch gave an unconscious turn to the Company's activity, which brought them India, the richest jewel in the British Crown.

**The Danish Settlements :—**The Portuguese and the Dutch were followed in the Eastern waters by the Danes but they never made much impression in India. In 1616, the Danish East India Company was established. At Tranquebar on the east coast of India, they founded a factory in 1620 and in 1676 another factory was established at Serampore near Calcutta. In 1845 the Danish factories in India were sold to the British.

**Q. 110.** Give the history of the East India Company. Account for its success in the first stages of its life.

## THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

**East India Company started in 1600.** The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1587 had encouraged the British to seek for colonial and commercial expansion and thereby lay the foundation of Greater England. The British wanted to avail of the lucrative Eastern trade. In 1599, a body of English merchants joined together and applied to Queen Elizabeth for a charter to trade in the East. In 1600, after obtaining the Charter, they formed the East India Company under the name of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." The Company got the exclusive right to trade with India for fifteen years.

**Its Early Career.** In the beginning the Company organized 'separate voyages' in which each fleet was despatched by a particular group of subscribers, who divided among themselves the profits arising from their adventure. The first two voyages were directed chiefly to the Spice Islands. In the third voyage Captain Hawkins established the first English factory at Surat in 1608 with the permission of Jahangir. Under the pressure of the Portuguese, however, this concession was withdrawn. The East India Company during the early stages of its existence could not flourish due to the opposition of the Dutch and the Portuguese.



**The Massacre of Amboyna (1623).** In the Spice Islands the Dutch proved too strong for the English. In 1623, they massacred a number of Englishmen at Amboyna. Since then the English never seriously challenged the position of the Dutch in those Islands.

**East India Company and the Portuguese.** After the Massacre of Amboyna the English had better luck in store for them in India. In 1612, Captain Best had already defeated a Portuguese fleet near Surat. This victory secured for the English an imperial *farman* allowing them to establish a factory at Surat. Two years later the English won another naval victory over the Portuguese and in 1622 captured *Ormuz* from them with the help of the Shah of Persia. These victories weakened the Portuguese power in India, and henceforward the English had little to fear from their rivalry.

**East India Company and their activities under the Mughals or an account of Anglo-Mughal relations (1605-1707).** In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe arrived in India as an ambassador to the court of Jahangir from James I of England. He foiled the intrigues of the Portuguese at the court and secured from Jahangir important trading privileges for his countrymen. The English followed up their advantages and established factories at various points on the coast of India. On the eastern coast their earliest trading stations were at *Armagaon* and *Masulipatam*. In 1640, the site of *Madras* was purchased from the Raja of *Chandragiri* and permission was obtained to build a fortified factory there, which was named *Fort St. George*. In the meantime factories had been established in 1633 at *Balasore* and *Hariharpur* in Orissa. In Bengal a factory was established at *Hugli* in 1651, by virtue of the privileges granted to the Company in return for the medical assistance rendered to the Subedar of Bengal by an English surgeon named *Gabriel Boughton*. In 1661, the Company obtained the island of *Bombay* at a nominal rent of £ 10 a year from *Charles II*, who received it from the Portuguese as part of the dowry of his wife, *Catherine of Braganza*.

**East India Company and Aurangzeb.** About 1658, a dispute concerning custom duties arose between the English traders of Bengal and its Nawab *Shayista Khan*. Sir *Josiah Child*, the then Governor of the Company, was ambitious of territorial sovereignty in India. He took advantage of this quarrel to persuade King *James II* to declare war against *Aurangzeb*. An English expedition arrived at *Hugli*, but failed to effect anything. The only result of this spirited war policy was the expulsion of the English from Bengal. Besides, the English factory at *Surat* was also seized, and *Aurangzeb* ordered all Englishmen to be driven out of his dominions. The English like *Shivaji* retaliated by attacking pilgrim ships sailing from *Surat* to *Mecca*. Eventually terms of peace were arranged and the English were permitted to return. *Job Charnock*, the English agent at *Hugli*, had since 1686 been trying to establish a factory on the site of *Calcutta*. The hostility of *Shayista Khan* had prevented him from realizing his object. But after the conclusion of peace, he secured *Aurangzeb's* permission and established a factory on the site of modern *Calcutta* in 1690. Six years later the place was fortified and named *Fort William*. About 1700, the Company purchased the villages of *Sutanati*, *Kalikata*, and *Gobindpore* and the city which began to grow on the sites of these villages, came to be

*Job Charnock = Calcutta*



known as Calcutta. The Company further legalized its status by securing *farmans* or signed privileges from Emperor Farrukhsiyar, who granted many important concessions as a reward for the medical services rendered to him by an English surgeon named William Hamilton.

**Struggle between the Old and New East India Companies and the growth of the United East India Company (1708).** The monopoly of Eastern trade enjoyed by the Company aroused much opposition in England and as early as 1635, a rival Company was formed by Sir William Courten under a licence from Charles I. After a ruinous competition the two companies were amalgamated in 1649. The position of the company became prosperous after 1661, when its Charter was renewed and King Charles II granted to it the right to coin money, exercise jurisdiction over the English subjects in the East and make war and peace with non-Christian peoples. But some thirty years after the Company's monopoly again excited vehement opposition, which resulted in the formation of another rival Company.

**The New East India Company and Godolphin's Award (1702).** The new Company did all it could do to thwart the old Company, which was brought to the brink of ruin. The competition between the two bodies was bitter and undignified till 1702, when a compromise was effected. The final settlement took place in 1708, when by the award of Godolphin's Ministry (1702-1710) in the days of Queen Anne (1702-1714) all disputed points were set at rest and the two companies were amalgamated under the title of the "United Company of Merchants of England trading with the East Indies." This United Company is commonly known as "The Honourable East India Company," and it continued its work till 1858 when its power was transferred to the Crown as a result of the Indian Mutiny. (P.U., B.A. 1937)

**Causes of its success.**—(1) The relaxation of Imperial authority on the outskirts of their dominions because of the rise of the Marathas in the Deccan and the Sikhs in the Punjab. (2) The break up of the Mughal Empire on the death of Aurangzeb and the practical independence of the feudatories in the Deccan, Oudh, Bengal and other places. (3) The habitual neglect of the defences on the frontiers of the Empire, which led to the invasion of Nadir Shah and Abdali. (4) The disorganization of the administrative system of the Empire and consequent disorder e.g., total insecurity of all private property, heavy land revenue exactions, denial of justice, the tyranny and cupidity of the sovereign and his subordinates. (5) The absence of a regular navy in the Mughal system of defences, which alone could have enabled the native rulers to keep up a blockade of the harbours and river estuaries or to bar the entry of foreign ships.

**Q.-111. Point out the various difficulties which the East India Company had to meet with in the beginning.**

#### **EAST INDIA COMPANY AND ITS EARLY DIFFICULTIES**

(1) The East India Company had no first hand knowledge of the East and had to depend entirely on the description of travellers. (2) They had to face the hostility of the Spaniards and the Portuguese whose monopoly they disturbed. (3) The Dutch were also formidable rivals. Besides the numerous trade expeditions despatched by private companies, the United Dutch Company was founded in 1602 as a rival of the English Company. (4) The East India Company had to explore



the Indian seas, work out a system of commerce, and to train a staff of servants. Besides meeting the hostility of Spain and Holland, they had to justify their existence at home also. They had to do all this unaided by the state. The Dutch Company was supported by the Dutch Government, and the Spanish ships and merchants were all hailed and defended by the Emperor of Spain, but the East India Company was not patronized by the State. They had to depend altogether on their own initiative and resources. (5) The East India Company had also to fight against the false Mercantile system theory, which hindered all trade. This system meant that the balance of trade should always be in our favour and the balance of import and export should be brought back to the country not in the form of goods but in the form of gold and silver. The export of gold and silver from a country impoverished it.

**Q. 117. Summarize the history of the French East India Company.**

#### THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

**The French East India Company (1664-1744).** The French made some early attempts to reach India by the Cape route, but without much success. The first French East India Company, which succeeded in establishing permanent trade relations with India, was that of 1664, which owed its existence and success to the interest of the French minister Colbert. A factory was established at Surat in 1668, and another at Masulipatam in 1669. In 1674, Martin founded Pondicherry, the future capital of French India, on the piece of territory given by a native ruler. In Bengal (1690-92), a factory was built at Chandarnagar on the Hugly on a site given by the Nawab. France was at war with Holland from 1670 to 1713, and during this time the French East India Company was adversely affected. In 1672, the French occupied St. Thomas on the Coromandal Coast, but the Dutch captured it in 1674, and in 1698 they captured Pondicherry also. For six years Pondicherry remained in the hands of the Dutch and they fortified it, but it was restored to the French in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick. Through the care of its founder, Martin, it grew into a flourishing town, though no help was received from home. However, the French influence elsewhere in India decayed. The factories at Surat and Masulipatam were abandoned, and the Company in France was in a miserable condition up to 1720, when it was reorganized and amalgamated with the Canada Company, the Senegal Company, the China Company, and other companies, but this mammoth association failed in 1720, and the East India Company was again reconstituted with the monopoly of tobacco. From this time, the fortunes of the Company improved; Mahe in Malabar was acquired in 1725, and Karikal on the coast of Coromandal in 1739.

**The French Governors: Dumas (1735-41) and Dupleix (1741-55).** In 1735, M. Dumas was appointed the Governor of Pondicherry. In 1741, Dupleix, who was in charge of the factory at Chandernagar, was appointed head of the French Government at Pondicherry. He at once strengthened the position of the French in the Deccan and raised their prestige by cultivating friendly relations with the neighbouring princes.

**The Ostend Company.** Besides the above-mentioned companies, the Lowlanders in 1714 started a company, which received its charter from Charles VI of Austria to trade with the East. The arrival of this Company, embittered the relations between England and Holland. Charles VI, who had to take the consent of Holland and England for the Pragmatic Sanction so that Maria Theresa should succeed to the throne in spite of the Salic Law, agreed, at first, to suspend the privileges of the Company in 1727, and then to suppress the Company altogether in 1731. Later on this Company was revived and it founded a few settlements, but eventually it became dead.



## QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Trace the history of the rise of the Portuguese power in India and account for its decline. (P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)
2. Give some account of the struggle between the old and the New East India Companies till Godolphin's award of 1708. (P.U., B.A., 1937)
3. Discuss the Portuguese Indian policy under Albuquerque in the light of the Portuguese failure to found a lasting Empire in the East. (P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)
4. Why did the Portuguese lead the way in the establishment of European settlements in India and why did they fail to found an empire in India? (P.U., B.A., 1941)

Or

Though the earliest in the East, Portugal could not establish any permanent dominion in India. Why? (P.U., B.A., 1936)

5. Give an account of the type of life led by the early English settlers in India.

[Hints. The Company had in the beginning three centres of their activities--Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Each one of these places was governed by a President, assisted by a council of senior merchants. Their salaries were meagre, and the servants of the Company, therefore, were allowed to engage in private trade. After the day's work was over, all of them used to dine together in the Common Hall. The factories were surrounded by brick walls. Inside the factory there were gardens, fish ponds and a hospital for the sick. A preacher for saying daily prayers and for a sermon on Sundays used to live inside the factory. The judicial officer was known as the Mayor. Offences were punished by fines and flogging. An appeal against the order of the Mayor could be made to the Council of the Governor.]

6. Give an account of the French East India Company.
7. How do you account for the early success of the English East India Company?
8. Give an account of Anglo-Mughal relations from 1605—1719.
9. Write notes on :—The Blue-water policy of Almedia, Godolphin's Award, the Massacre of Amboyna, the three early trade routes, and Sir Josiah Child.
10. Write a note on the Dutch East India Company.

Colbert —

Sural 1668

Manulpatin 1669

Pondicherry Martin



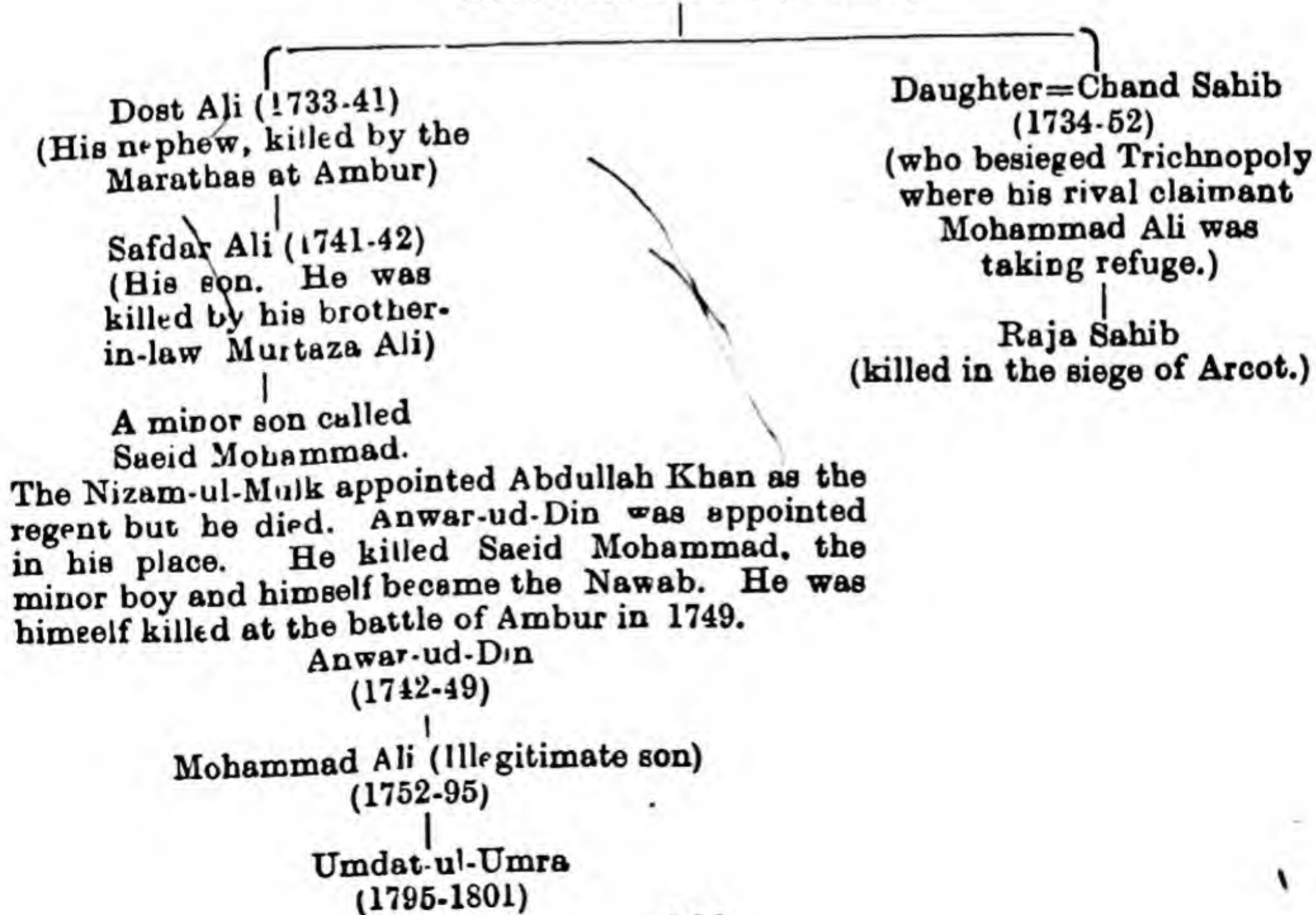
## THE ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY (1746-1818)

**Q. 113.** Give an account of the relative position of the English and the French in India before the outbreak of the Anglo-French struggle.

**The Position of the English India Company (1746).** The English Company was by far the wealthier body and drove the most vigorous trade, its fleet of merchant-men were larger and more regular in their voyages to and fro. It had a longer, more continuous and less chequered history in the east. The presidency of Bombay was far superior in strength, to any French settlement on the west coast. Calcutta quite dwarfed Chandernagar in the Gangetic delta and Madras was at least equal to Pondicherry in size and strength, though it greatly excelled the French settlement in the extent and variety of its commerce. Finally, to the great and good fortune of the English, the English Company was a great private corporation, founded and maintained by individual enterprisers, supported by the profits drawn from the trade with India, not dependent in any way on the state, but rather having the state itself considerably in its debt unconnected officially with the government by any legal tie, but able by the presence of many of its directors in the Parliament and by its wealth and interest to exercise great influence upon national policy.

**The Position of the French East India Company (1746).** As for the French Company, their settlements on the western shore and in Bengal could not claim to rival those of the English though in Pondicherry they possessed a fine and well-fortified town. The value of the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon in the Indian Ocean was doubted by contemporary critics, who considered that as a base of operations they were too far from the mainland of India and therefore a source of weakness rather than of strength. Moreover, the French Company had always been more the off spring of patronage than the outcome of spontaneous mercantile activity. It had never been in a position to dispense with royal subsidies and royal interference. As a consequence of the state control, a certain lethargy crept into all the Company's business which was reflected in their Indian settlements.

### THE ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE (1746-1818) GENEALOGY OF THE NAWABS OF CARNATIC Sa'dat Ullah Khan (1710-33)





**The Carnatic on the eve of Anglo-French Struggle.** In 1710, Emperor Bahadur Shah appointed Sa'dat Ullah Khan (1710-33) as the Nawab of Carnatic. He died in 1733 and was succeeded by his nephew Dost Ali (1733-41) with the assistance of the French Governor, Dumas, but without any sanction from the Mughal Emperor Mohammad Shah. He was attacked by the Marathas under Raghuji Bhonsla, defeated and slain at Ambur in 1741. This brilliant success achieved by the Marathas spread universal terror. Safdar Ali, the new Nawab, was jealous of Chanda Sahib, the ruler at Trichinopoly. At his request the Marathas attacked Chanda Sahib, who submitted and was carried as a prisoner to Satara where he remained till 1749. Safdar Ali (1741-42), the son of Dost Ali, fled away. He was murdered by his brother-in-law Murtaza Ali in 1742. After his assassination, his minor son Saeid Mohammad was unable to control the affairs of the Carnatic. The Nizam of the Deccan, was then alive. He claimed the overlordship of the Carnatic, came to Arcot, its capital, and appointed one of his officers, Abdullah Khan, as the regent, but he soon died. The Nizam in his place appointed Anwar-ud-Din, another officer of his, who killed Saeid Mohammad, the minor boy, and himself became the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1742.

**The Battle of Ambur (1749).** After his release in 1749, Chanda Sahib, a man of great energy, the son-in-law of Dost Ali, and the grandfather of Saeid Mohammad, took up the cause of the latter and with the assistance of the French and Muzaffar Jang, the ruler of Deccan, he killed Anwar-ud-Din at Ambur in 1749 and became himself the Nawab of Arcot. Anwar-ud-Din's son Mohammad Ali fled away to Trichinopoly, where he was besieged by Chanda Sahib.

**Four Stages of the Anglo-French Struggle.** Among all the European nations which came to India for trading purposes, there remained at last only two : the English and the French. Each one of them was anxious to oust the other. In course of time, the commercial rivalry between the two nations soon gave way to political rivalry in the East.

**Note.**—It may be mentioned in the beginning that the Anglo-French struggle in India which manifested itself in the form of three Carnatic Wars was mainly based on two fundamental reasons, although these wars might have also been caused by other immediate reasons as well. (1) Rivalry between the English and the French in Europe meant as a general principle rivalry between the two wherever they might be on the surface of the globe. (2) Trade jealousies were but natural, as their factories were situated near each other. Moreover they had common customers with the result that the prosperity of the one was the cause of jealousy for the other.

#### The Carnatic Wars (1746-61)

- |                                  |                                       |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) First Carnatic War           | (1746-1748) Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle |
| (2) Second Carnatic War          | (1751-1755) Treaty of Pondicherry.    |
| (3) Third Carnatic War           | (1758-1761) Treaty of Paris (1763)    |
| (4) Fourth stage of the struggle | (1778-1818) Congress of Vienna.       |

**Q. 114. Give an account of the First Carnatic War (1746-48).**

Or

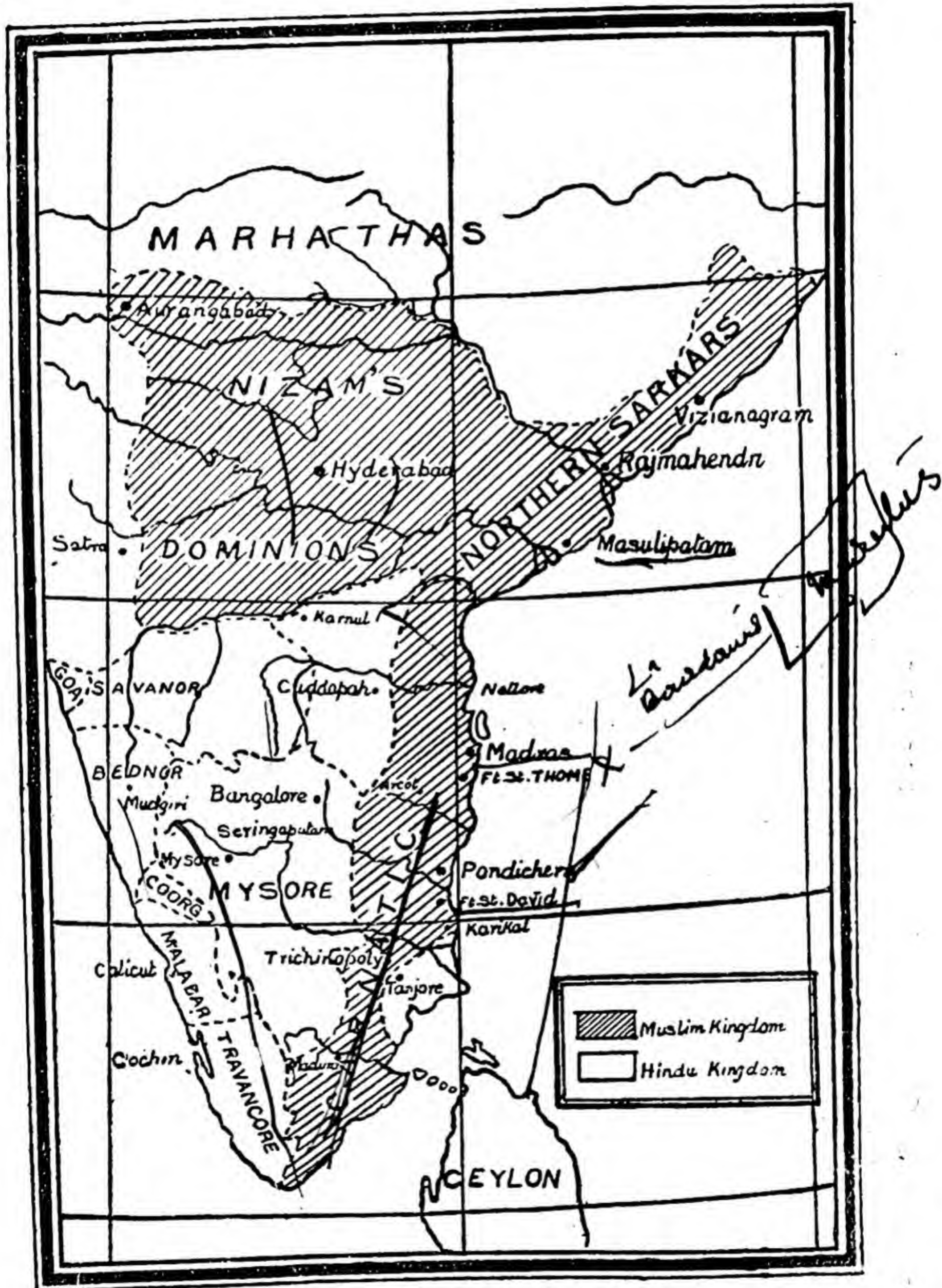
**Q. 115. Describe briefly how European politics influenced the history of India during the period of the struggle for supremacy between the French and the English.**

#### THE FIRST CARNATIC WAR (1746-48)

**Causes.** (1) The close contiguity of their possessions in southern India brought the English and the French in constant collision with each other. (2) The vigorous commercial policy of the French governors like La Bourdonnais and Dupleix in the East aimed at the complete expulsion of the English from the Indies ; the result was that the relations between the two nations were always strained. (3) The immediate cause was the War of the Austrian Succession which broke out in Europe in 1740. England and France took opposite sides from the



very beginning, though they formally declared war against each other in 1744. Consequently, war broke out between the two nations in India also.



The Carnatic Wars (1746—1761)

**Leading Events of the War.** In 1745, the English squadron appeared off Pondicherry; Dupleix induced Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab of Carnatic, to interpose with an order forbidding hostilities within his jurisdiction. In 1746, La Bourdonnais, the French Governor of Bourbon



and Mauritius, mustered a fleet and appeared off the Coromandal coast. He met the British squadron off the Madras coast and compelled it to withdraw to Ceylon. He then steered for Madras which surrendered on conditions permitting the English to regain the town on payment of a ransom. The monsoon having now set in, La Bourdonnais was constrained to quit the coast and return to Mauritius. On his departure, Dupleix at once annulled the treaty with the English at Madras, captured their governors and officers, and carried them off to Pondicherry as prisoners of war. In 1747, the French attack on Fort St. David was repulsed and the attack on Cuddalore likewise failed. In 1748, Admiral Boscawen arrived with a formidable fleet and besieged Pondicherry, but was repulsed with heavy loss. The war came to a close in 1748.

**The Battle of San Thomas, (1746).** Another important event took place during the First Carnatic war. Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab of Carnatic, had protested indignantly at this private war within his territory, but he had been pacified with a promise by the French that Madras, when captured, would be given to him. To his great surprise, he now found that the promise had been made only to coax him. He, therefore, determined to punish the deceiver and sent his son, Mohammad Ali, to drive the French out of Madras. The French Commander Paradis won a brilliant victory against the enemy at *San Thomas* in 1746, in spite of very heavy odds against him. "This engagement, although small in comparison with others, may be considered one of the most important and decisive battles in India," says Col. Malleon. It definitely proved for the first time the superiority of European arms and discipline over the traditional Indian methods of warfare.

**The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).** By this treaty, the English and the French governments balanced their defeat in one continent, with their victory in another continent and this was to the great disappointment of Dupleix. Madras in India was restored to the English in lieu of Louisburg in North America, which was restored to the French. Dupleix's work was undone as the French had abandoned the sure in India for the uncertain in America, and lost that also.

**The Results of the War.** (1) The War did not alter the relative position of either Company. "But it changed their character and deepened their rivalry. Both had acquired a taste for oriental warfare; both had raised forces which they could not disband owing to mutual jealousies. (2) The French military reputation and prestige had greatly increased and the value of disciplined troops had been sufficiently demonstrated. Dupleix was encouraged to lend his troops as auxiliaries to any native prince, who might apply for his aid on payment of a heavy fee in the form of territory or exclusive commercial privileges. (3) "In Europe French trade and marine at sea had suffered so heavily, and her naval material at home was so completely spent, that according to Voltaire she had no warships left. Such national destitution was damaging to the interest of the French East India Company, which was directly associated with the fortress of the state."

**Dodwell's opinion.** "The War of the Austrian Succession" writes Dodwell, "though in appearance it achieved nothing and left the political boundaries of India unaltered, yet marks an epoch in Indian history. It demonstrated the overwhelming influence of sea-power when intelligently directed, it displayed the superiority

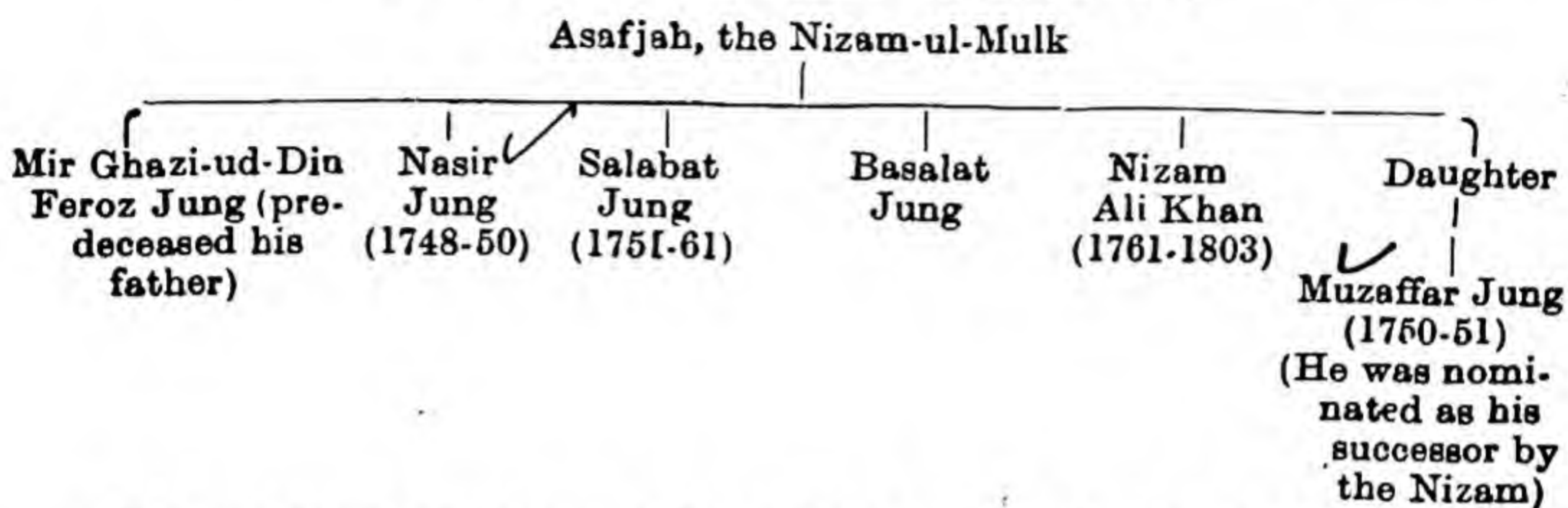
*lend his troops as auxiliaries*



of European methods of war over those followed by Indian armies ; it revealed the political decay that had eaten into the heart of the Indian State system ; and its conclusion illustrated the resultant tendency of European treaties to intrude into a world that had previously altogether ignored them. In short, it set the stage for the experiments of Dupleix and Clive." Malleson writes, "From vassals they (Europeans) had jumped almost to the position of liege lords."

**Q. 116. Give an account of the Second Carnatic War (1751-55).**

### THE SECOND CARNATIC WAR (1751-1755)



**Disputed successions at Hyderabad in the Deccan and the Carnatic.** In 1748, the aged Nizam died and the vacant throne was contested between Muzaffar Jung and Nasir Jung. This dispute was further complicated by a similar contest in the Carnatic between Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Dost Ali, and Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab of Carnatic. Dupleix supported Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung and thereby made French influence supreme both in the Deccan and the Carnatic. The combined armies of both the Nawabs of the Carnatic backed by the French troops defeated and killed Anwar-ud-Din at Ambur in 1749, and his illegitimate son Mohammad Ali took refuge at Trichinopoly, which was besieged by Chanda Sahib.

**Causes.** The English naturally got alarmed at the sudden and rapid progress of the French both in the Deccan and the Carnatic, and thought it highly probable that if Chanda Sahib was completely successful, Dupleix would attempt to drive out the English from southern India. They, therefore, resolved to take a more active part in the war between Mohammad Ali and Chanda Sahib.

**Events.** At the beginning of the war, the position of the French was much stronger than that of the English, who now realized the danger before them. The situation at Trichinopoly was hopeless. At this critical juncture, in 1751, Robert Clive, a writer in the Company's service, laid the pen for the sword and made a daring march towards Arcot and captured the fort. An attempt was made by Chanda Sahib's son, Raja Sahib, to retake it, but the timely help of one Morari Rao, a Maratha Chief, enabled Clive to defeat him. Raja Sahib retreated, but was pursued and routed at Arni. By this crowning victory, Clive won the title of "Heaven's born General" at the hands of Pitt, the Elder, known as Lord Chatham. In his campaign of 1752, Clive took Conjeeveram, razed Dupleix Fatehabad to the ground, and defeated the French at Kaveipark. Major Lawrence forced the enemy to raise the siege of Trichinopoly, proclaimed Mohammad Ali as the Nawab of Carnatic, and compelled his rival to surrender.



**The Recall of Dupleix (1755).** In 1753, Dupleix continued to detach from the English side the Raja of Tanjore, the Raja of Mysore, and Morari Rao, the Maratha Chief. At the same time he received from Salabat Jung a *farman* appointing him as the Nawab of Carnatic. Clive captured the fort of Covelong and Chingleput. In 1753-55, the French besieged Trichinopoly for the second time, but to no purpose. Dupleix was recalled in 1755 and his departure was followed by peace.

**Terms of the Treaty of Pondicherry (1755).** (1) Neither party was to interfere in the concerns of the native princes. (2) They were to renounce all Mughal dignities and offices. (3) The French had to restore to the English some of the territories conquered by them. (4) The French were to abstain from further attempts at overthrowing Mohammad Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic. (5) Bussy was to continue in the Deccan, and the English were to support Salabat Jung.

**Q. 117. Give an account of the Third Carnatic War (1758-61).**

### THE THIRD CARNATIC WAR (1758-61)

**Causes.** In 1756 the Seven Years' war broke out in Europe, and England and France again took opposite sides. The French Government again resolved to attack the English possessions in the East, and laid out their plan of operations on the principle of a regular military campaign. A strong expeditionary force was sent to India under Count De Lally with three definite instructions—(1) to abstain from attempting to penetrate inland, (2) to avoid participating in the quarrels of the native princes, and (3) to concentrate his efforts upon seizing the fortified stations of the English on the Indian coast. Lally arrived in southern India at the end of April 1758, and immediately attacked Fort St. David.

**The leading events of the War.** In 1758 Lally captured Fort St. David and prepared actively to march on Madras. But the refusal of the French Admiral, D'Ache, to co-operate with him delayed matters so much that the English squadron arrived in time to reinforce Madras. The French Admiral then declined to give battle, and withdrew to the Isle of France in spite of the protests of Lally. Bussy was now summoned to the south to help Lally. This proved to be a fatal mistake as it destroyed the last chance of building a French Empire in India. Clive, who had by this time established English power in Bengal, despatched Colonel Forde with every available soldier on an expedition against Masulipatam. Salabat Jung, instead of attempting resistance, transferred his alliance to the British, and made over to them the territories previously granted to the French. The loss of the Northern Circars was a great blow to the French power in India. In 1759, the French laid siege to Fort St. George; but the arrival of a British fleet forced them to raise the siege, the English Colonel Coote advanced to Wandewash, defeated the French and took Bussy prisoner. Coote's course was now one of continuous success. Chittapet, Arcot, Timery, Denkota, Trincomalee, Karical, and Cuddalore, fell successively into his hands. Malleon writes that the battle of Wandewash shattered to the ground the mighty fabric, which Martin, Dumas, and Dupleix had contributed to erect; it dissipated all the hopes of Lally; it sealed the fate of Pondicherry. In 1760, the English captured the strong fortress of Jinji, and laid siege to Pondicherry, which surrendered finally in 1761.

Count de Lally = St David captured



**The Treaty of Paris (1763).** The war was formally brought to an end by the treaty of Paris. France recovered the places, that had belonged to it before 1751. But the French were not to fortify those places nor were they to keep troops in Bengal.

**The Results of the War.** (1) The peace, which closed the war, marks the complete and final termination of the Anglo-French contest for supremacy in India. True, in 1781 the French made their last descent upon the Indian coast; but the British were by that time too firmly established to be shaken by the landing of a small force. (2) The French East India Company was dissolved in 1770 after it had been proved from the official figures that between 1725 and 1769 the Company had lost capital to the amount of 162 million francs. The Company had never made any profits and had paid no genuine dividends either to share-holders or to the creditors. "The Carnatic Wars were in themselves petty affairs. Their importance lies in the fact that by these wars the French competition, in the Eastern trade as well as in the bid for territorial domination was eliminated for ever and the British could now push forward their plans without a rival. Of the four nations that had contested for mastery in the East, the English alone were now left in the field. Secondly, these wars had established the superiority of European army in the Deccan and given the English a moral, though not yet a territorial, ascendancy in the Peninsula." The Nizam valued their friendship and the Nawab of the Carnatic had become a nonentity in their hands. Besides, the large tracts of the Northern Circars had come into their possession."

**Fourth stage of Anglo-French Struggle (1788-1818).** After the extinction of their power in India as a result of the Carnatic Wars, many of the Frenchmen (Chevalier, St. Lubin) in India remained as adventurers and commanders in the different military states, that arose on the ruins of the Mughal Empire, and their minds were filled with designs to restore their power. They made friendship with Haider Ali to regain their lost ascendancy. The revolt of the English American colonies gave the French the opportunity of furthering those designs. They now secretly supported the revolted colonies in America and made a desperate attempt for the revival of their power in India. The efforts of Bussy and Admiral Suffren to assist Haider Ali proved futile. Pondicherry was conquered by the English but returned in 1783. Even after this, the Frenchmen in India continued to stir up the Indians against the English. During the Revolutionary wars in Europe, Tipu was in communication with the French who wanted to attack English through overland route. Lord Wellesley frustrated the French hopes of attack by overland route by sending an expedition to the Red Sea. The French lost their position in India as well as in the Spice Islands. Pondicherry was again captured in 1803 and finally restored in 1815. After the treaty of Tilsit (1807), there was again a French menace which was counteracted by Lord Minto by sending missions to different countries. With the coming in of Lord Hastings, the ambitions of the French were completely crushed, because in Europe, Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo in 1815 and imprisoned in St. Helena and peace was restored by the Congress of Vienna (1815).

**Q. 118.** What were the causes that led to the downfall of the French and the ultimate triumph of the British in India?

(P.U., B. A., 1935)

Or

**Q. 119.** Discuss what Lyall calls the 'Immediate local causes' and the 'essential underlying causes' of the English triumph over the "French in India."

1215



## WHY THE FRENCH FAILED AND THE ENGLISH SUCCEEDED

**The Failure of the French.** From the fall of Pondicherry, we may date the complete and final termination of the contest between France and England in India. By 1763 the French dominions in India were completely suppressed and by 1770 their Company became bankrupt. This left the English East India Company sole master of the field, and enabled it to lay the foundation of British Empire in India.

**General Causes.** "The two primary conditions of success whether commercial or military in India were the establishment of strong points *d'oppui* on the coasts, and the maintenance of a naval force that could keep open communications with Europe. The English had gained the preponderance at sea, while the French had now lost their footing on land. The causes of their failure are to be found not in the ill luck or incapacity of individuals (for that might have been repaired) but in the wide combination of circumstances that decided against French her great contest with England at that period."—*Lyall*.

**Immediate local causes.** The immediate local causes of the English triumph in India were: (1) The conquest of Bengal, which furnished them with the sinews of war and a firm base of operations on the mainland whereas, the French very soon exhausted their treasure chest and their only safe base was at Mauritius. Vincent Smith says, "Neither Bussy, nor Dupleix singly, nor both combined had a chance of success against the government which controlled the sea-routes and the resources of the Gangetic valley. It is futile to lay stress upon the personal frailties of Dupleix, Lally or lesser men in order to explain the French failure. Neither Alexander the Great, nor Napoleon could have won the Empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and contending with the power which held Bengal and command of the sea." (2) The English had the good luck to find a commander of military genius well-versed in Indian affairs, while the French General was inexperienced and without the slightest tincture of the capacity for dealing with orientals which the French have often displayed.

**The essential underlying causes.** The French could not hold India due to the following reasons: (1) the insolvency of their East India Company; (2) the maladministration of their affairs at home and abroad; (3) the continual sacrifice of their colonial and mercantile interests to a disastrous war policy on the continent, and above all (4) the exhaustion of their naval strength, which left all transmarine possessions of the French defenceless against the naval superiority of England; (5) the English nation was deeply and ardently interested in the struggle; the lead and direction was in supremely able hands. The whole unfettered energy of a free and fierce people had been wielded by Pitt, the Elder, the ablest war-minister England had ever seen, against the careless incapacity of courtiers and the ill-supported efforts of the one or two able but irresponsible officials under such an autocrat as Louis XV. (6) Nor will it be denied that the French writers are mainly right in ascribing the success of England at this period, in India and elsewhere, to the signal inequality between the two governments. (7) India was not lost by the French because Dupleix was recalled or because La Bourdonnais and D'Ache both left the coast at critical moments or because Lally was headstrong and intractable. Still less



was the loss due to any national inaptitude for distant and perilous enterprises, in which the French have always displayed high qualities. It was through the short-sighted, ill-managed European policy of Louis XV, guided by his incompetent ministers, that France lost her Indian settlements in Seven Years' War.] (8) The French suffered from the absence of a military genius. A Frenchman, writing about Lally says that "if he had thrown into the sea the instructions given him in France, if he had resumed the policy of Dupleix and followed Bussy's advice, the imperial diadem of India would not now be worn by the English sovereign."

**Causes of English Victory.** The English came out victorious from the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic Wars due to the following reasons:—(1) The maritime supremacy of the English over the French gave them the mastery of the sea, and consequently the French could not send supplies to protect their interests in India. The English superiority on land was also well-marked due to their victories in many pitched battles. (2) The English East India Company unlike the French East India Company was a paying concern and therefore the former could successfully defray the expenses of these wars from the income got from trade. (3) The English succeeded as the English Company, unlike the French Company, was quite independent of state control. The French Company, being a creation of the government, was very much interfered in its working. (4) The English had not too many irons in the fire as compared with the French. They had their hands free from the European Wars and thus could successfully direct their energies towards maritime and colonial expansion. (5) The English Company was fortunate in acquiring the services of persons like Lord Clive and Sir Eyre Coote. (6) The disrespect shown by the French Government to their generals like Dupleix and Lally, while in India, made them diffident in what they did with the result that they were always afraid of taking an independent action. (7) The occupation of Bengal in 1757 placed inexhaustible resources of wealth at the disposal of the English.

**Q. 120.** Write a critical estimate of Dupleix's character, and compare it with that of Clive. (P.U., B.A., 1937)

### CHARACTERS OF DUPLEIX AND CLIVE COMPARED

**Dupleix as an Administrator.** Dupleix was an adventurer of a higher class, not only endowed with a restless genius, a deep imagination and an ambition but also given to ostentation and display. Successful as an administrator, he took the delicate pursuit of intriguing with the native princes with the ultimate object of building up a French Empire in India. But he sought to promote the glory and honour of his country with inadequate means and support. Though a past master in the intricate game of oriental politics, all his ambitious schemes miscarried and when at last he went back he left only a wreck of them all behind him. Like a meteor, he passed away from the horizon of India with all his dreams dashed to dust, and claiming only a twilight glimmer as his glory.

**As a Man.** As a man he was intolerably vain and overbearing. His morality in money matters was of a very low standard. His political projects were daring and brilliant, but withal he possessed an over-sanguine temperament, which rendered him constitutionally unfit to recognize the fact of failure. Even so he showed remarkable fortitude when adversity overtook him. Equanimity and magnanimity were his characteristic virtues. As a statesman he possessed keen insight inasmuch as it was he who discovered the right method of conquering India and of placing the French trade on stabler footing than the pleasure and caprice of ephemeral Indian Governments.



**His Achievements or his Greatness.** His claim to honour cannot be justly denied. Though Thornton charged him with ambition, vanity and duplicity, yet, "he raised the prestige of France in the East for some years to an amazing height; he won a reputation among Indian princes and leaders that has never been surpassed and he aroused a dread in his English contemporaries which is at once a tribute to his personal power, a testimony to his sagacity."—*Roberts*. Dupleix was the real founder of European ascendancy in India. *Elphinstone* remarks that "Dupleix was the first who made an extensive use of disciplined sepoys, the first who quitted the ports on the sea and marched an army into the heart of the continent, the first, above all, who discovered the illusion of the Mughal greatness and turned to his own purpose, the awe with which weaker minds still regarded that gigantic phantom."

**Causes of his Failure.** Dupleix's failure may be attributed to the following causes:—(1) The defeat of the French at Trichnopoly, (2) the injury done to trade due to war, (3) the paucity of funds, opposition at home, disapproval of his plans, his attempts to govern the Carnatic and his corrupt nature could not make the war profitable. *Dodwell* remarks, "Like the Deccan Carnatic was too poor. It was ruinous to dispute it against another European power. His schemes and policy demanded a wealthier province than either the Carnatic or the Deccan for their realization."

**Clive as a Man and Administrator.** V. A. Smith describes Clive's character as follows:— "It appears to me impossible for the impartial historian to deny that Clive was too willing to meet Asiatic intriguers on their own ground; too greedy of riches, and too much disposed to ignore delicate scruples in their acquisition. That verdict undoubtedly tarnishes his memory and precludes the historian from according to him the unqualified admiration, which his heroic qualities seem to exact. His most outstanding characteristic was an inflexible will which guided his conduct to success in all affairs, whether military or civil. His military genius and his gift for leadership were abundantly manifested both in the Peninsula and in Bengal. His abilities as a statesman were exhibited chiefly in his second administration when he confronted extraordinary difficulties with unflinching courage." He rose from an humble position to be the Governor of Bengal, and is remembered with gratitude by his countrymen as the founder of the British Empire. He was Machiavellian in character and was justly accused of forgery, treachery and plunder. But he was bold, resourceful and possessed sufficient courage to tide over the difficulties that confronted him. These qualities made him great. Pitt the Elder calls him "*Heaven born*" general on account of his generalship in the siege of Arcot and the battle of Plassey.

### THE AFFAIRS OF BENGAL

**Ali Vardi Khan (1740-54) and his relations with the English.** It has already been described in Part II how Ali Vardi Khan with his brother Haji Ahmad turned out of Bengal Sarfaraz Khan, the descendant of Murshid Kuli Khan, who was appointed governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1703, and himself became the Governor of Bengal in 1740. He was famous for his ability and uncommon cleverness. The Marathas were a source of constant trouble to him and he, therefore, bought off their invasions by the cession of the province of Orissa and an annual payment of 12 lakhs in the form of chauth. His relations were good with the English, who were not allowed to fortify their settlements, without permission except as a defensive measure against the invasion of the Marthas.

**Q. 121.** Give an account of the tragedy of Black-Hole and state whether it was a myth or a reality.

### TRAGEDY OF BLACK-HOLE

**The Tragedy of Black-Hole.** After the death of Ali Vardi Khan, Siraj-ud-Dowlah sat upon the throne. He quarrelled with the English because (1) the English began to make fortifications without his permission and when asked to demolish them, they refused. (2) The English espoused the cause of Shaukat Jang, his rival claimant. (3)



## HISTORY OF INDIA (1526-1951) MADE EASY

The English gave shelter to a rich merchant of Bengal and refused to hand him over to the Nawab when demanded. (4) The English were misusing the trade privileges granted to them. Siraj-ud-Dowlah marched against the English, captured Murshidabad and then invaded Calcutta. 146 souls including more than one woman were, it is said, caught and put in a room, 22 ft. long by 14 ft. wide, with two small and strongly barred windows. In the morning 123 were found dead and 23 came out half-dead. Holwell was one of the survivors.

**A Myth or a Reality?** Historians are of opinion that this tragedy did not take place because (1) it is physically impossible to shut up 146 people in so small a room. (2) The native historians and traditions make no mention of it, and (3) Holwell who was the only man to make mention of it was not reliable. He did so to get increment at the hands of the English. (5) There is no evidence for the monument built by Holwell. But Lord Curzon justified it by quoting Clive and Watson.

**Q. 122.** Give an account of the events leading up to the Battle of Plassey. What was its political importance? (P.U., B.A., 1935, Sept.)

Or

**Q. 123.** Give an account of the First Revolution in Bengal.

### THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY OR THE FIRST REVOLUTION IN BENGAL

**Events leading to the Battle of Plassey.** The open defiance of his authority greatly exasperated the Nawab; he therefore sent letters and presents to Bussy, requesting him to march up from the Deccan to expel Clive from Bengal. Clive saw through his intentions and determined to set up a formidable conspiracy against him. Rai Durlab, the Nawab's treasurer, Mir Jaffar, the commander of his troops, and the brother-in-law of Ali Vardi Khan, and Jagat Seth, the richest banker in Bengal, were induced easily to rebel against their master and join in a general conspiracy against him. The terms between the conspirators were settled through the agency of Amin Chand. It was agreed that Clive should at once proceed to Plassey; that Mir Jaffar should desert the Nawab and join Clive with all his forces; and that Siraj-ud-Dowlah should be deposed and Mir Jaffar appointed in his place. Unfortunately at the last moment a serious difficulty arose. Amin Chand threatened to betray the plot unless a specific article pledging Mir Jaffar to pay him 30 lakhs of rupees was inserted in the treaty between the conspirators. Clive, on hearing this demand, came to the conclusion "that art and policy were warrantable to defeat the designs of such a villain." Two treaties were consequently prepared, one on white paper, the other on red paper. In the former there was no mention of Amin Chand's claim; while in the latter his demand was provided for. Watson, a somewhat conscientious man, refused to sign the false treaty: Clive quietly forged his signature. When all was ready, Clive wrote a peremptory letter to the Nawab, recapitulating the grievances of which the English had to complain and stating that the British army would wait upon him for an answer.

**The Battle of Plassey (1757).** The Nawab instantly put his forces in motion and the two armies met on the field of Plassey. Mir Jaffar delayed in carrying out his part of the compact and so Clive found himself in a difficult situation. He held a council of war, but the



majority was against fighting the enemy. He then dismissed his council, took a solitary walk and came to the decision that a bold stroke was after all the best policy under the circumstances. Next morning he crossed the river and fought the battle of Plassey. Mir Jaffar joined the English when the battle was raging with the utmost fury. The victory was immediate and decisive. Siraj-ud-Dowlah fled to Murshidabad, and was about to escape to Patna when he was captured and ordered to be put to death by Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar.

**Its Results and Political Importance.** (1) Mir Jaffar, who now became Nawab of Bengal, assigned to the Company a tract of country near Calcutta called the twenty-four parganas, besides paying a crore of rupees. (2) He gave handsome rewards to the servants of the Company, Clive himself taking no less than three thousand pounds. (3) The Battle of Plassey paved the way for the conquest of Northern India. (4) Moreover it was with the Bengal gold and silver, which the Battle of Plassey placed at their disposal, that the English could defeat the French in the south. (5) The newly acquired power in Bengal was fully utilized by the British merchants in their own interest. They reduced the reigning Nawabs like Mir Jaffar and Mir Kasim to impotence and removed them from power whenever it suited them. (6) Though they had gained ample territorial acquisitions—24 parganas, Burdwan, Chittagong and Midnapore yet they were not satisfied with these and pressed their demands for the right to carry on trade free from duty, which later, led to further friction.

**The Three Revolutions in Bengal.** It was after the passing of the Regulating Act, in 1774, that Warren Hastings from a Governor of Bengal became the first Governor-General of Bengal. From the Battle of Plassey (1757) to the Battle of Baxar (1764), there are said to be three Revolutions in Bengal. (1) The First Revolution began and ended with the Battle of Plassey, in 1757, when Siraj-ud-Dowlah was defeated and Mir Jaffar was appointed as the Nawab. (2) In 1760 Mir Jaffar was deposed and his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, was appointed as Nawab. This is known as the Second Revolution. (3) The Third Revolution ended with the Battle of Baxar when Mir Jaffar was re-appointed as the Nawab of Bengal in 1764 after the death of Mir Kasim.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Explain:—Plassey, Panipat and Pondicherry are names which represent three critical stages in the growth of English Indian rule.—Trotter.

[Hints:—The victory at the Battle of Plassey (1757) gave the English mastery over the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. It also placed at the disposal of the English inexhaustible resources with which they defeated the French. The Third Battle of Panipat (1761) gave a death blow to the Mughal and Maratha powers and cleared the way for the establishment of the British supremacy in the country. Pondicherry was the strongest stronghold of the French. Count Lally having suffered a defeat at Wandewash (1760) retired to Pondicherry with the remnants of his shattered forces. The English laid siege to it. Pondicherry surrendered in 1761 and with its surrender, the French power fell. In fact it meant the end of the French power in the Carnatic leaving the English as the supreme masters.]

2. Account for the failure of the French to establish an Empire in India.

(P.U., B.A., 1935, 1939)

3. Estimate the political importance of the Battle of Plassey. (P.U., B.A., Sept.)

4. "Dupleix is a striking and brilliant figure in Indian history. His political conceptions were daring and imaginative, and he aroused a dread in his English contemporaries which is at once a tribute to his personal power and a testimony to their sagacity." Discuss.

(P.U., B.A., 1937)

5. Trace the course of the struggle between the French and the English for political supremacy of the Deccan, and account for the success of the latter.

(P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)

6. Discuss the statement:—"Clive's capture of Arcot proved to be the turning point in the contest between the French and the English."



## CHAPTER XV

### THE GOVERNORS OF BENGAL

#### *List of the Governors of Bengal*

(1) Clive	1757—1760 (1st Governorship)
(2) Holwell	1760—1760 (Officiating Governor)
(3) Vansittart	1760—1765
(4) Clive	1765—1767 (2nd Governorship)
(5) Verelst	1767—1769
(6) Cartier	1769—1772
(7) Warren Hastings	1772—1774

#### 1. Clive (1757-60)

**Q. 124. Give an account of Clive's First Administration (1757-60).**

#### 1. CLIVE'S FIRST GOVERNORSHIP (1757-1760)

**Invasion of Bengal by Shah Alam II (1759).** The Emperor of Delhi, Alamgir II, conferred upon his son the viceroyalty of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Shahzada, afterwards known as Shah Alam II, supported by Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, advanced to take possession of these provinces. The Governor of Patna, Ram Narayan, being defeated by the Imperial Army retreated to Patna, which was immediately besieged by the imperial forces. Ram Narayan heroically withstood the siege till Clive came to his rescue and forced the besiegers to flee. Mir Jaffar was saved and out of gratitude to Clive, he bestowed upon him as *Jagir* the territory around Calcutta, formerly leased to the East India Company.

**English Expedition to Hyderabad Deccan (1759).** The Northern Circars were at this period in the hands of the French; but they were no longer protected by the genius of Bussy, who had been called to the south by Lally. Clive seized this opportunity by sending an expedition under Colonel Forde, who drove the French out of the Northern Circars. A treaty was concluded with the Nizam, by which he ceded Masulipatam and some eight districts around it to the English and engaged to exclude the French from his dominions.

**Clive and the Dutch.** Mir Jaffar began to intrigue with the Dutch at Chinsurah, for his English friends were so powerful that he dreaded their turning against him. Seven large ships soon arrived in the river Hugli from Java with one thousand five hundred troops on board. Clive, regardless of the fact that England and Holland were at peace, attacked them both by land and sea, defeated them and forced the head of the settlement at Chinsurah to agree not to build any fortifications and to keep no more armed men than were required for police purposes. The Dutch Government later on made complaints in Europe but without any effect. Three months after this, Clive sailed for England.

**His Achievements.** Before his departure in 1760, Lord Clive had fully consolidated the country of Bengal and Bihar and made it free



from all sorts of danger. The French and the Dutch rivalry in the province of Bengal had been removed. The French had also been driven out of Northern Circars. The Hindu gentry began to lend their support because of the security achieved from the oppression of the Nawab. All this was due to personal self and not to anything else. He had by this time proved his greatness both as a soldier and as a statesman. After his departure, the affairs of Bengal began to grow worse.

## 2. HOLWELL AS OFFICIATING GOVERNOR (1760)

**A Period of Chaos.** *Holwell as Officiating Governor* ruled from January to August. When Clive had sailed for England in 1760, he was succeeded by Holwell merely as a stop-gap till the arrival of the new governor Henry Vansittart. The new officiating governor had to meet with a number of difficulties. The Nawab whom even Clive could not persuade to reduce his expenditure, was unwilling to listen to the advice of this new and transient authority. Affairs were further complicated by the reappearance of Prince Shah Alam II, who was defeated by the exertions of Colonel Cailland. Holwell was of opinion that the only effective remedy was that the company should assume the direct government of the province, but in view of his approaching retirement he could take no immediate action. Matters were left over until the new governor Vanisttart should arrive. Alfred Lyall says that *"this is the only period of Anglo-Indian history which throws grave and unpardonable discredit on the English name."* The change in the position of the Company's servants from mere traders to irresponsible kingmakers demoralized them. The rewards received from Mir Jaffar made many rich and what was worse, it excited in others a sudden cupidity for riches. Thus there was chaos and corruption all round.

**His Character.** Henry Vansittart took charge of the government in August 1760. He was a Madras civil servant of some standing, who had secured the friendship of Clive and who enjoyed a good reputation for character and ability. But he lacked personality, and was much better fitted to carry out the orders of others than to frame and pursue a policy of his own. His appointment was most unwelcome in Bengal. All the members of the Council regarded it as unfair supersession and were not willing to co-operate with him.

**Q. 125.** "There is no page in English Indian History so revolting as the four years of the weak and inefficient rule of Mr. Vanisttart."  
(John Malcolm)

Or

**Q. 126.** The interval between Clive's first and second administration "has left on the East India Company a stain not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government." (Macaulay)

[Hints. The students are advised to develop the following points;—(1) After the instalment of Mir Kasim as the Nawab of Bengal in place of Mir Jaffar in 1760, Vansittart got from the new Nawab £ 27,000 and other members £ 25,000 each. This was one of the means adopted by the English officers to collect fortune for themselves. (2) The misuse of *dastak* or *pass*, signed by the English governor, which secured free passage for the goods. This led to smuggling and consequently the revenue of the country suffered a great loss. (3) The servants of the Company were engaged in private trade. They used to force the natives to buy and sell at the price they desired under pain of punishment. (4) An attitude of indifference on the part of the Governor and his Council to the requests made by Mir Kasim for the removal of the abuses.]

**The Second Revolution in Bengal.** After the Death of Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar, Mir Kasim, the Nawab's son-in-law, wanted to be nominated as heir. He won over the Council and agreed (1) to cede



to the Company the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong; (2) to provide immediate payment to the Company of the arrears due from the Nawab to the Company; (3) to reduce the military forces of the Nawab to a specified number; (4) to pay Rs. five lakhs towards the Carnatic Wars; (5) to give £50,000 to Vansittart, £27,000 to Holwell and £25,000 to the other two members of the Council. These offers won over the Council and it was resolved that Vansittart should proceed to Murshidabad at once to announce the decision to the Nawab and obtain his consent. On arrival the Governor found the Nawab strongly opposed to the new plan. "His Life", he declared, "would not be worth a day's purchase once Mir Kasim had been recognized and he would rather retire to Calcutta than continue to be the Nawab on such terms." Vansittart, however, deposed Mir Jaffar and installed Mir Kasim on condition that he would pay to the retiring Nawab such an allowance as would permit him to live in comfort at Calcutta. This new arrangement is known as the Second Revolution in Bengal. After his appointment as the Nawab, Mir Kasim signaled his gratitude by promising large gifts to the Governor and members of his Council and by carrying into immediate effect the agreement into which he had entered at Calcutta.

**Q. 127. "An incomparable man indeed and the most extraordinary man of his age." How far do you agree with this estimate of Mir Kasim?** (P.U. 1936, Sept.)

**Mir Kasim as Nawab of Bengal (1760-64).** Mir Kasim was a far better Nawab than Mir Jaffar, who was timid and extravagant. He at once began to exercise his power. He dismissed Mir Jaffar's favourites, deprived them of the ill-gotten wealth they had amassed. The pay of the soldiers in arrears, whether of his own or those of the Company was cleared. (1) He removed his capital from Murshidabad, dangerously near to Calcutta, to Monghyr on the borders of Bengal and Bihar. (2) He re-organized his troops, and placed them under the command of two Armenian leaders. (3) He set up factories for the manufacture of arms. (4) He ignored the complaints of Vansittart that he was not complying with his promise to reduce his military forces. (5) In order to strengthen himself financially, he realized the arrears of the state. (6) In 1761, he even began to stop the unlawful trade of the Company's servants in salt and betel leaves. (7) Moreover he removed Ram Narayan from the Deputy-Governorship of Bihar and took possession of his accumulated treasure and made good the sums he had given to the Company. He also set up an arsenal for the casting of guns and manufacture of muskets. In short, his rule was good and praiseworthy.

**Q. 128. "Twice, therefore, in about three years (1757-60) the Calcutta merchants had played the part of king-makers." (Trotter)**

[Hints. The battle of Plassey was fought in 1757, as a result of which, Siraj-ud-Dowlah was defeated and deposed. The English merchants at Calcutta acted as king-makers and placed Mir Jaffar on the throne. In 1760 after the departure of Lord Clive and the appointment of Vansittart, Mir Jaffar was deposed because of his inability to manage the situation. Mir Kasim, his son-in-law, was appointed as the governor in his place. This appointment was also made with the consent of English merchants at Calcutta. This is the second instance of their acting as king-makers.]



Q. 129. Give the causes of the Battle of Baxar. What were its results ?

Or

Q. 130. Give an account of the Third Revolution in Bengal.

### THE BATTLE OF BAXAR

**Causes.** (1) The mal-administration of the English, (2) their oppression, (3) their constant interference in the internal administration, (4) their open defiance of Mir Kasim's authority; all produced a sense of bitterness in Mir Kasim's mind, but he took care to avoid an open conflict. The members of the Vansittart's Council, however, chose to pick up a quarrel on a question on which the Nawab was emphatically in the right. Under an old imperial '*farman*' the goods of the Company intended for export by sea were allowed to pass duty free, when protected by the *dustuck* or permit of the President of the Calcutta Council. But this was now grossly abused. All the servants of the Company traded largely on their own private account and claimed exemption from duties not only for their private inland trades, but also for those of their servants and dependents. The country traders were ruined, the Nawab's revenue declined; and the servants of the Company monopolized the trade and made colossal fortunes. The Nawab appealed in vain to the good sense of the Calcutta Council. In desperation he resolved to put his subjects and the English upon an equal footing by abolishing all transit duties throughout his dominions. The members of the Council voted this measure as a crime and fell into a rage. They called on the Nawab to annul this decree, but the Nawab refused to re-impose the duties. The result was a war.

**The Battle of Baxar (1764)** Ellis, the Company's agent at Patna, suddenly seized that city. The native Commandant under the orders of Mir Kasim immediately recaptured it. Mr. Ellis and other Englishmen were taken prisoners, and the Nawab at once ordered every Englishman in his dominions to be seized. The Calcutta Council now issued a proclamation dethroning Mir Kasim and re-instating Mir Jaffar. A struggle ensued and at *Geriah* a severe battle was fought. Mir Kasim was defeated; Monghyr was taken; and the Nawab had only Patna left to him. These reverses threw Mir Kasim into a paroxysm of rage and he declared openly that he would murder the Europeans the moment the English troops advanced on Patna. But heedless of these threats, the English army moved on to attack. The Nawab ordered his officers to kill all the European prisoners; but they nobly answered, "No! turn them out with arms in their hands and we will fight them to death. We are soldiers and not executors." But an infamous German, Walter Reinhard, nicknamed *Sumru*, volunteered to do the bloody deed. The ruffian ordered his soldiers to mount the roofs of the prison and fire on the prisoners. Not a single man escaped. Within a month after this massacre, Patna was taken by the English and Mir Kasim fled to the court of the Nawab of Oudh, where the fugitive emperor Shah Alam II still lingered. The three Mohammadan leaders, Mir Kasim, Siraj-ud-Dawlah, and Shah Alam II now advanced against the English army. Their attack on Patna was repulsed and their armies then took up their position between Baxar and Son. Sir Hector



Munro inflicted on them a crushing defeat at Baxar. ~~Siraj-ud-Dawlah~~ Dawlah made one more effort to retrieve his fortune but was defeated at Korah. His schemes of conquest in Hindustan and Kasim's hopes of vengeance on his English foes were thus frustrated for ever.

**Its Results.** The results of the battle of Baxar were many. (1) These victories demolished the power of the Vazier of Oudh. (2) made the English supreme in Hindustan, and (3) forced the Emperor to come to the British camp and solicit their aid in restoring him to the throne of Delhi. (4) After Mir Kasim's defeat, Mir Jaffar was re-appointed as the Nawab. This is called the *Third Revolution in Bengal*. (5) The terms of appointment of Mir Jaffar were that the English owned salt was to pay a duty of not more than 24 per cent. (6) The Nawab's forces were to be limited. (7) He was to receive a permanent Resident at his court, and (8) to make good all the losses incurred by the English in the war with Mir Kasim. (9) he promised to re-impose all the old transit duties against his own subjects, and to restore to the Company's servants all their former concessions.

**Q. 131. Critically estimate the effects of the Plassey and Baxar victories on the growth of British powers in India.**

(P.U., B.A., 1935, Sept.)

### CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF PLASSEY AND BAXAR VICTORIES ON THE GROWTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

**The relative importance of Plassey and Baxar viewed.** Some historians regard the Battle of Plassey as more important than the Battle of Baxar. It was Plassey, they say, that wrought a complete transformation in the position of the British in India. It changed them from a body of merchants to king-makers and laid the foundation of the British supremacy in India. The battle of Baxar only won the legal sanction for the position that had already been won and which made the British the *de jure* power as well. This was of course an important change in itself, but the former step was more difficult to accomplish and therefore more important. In short it may be stated that had there been no battle of Plassey, there would have been no battle of Baxar. The latter was simply an attempt by the Indian powers to challenge the position that had already been usurped by the foreigners, and it confirmed that usurpation. It was no longer an usurpation: henceforward it was recognized to be a legal power. These are the two sides of the question. In conclusion it may be stated that Baxar completed the work of Plassey. Plassey gave them the standing place, and Baxar made them "the masters of the situation". The latter closed the story of the military conquest of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the British. It "finally riveted the shackles of the Company's rule upon Bengal. Not only that but it placed Oudh also at the mercy of the Company."

**Q. 132. Give an account of Clive's Second Administration, (1765-1767).**

(P.U., B.A., 1937)

### CLIVE'S SECOND GOVERNORSHIP (1765-67)

**Clive's Foreign Policy (1765-67).** (1) **Relations with Mir Jaffar's successor and the establishment of the Double Government.** (a) The re-instated Mir Jaffar died in January 1765, and was succeeded by his son, Najam-ud-Dowlah. A new system of Government was then introduced in the three provinces by Clive, who had again assumed charge of affairs at Calcutta. (Najam-ud-Dowlah) became merely a Nawab, responsible for the peace and maintenance of public order in the provinces, for the administration of justice and for the enforcement of



Shah Alam II grant of Diwani in Bengal Behar - Orissa  
English gave Kora and Allahabad to Emperor 183

obedience to law. (The East India Company took over the military defence of the country and acted as a Diwan, empowered to collect the yearly revenue of the provinces, and responsible for all disbursements. (b) In working out the above system, one part was found to place in the hands of Najam-ud-Dowlah more power than he could be safely trusted with. Accordingly a few months later, he was relieved of the work of Nawab Nizam and practically pensioned off. A Naib Diwan was now appointed in each province to look after matters concerning the revenues, the police, the courts of justice, and the household of the Nawab. These large powers were entrusted to one Mohammad Raza Khan in Bengal and Raja Shitab Rai in Bihar. Clive was very careful to hide the transference of power that had really taken place. The revenue was still collected in the name and on behalf of the Nawab. This arrangement is called as the establishment of the Double Government.

(2) **Settlement with the Emperor and the Nawab of Oudh.** Shah Alam II requested Clive to force the Vizier of Oudh to give up the territories lately usurped by him. Clive refused to do so. He had no desire to weaken Oudh; he wished rather to strengthen it as a friendly buffer state interposed between Bengal and Northern India. To strengthen his control over both the Vizier and the Emperor, he, however, arranged a treaty at Allahabad with the former, by which he agreed to hand over the districts of Kora and Allahabad to the latter to be held on his behalf by the English. In return for those districts and a yearly tribute of twenty-six lakhs from Bengal, the exiled Emperor bestowed by grant upon the Company the Diwani or virtual government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

**Effects of this Treaty.** Its effects were two-fold: (1) The treaty of Allahabad had made the Company as the virtual ruler of Bengal by the grant of Diwani. (2) The restoration of the kingdom of Oudh to its ruler turned him from a dangerous foe into an obedient ally.

**Why Clive did not annex these provinces?** After the battle of Baxar, some of the English officers like Sir Eyre Coote were of opinion that they should take possession of Oudh and declare the Company as the Emperor of Delhi, but Clive was stoutly opposed to this view on account of the following reasons; (i) the annexation of these countries would provoke the jealousy of the other European powers, which might make a common cause against the English in this respect. (ii) These annexations would have brought the English in direct conflict with the Marathas, the then rising power, which Clive thought that the English could ill-afford to oppose at that time. (iii) The Directors of the Company were against the policy of annexation, as it would adversely affect their trade. (iv) Clive very wisely perceived that the Company at that time was not so strong as to shoulder this new responsibility by annexing these provinces. This insight into the affairs of the Company showed that Clive took the right and the statesmanlike view of the whole position.

(3) **His Civil Service Reforms.** (i) Perquisites and presents were swept away. (ii) An order was issued restricting the privilege (abused by the Company's servants to ruin the natives) to grant passes for the transit of merchandise free of duty to certain authorities, named and

Perquisites - presents swept away



defined. (iii) Restrictions were imposed upon the private trade of civilians which minimised the evils, resulting from permission to trade privately. (iv) As a compensation to the civil servants Clive increased their salaries, setting apart for the purpose the revenue derived from the monopoly of salt. (v) According to the rules then in force, a member of the Council in one part could accept an agency in other parts of the Company's territories. The result was that many of the members held at the same time executive and supervising offices. They controlled as councillors the actions which they had performed as agents. Clive remedied this evil by ruling that a member of Council should be that and nothing more.

(4) **His Military Reforms.** The English troops had been granted by Mir Jaffar an extra allowance called *Double Bhatta*, as long as they were in the field fighting for his interests. Mir Kasim had continued the practice of his predecessor, and had assigned to the Company for that purpose among others, the revenue of three districts. The Court of Directors accepted the revenue but chose to forget that the receipt of the revenues was accompanied by an obligation. They issued peremptory orders discontinuing the payment of Double Bhatta. The Calcutta Council disagreed with the Directors, and a good deal of correspondence passed between them, but the Directors were inexorable, and they instructed Lord Clive, on the eve of his departure for India, to carry out their wishes. Clive accordingly announced that the Bhatta would cease after the first of January, 1766. This was the signal for mutiny, and a formidable combination was formed to compel Clive to retract it. Two hundred military officers resigned in a single day, thinking that as the Marathas were advancing, Clive would be forced to yield to their clamours. To the surprise of every one, he accepted each resignation, put the ex-officers under immediate arrest, and summoned from Madras every available man. Even sepoys were employed in coercing European officers. Clive's firmness subdued the mutiny in a fortnight. "This was a victory as important as Plassey; he thus saved the dominion he had founded."

**His Return and Reception in England.** He was at first received in England with great honour. But his acts had not been uniformly honest and incorrupt. He had besides made many personal enemies. All those whom he had punished, or whose schemes he had thwarted leagued against him. They succeeded by their agitation in inducing the House of Commons to institute an enquiry into his conduct. The specific charges against him referred to (1) his dealing with Siraj-ud-Dowlah, (2) the fraud practised on Amin Chand, (3) the forgery of Watson's signature on the fictitious document, and (4) to his having acquired by means of the civil and military powers entrusted to him vast sums of money. The Court of Directors went against him, and the Commons resolved that "in acquisition of this wealth, Lord Clive had abused the powers with which he had been entrusted." It was then proposed to pass a formal vote of censure upon him; but this was considered by many to be too much. The motion was eventually defeated, and a counter-resolution was carried 'that he had rendered meritorious services to his country.'

**Death.** There is an erroneous view held regarding the death of Lord Clive. The common view is that he committed suicide by cutting



his throat. This is incorrect. His death was really caused by his taking a big dose of opium, which he used to take to lessen the pain.

**Achievements.** During the term of his second governorship, the services of Clive were equally admirable. He created Oudh as an effective buffer state and laid down a definite frontier policy. His civil and military reforms are too well-known to be described. In fact he purified the administration. With the grant of Diwani, he made the English *de jure* and *de facto* masters of Bengal. ✓

**Q. 133. Explain :** "Lord Clive's career in India may briefly be summed up as follows : first a merchant, then a soldier and then a statesman."

[Hint.—The answer to this question requires a brief summary of his work in his three capacities : (1) As a clerk. (2) As a soldier, i.e., from the siege of Arcot till the end of his first administration, and (3) his second administration which deals with his work as a statesman ]

#### 5. VERELST (1767-69) AND

#### 6. CARTIER (1769-72) AS GOVERNORS

**Q. 134. Describe the Double Government, as established by Clive, and point out its evils at full length.**

Or Military defence & the collection of revenue

**Q. 135. Power divorced from responsibility is the worst imaginable form of Government. Explain this dictum with special reference to Clive's Dual System.**

Or / maintenance of peace & order

**Q. 136. Describe the Dual System of Lord Clive in all its bearings (1941).**

order - Justice & law

#### THE DOUBLE GOVERNMENT (1767-1772)

**The Double Government (1767-72)** From 1767 to 1772, Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier were successively governors of Bengal. They were men of mediocre ability. During their weak and inefficient rule, the country groaned under the worst evils of the Double government which Clive had introduced in the whole of Bengal and Bihar excepting the twenty-four Parganas, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong districts, managed by the Company's covenanted servants.

**Its inherent evils.** The inherent defect of this system was that neither the English nor the Nawab's officials discharged their responsibilities as rulers. The Company garrisoned the country and derived profit therefrom without taking up any burden of administration. The Hindu and Mohammadan collectors felt themselves as agents of the Company, and therefore failed to realize their responsibility as rulers. The people were oppressed by both and protected by neither.

#### The sufferings of the people under the System :—

(1) **Financial oppression** Land revenue was exacted with the utmost rigour. The customary rights of Zamindars and their estates were sold by public auction to the highest bidder in order to increase the revenue. (2) **Damage to Indian Industries.** The Company desired its servants to encourage the production of raw silk and discourage the manufacture of silken fabrics, and recommended that the silk-winders



should be forced to work in the Company's factories and prohibited from working in their own houses. (3) **Interference in the Nawab's Government.** The Company's servants practised tyranny for their own private gain, overawing the Nawab's servants, and converting his tribunals of justice into instruments for their own aggrandizement. (4) **Famine and Disease.** To add to the general affliction, deadly fever and small-pox took off 35% of the inhabitants of Bengal during the years (1769-71). Ten millions of the poor people perished in these calamities, which at the same time reduced to abject poverty a great portion of the landed aristocracy of Lower Bengal.

**Its Justification.** In spite of these defects, it had its justification. It was not claimed to be an ideal system of government, but it cannot be denied that it was a good attempt to grapple with the realities of the situation. From its very nature it could not but be a makeshift arrangement. Thus its justification may be found in the fact, that it led to more open assumption of responsibility by the Company during the regimes of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis. (2) Again, it may be stated that at this time, the Company was not so much interested in territorial aggrandizement as in commerce and finance. This system ensured the betterment of the financial condition of the Company without any increase in its burden of responsibility. (3) It further satisfied or rather deceived the Directors at home by keeping intact "the name and shadow" of the authority of the Nawab. It is also admitted that it was not possible for the Company to assume the direct administration of government affairs at this time on account of their ignorance and insufficient numbers. (4) "The assumption of this absurd system is the sign of Company's unwillingness to recognize that it has ceased to be a mere trading body, and had become a ruling power." (5) Lastly, the discarding of all veils and covers would have caused a breach with other European powers that would have added to the difficulties of the English.

**The end of the Double Government.** The Directors were at last roused to their sense of duty. They resolved to put an end to the system and substitute in its place a vigorous British rule. With this object in view they appointed Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal and instructed him to carry out their new policy.

### HAIDER ALI, (1717-82) THE DICTATOR OF SOUTHERN INDIA

#### Genealogical Table

Hassan of Baghdad (came to Ajmer)  
 |  
 Wali Mohammad (came to Gulbarga)  
 |  
 Ali Mohammad (came to Kolar in Mysore)  
 |  
 Fateh Mohammad  
 |  
 Haider Ali

Tipu

Karim

Daughter

Q. 137. Write a comprehensive note on the rise of Mysore under Haider Ali.



## RISE OF MYSORE UNDER HAIDER ALI

**Rise of Haider Ali (1716-82).** The Mysore territory in its past history was a part of the Empire of Vijayanagar. In 1565, when that Empire broke up at the battle of Talikot the territory of Mysore gradually passed under the rule of a Hindu dynasty. That dynasty lost its power in or about the middle of the eighteenth century and its weakness gave an opportunity to a Mohammadan adventurer, Haider Ali by name, to exercise his own control like Alompra in Assam and Ranjit Singh in the Punjab. Haider Ali had risen from the ranks. He was an ordinary soldier in the service of the Raja of Mysore. By a special favour of the Minister he was in 1755, at the age of thirty-three, appointed faujdar or Commandant for Dindigul. The attainment of this position may be regarded as the beginning of his successful career. In due course of time by the display of his exceptional qualities as a military man and his skill in other matters, he became the Commander-in-Chief of the Mysore army. No sooner did he get control over the army than, in 1761, he marched upon the capital Seringapatam, drove out the regent, put the minister in a cage and placed the Hindu Raja in confinement and himself became the ruler of the country. His growing power made the Marathas jealous of him. They inflicted a crushing defeat upon him in 1765 and made him pay a very heavy tribute and surrender as well the territory beyond the frontier of Mysore. Haider Ali made up this loss by annexing Calicut and Malabar in 1766.

## The Four Mysore Wars

First Mysore War (1767-69)	Treaty of Madras 1769
Second Mysore War (1780-84)	Treaty of Mangalore 1784
Third Mysore War (1790-92)	Treaty of Seringapatam 1792
Fourth Mysore War (1799)	Sultan Tipu killed and his territory divided between the English and the Nizam.

(1) **First Mysore War (1767-69) :--Causes.** Haider Ali was a man without education, cruel and grossly sensual, but he possessed a shrewd common sense knowing fully well the world and its ways. Being an upstart and having suddenly come into the arena, Haider Ali gave much anxiety and trouble to the English. The Nizam hated him as a man of no birth or breeding and the Marathas soon came to know him as their enemy when they found him enlarging the territories of Mysore on the north and south, refusing at the same time to pay the Chauth.

**Events. The Battle of Trincomali (1769).** The fear of the rising power of Haider Ali led the English, the Nizam and the Marathas to enter into a tripartite alliance to prosecute war against him, but this alliance soon broke away and the English were left alone to carry on the war against the formidable ruler of Mysore. Colonel Smith, the only man of ability, defeated the forces of Haider Ali at the successive battles of Changama and Trincomali.

**Treaty of Madras (1769).** In spite of this victory, the Madras Presidency entered into a humiliating treaty with Haider Ali, who, practically, dictated peace under the very walls of Madras in 1769. The British, in their folly, undertook to help him if he was attacked by another power. Conquered territories were to be mutually restored. The consequence of the battle went, to a large extent, in favour of Haider Ali and the power of the English was much eclipsed and this treaty created new troubles for them.



## 7. WARREN HASTINGS AS GOVERNOR (1772-1774)

**His Early Career.** Warren Hastings, was born in 1732. He was a gentleman by birth and breeding. At the age of 18, Hastings got service at Calcutta as a clerk under the Company. He then became Resident of Cossimbazar, where he acquitted himself well in the discharge of his duties. He later on became a captive in the hands of Siraj-ud-Dowlah when he was conquering Cossimbazar. He managed to escape and took service under Clive. He became a member of the Calcutta Council in 1761. After three years he went home whence, after a stay of three years, he came out to India in 1772 as a member of the Madras Council. He was later on appointed Governor of Bengal after the retirement of Cartier. After two years he became the Governor-General of Bengal under the Regulation Act.

**Why Hastings was appointed as Governor.** After the acceptance of the Diwani of Bengal from Shah Alam II in return for an annual payment of Rs. 26 lakhs by Clive, there was a lack of organization of the revenue department for want of knowledge. This department was first placed under the native officers and later on in the hands of British collectors, but the Company suffered heavy losses. It was with the intention of remedying this state of things that the Company appointed Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal in 1772 on account of his excellent services in Madras.

**Q. 138. Give an account of the political state of India in 1772.**

## POLITICAL STATE OF INDIA UNDER WARREN

## HASTINGS AS GOVERNOR (1772-74)

The political state of India in 1772 was a complicated one. (1) *Bengal.* The English had established themselves in Bengal, but, they did not assume the actual work of administration till that year. The oppression by tax-collectors, the corruption of the officers, the illegal transactions of the Company's servants added to the miseries of the people who were at the same time suffering from the horrors of a terrible famine. The revenue farmers and the old aristocratic families were ruined. The Company's servants were so hard-hearted that, in the troubled condition of the people, they took to profiteering in rice. There was practically no government in Bengal to look after the welfare of the people. The Company's servants were exacting in the collection of its revenue. Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1772, and he says that in spite of the great calamity the collection of revenue was not only not slackened, but it was violently kept up to its former standard. Mohammad Kaza Khan, the Deputy Nawab at Murshidabad, did not at all worry about the sufferings of the people. The collections of 1771 were 10 per cent, more than that of the previous year. The Directors abolished the Dual system which stood discredited, and it was the first business of Warren Hastings to remove the Deputy-Nawab and to instal the new system of collection through Company's own agency. The Board of Revenue was removed to Calcutta. The allowance to the Nawab was reduced from 32 to 16 lakhs and a quinquennial settlement of land revenue was made. (2) *The Marathas* In Western India the Marathas, after the third battle of Panipat in 1761, were again raising their heads. They crossed the Narbada in 1769, marched through Rajputana and Rohilkhand and offered help to Emperor Shah Alam II. The Sindhia had escorted the helpless Emperor to Delhi in December, 1771. The Marathas demanded from him the districts of Kora and Allahabad as the price of protection. Hastings then discontinued the tribute to Shah Alam, and by the treaty of Benares made over Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab Vizier of Oudh for fifty lakhs of rupees. There was a fear that the Marathas might break through the British frontier, and therefore Hastings promised British help to the Nawab of Oudh in case of a Maratha invasion. The Marathas controlled the whole of Western India from Delhi to the borders of the Hyderabad state, and they extended their dominions as far east as Cuttack. (3) *The Rohillas* In the neighbourhood of Oudh were in constant dread of their invasion. (4) *Afghans* under Ahmad Shah Abdali were in possession of the Punjab. (5) In the south, the English acquired the Northern Circars, and took Mohammad



Kora - Allahabad  
Shah Alam  
2 Lakhs

WARREN HASTINGS

Nawab Wazir

189  
50 Lakhs

Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic, under their protection. (6) The Hindu Raja of Mysore had been overthrown by Haider Ali. The other two powers were the Nizam and the Marathas. The French had ceased to be a great political factor after their defeat at Wandewash (1760). The three Indian powers, the Maratha confederacy, the Nizam and Haider Ali were trying for supremacy, and each one of them alternately threatened the British. The Madras Council had entered into an alliance with the Nizam in 1764, and promised help against the Marathas and Haider Ali. But the Nizam had intrigued with the Marathas and Haider Ali, and invaded the British territory. The allies were defeated, but the Madras Council submitted to the Treaty of Masulipatam (1768), by which they invited the hostility of Haider Ali. In 1769, the British again agreed to help Haider Ali against another power. When the Marathas invaded Mysore in 1771, Haider Ali applied for British help, but the British did not keep their promise, and thereby brought disgrace upon themselves and turned a friend into an enemy. This was the political situation in India in 1772.

**Critical Note :** E. I. C. successor of the Great Mughals. The great Mughal power, maintained the unity of India. On the death of Aurangzeb government fell into weak hands, invaders from Afghanistan ravaged northern India, the Marathas established their power in western India, and a number of new states were established in the different parts of India. There was no authority to maintain peace and order throughout the land. After repeated attacks from the Afghans and on account of the intrigues of his own subordinates, the Emperor lost his power and became a protege of the British, and later on of the Marathas. The East India Company in the meantime strengthened its position, step by step, till it was recognized as the paramount power in India in 1803. Since the fall of the Mughal power till then there was no one in India, who could command the allegiance of the people and princes of India. It can, therefore, be said that the East India Company was the immediate successor of the Great Mughals. (U.P., B.A., 1936)

**Q. 139.** Give a detailed account of the treaties which the British entered into in India in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and show how they passed from the position of traders to that of a military power, and then to that of territorial rulers.

### BRITISH INDIAN TREATIES DURING 1755 - 1773 AND HOW THE BRITISH PASSED FROM THE POSITION OF TRADERS TO THAT OF A MILITARY POWER AND THEN TO THAT OF TERRITORIAL RULERS

The British entered into the following treaties in the third quarter of the eighteenth century :—

(1) In 1755, a treaty was concluded with the French. But as the Seven Years' War broke out before the ratification of this treaty, the provisions of the treaty were not enforced. (2) On February 9, 1757, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the English and Siraj-ud-Dowlah. The Nawab had been defeated early in the year, and had agreed to restore to the Company the fort at Calcutta, and all the old privileges and rights. Compensations was promised for the losses, and the Company was given permission to coin money and fortify Calcutta. (3) Before the battle of Plassey, the English had joined the conspiracy against Siraj-ud-Dowlah. By a treaty with Mir Jaffar they promised to make him the Nawab. The two parties entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. Mir Jaffar promised to exclude the French from Bengal, guaranteed the Company a million sterling as compensation for the loss of Calcutta, and fifty lakhs to the European inhabitants. There was a secret stipulation by which large gratuities to the army, navy and members of the Council were to be paid. As Mir Jaffar was not then a man with authority this can hardly be called a legal treaty. (4) In 1760, the Company deposed Mir Jaffar, and placed his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, on the throne. He ceded the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, and promised to pay gratuities of about £200,000. (5) The peace of Paris (1763) reduced the French to a commercial body. (6) After the battle of Baxar, the English concluded with the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh a treaty in 1765. Oudh remained in possession of the Nawab-Vizier, the English became the Dewan of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the districts of Kora and Allahabad were assigned to the Emperor, who was also promised a tribute of Rs. 20 lakhs. The arrangements were confirm-

میر جعفر - برادر - میر کاسم



ed by an imperial decree. (7) The Madras Council entered into alliance with the Nizam against Haider Ali, and the Marathas (1765). (8) The Treaty of Masulipatam in 1761. The English promised help to the Nizam against Haider Ali. (9) Treaty with Haider Ali in 1769. The English promised help to Haider Ali whenever he would be attacked by a third party and all the conquests made by either party were to be restored. (10) The Treaty of Benares (1771) with Nawab Shujah-ud-Dawlah of Oudh. Kora and Allahabad were taken away from Shah Alam II, and made over to the Nawab for the maintenance of a garrison of the Company's troops. Further the Company promised support to the Nawab in case of a war with the Rohillas.

**English as Territorial Rulers.** The English first started their career in India as merchants. They had built factories at Surat, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and a few other places. They were the first to interfere in the affairs of an Indian Prince. They supported the claims of a candidate to the throne of Tanjore. Then came the wars of succession in the Carnatic and the Deccan. The English took up the cause of Mohammad Ali, and Nasir Jung. In the siege of Trichinopoly and of Arcot, the English showed their military genius. They succeeded in placing their candidate upon the throne of the Carnatic. This increased their fame as a military power. This reputation they maintained against Siraj-ud-Daulah and the Dutch. The battle of Plassey enhanced their prestige and they acquired some land from the Nawab of Bengal. The victory of Baxar raised them to the status of territorial rulers. They placed three powerful Indian potentates under their control viz., the Emperor Shah Alam II, Nawab-Vizier of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal. They started their career as territorial rulers in 1772, when the Dual system was abolished and the Parliamentary sanction was obtained for their position as Government by the Regulating Act of 1773.

**Hastings' Early Difficulties.** It is hardly possible to exaggerate the difficulties which confronted Hastings. He did not long enjoy the confidence of his employees. His colleagues were always divided against him. Wars were thrust upon him by his reckless subordinate presidencies and his enemies when he least wanted them. Throughout his reign the finances of the Company were suffering from chronic poverty. He asked for power which was denied. The imperfect reforms begun by Clive had produced little real improvement. Neither private trading nor the receiving of presents ceased; the men at the head of affairs were not competent to carry out a task which would have taxed even the best administrative ability to the utmost. The governing bodies at Madras and Bombay had muddled their conduct of foreign affairs, and were weak when they meant to be conciliatory. Consequently they had failed to secure the confidence of the Marathas or of the Nizam or of Haider Ali. In other words the Company's relations with other native states were unreal and unhealthy. In Bengal there was power divorced from responsibility which is the worst imaginable form of government. The Company's position was a ridiculous one. It neither ruled nor allowed others to rule. Its servants were demoralized and exposed to temptations, sought out their selfish ends by unfair means. The system of revenue collection was most unsystematic and did not even enrich the Company. The attention of the British supervisors was concentrated on their own personal gain. They were mere tyrants of the district. The Courts of justice were a by-word; the country was ravaged by a gang of savage dacoits or brigands, and huge armies of marauders, figuring as religious devotees, ranged over the confusion and the coin was insufficient in quantity. This was the condition of affairs when Hastings took charge in 1772 as Governor of Bengal.

**Five Principles of His Government.** Living in such critical times, he had to struggle hard to maintain the very existence of the British rule and had to resort to questionable expedients. But he successfully tided over the difficulties and steered the ship of state in the troublous times. Hastings fully realized the critical situation. He was actuated in all his works by five clear, true and broad principles which saved the Company from ruin. (1) Power cannot be divorced from responsibility without disastrous results. (2) If responsibility for good government was imposed upon the servants of the East India Company, they should answer to the call. (3) Bengal was an Indian province and ought to be ruled according to Indian customs. It is wrong to say that the Indian



law has no value. (4) The peasantry must be protected and their customary rights must be maintained. (5) The Company must enter into frank and clearly-defined relations with its neighbours.

### WARREN HASTINGS AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE FOUNDER OF INDIA

(a) **Revenue Reforms.** A series of revenue reforms were introduced: (1) Hastings made the Company responsible for the collection of revenue and for the administration of justice. (2) The post of Deputy Nawab was abolished. (3) The treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta and the supervisors were transformed into collectors. (4) The whole Council at Calcutta constituted itself into a Revenue Board. (5) The assessment was carefully fixed for five years, and if a Zamindar accepted the same, preference was given to him, otherwise the land was sold to the highest bidder. (6) He also rendered the accounts of the revenue simple and intelligible, and established fixed rates for its collection. Many provisions were made for the protection of ryots. (7) Hastings cut off from the list a good many of *abwabs* and made it unlawful to add to the list. (8) The *Bunyas* were prevented from lending money to the ryots. (9) In order to effect economy the allowance to the Nawab was reduced from 32 to 16 lakhs of rupees. (10) He discontinued to pay the tribute to Shah Alam II as he was under the protection of the Marathas. (11) The districts of Kora and Allahabad were re-taken from the Emperor and sold to the Nawab of Oudh for 50 lakhs of rupees.

(b) **Trade Reforms.** A Board of Customs was constituted to look after the customs. The customs offices were abolished and the goods were allowed to pass after one payment. Agents were withdrawn and all purchases were made in cash. Hastings levied a uniform duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  on all goods and abolished the right of exemption by *Dastucks*.

(c) **Judicial Reforms.** (1) Judicial powers of the Zamindars were abolished. (2) The salaries of Judges were fixed and the 25 per cent and other fees were abolished. This made justice cheap and free from the suspicion of corruption. (3) Civil and Criminal Courts, presided over by the Collector and assisted by the local Kazis and Pandits, were instituted in each district. (4) Two Supreme Courts of appeal, the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*, presided over by the President and two members of the Council and a *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* presided over by an Indian official, the *Daroga-i-Adalat*, nominated by the President-in-Council, who was assisted by the Kazis and Pandits, were established at Calcutta. In fact in two years, 1772-1774, he evolved from chaos an efficient system of government. (5) He also established courts in the various districts of Bengal under European Zilla Judges with Hindu and Mohammadan Law officers. (6) The worst abuses were abolished and the foundation of the administrative system was laid down upon which the whole future structure of administration was raised and modifications were made later on in it under Lord Cornwallis and Lord William Bentinck.

(d) **Minor Reforms.** (1) He improved the police of Calcutta. (2) He took drastic measures to put down dacoity. (3) He reduced the expenses of the administration. (4) He introduced some changes in the military establishment for the defence of the country.

Q. 140. Give an account of the Rohilla War. How far was it justifiable?



**Early History of Rohilkhand.** A hardy and warlike tribe from Roh, a village in the Sulaiman Mountains, migrated to India. Two of their chiefs, Daud Khan and Rahmat Khan, entered the Imperial army of the Mughals and got a tract of land in the province of Katehar and called it Rohilkhand after them. After the death of Daud Khan, his son Ali Mohammad increased this land till he came into conflict with Safdar Jang, the founder of the Oudh kingdom, and the Vizier of the Emperor. He was defeated and taken prisoner but escaped. After the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali he again became the master of Rohilkhand in 1746. He died in 1749 leaving the kingdom to his six sons under the care of their uncle Hafiz Rahmat Khan, an able administrator. The sons of Ali Mohammad were set aside and Hafiz Rahmat Khan was accepted as the ruler by the Rohilla leaders. He also helped Abdali against the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat (1761).

**Causes of the Rohilla War.** (1) Since 1770, the Marathas were constantly making inroads upon the Rohilkhand. Finding himself unable to cope with the situation, Hafiz Rahmat Khan applied to the Nawab Vizier of Oudh for help, who consented as he himself coveted the possession of this rich province. A treaty was made in 1772, by which it was agreed that in case the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, would come to their help and after having repulsed the Maratha attack, would receive 40 lakhs of rupees as the reward of his help. In 1773, the Marathas invaded the country, but retired when they were threatened with an opposition by the conjoint forces of the Company and the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. After their retirement, the Nawab demanded money and the Rohillas evaded payment. The Nawab, therefore, applied to Warren Hastings for help on the condition that he would defray all the expenses of the war and pay Rs. 40 lakhs to the Company. The British were then in financial difficulties due to the wars and therefore availed of this opportunity. Warren Hastings sent English troops under Colonel Champion and the Rohillas suffered defeat at Miranpore Katra. Their leader Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed and about 20,000 Rohillas were banished from their country. Terrible atrocities were committed upon the country by the soldiers of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh and the country was finally annexed to Oudh.

**Criticism.** "Warren Hastings was justified in helping the Nawab against the Rohillas" and "the participation of the British army in the Rohilla war was most iniquitous," were the opinions of English politicians. It is said (1) that the destruction of the Rohillas was a political necessity to strengthen the buffer state of Oudh. But the help against Rohillas was given after the Marathas had left the territory, and when it was certain that they would not come back. Thus there was no political danger. (2) To say that he was badly in need of money cannot be pleaded as a justification for such a wrongful act. (3) He could not disclaim responsibility for the inhumanity of Nawab's troops, because by helping the Nawab in an immoral cause, Hastings had indirectly accepted responsibility for the rapacity and inhumanity of Nawab's troops. Being too experienced in diplomacy, he ought to have known that the Nawab was not going to pay 40 lakhs from his own pocket but by plundering Rohilkhand. (4) The Rohillas were not of an Indian race but they had made a colony here from a distant country. So were the English. If the Rohillas were usurpers, so were all the Indian rulers. (5) The policy was least prudent and most unwise when the Charter was coming to a close. (6) An unfortunate precedent was created when British troops were lent to be employed against a people with whom the Company had no quarrel. (7) The Hindu population had suffered the most by the change of masters. The reign of the new ruler proved



rapacious and absolutely unbearable. (8) Finally it must be said that Hastings' view of the business was cynical and that in his despatches and minutes the financial advantages of the agreement with the Nawab appear prominent.

**Q. 141.** Enumerate the circumstances under which the Regulating Act was passed. What were its objects? Discuss critically the main provisions of the Regulating Act of 1773 and point out its defects and its importance and state how these defects were removed.

(P.U., B.A., 1930 Sept.)

### THE REGULATING ACT : ITS PROVISIONS, DEFECTS : THEIR REMOVAL AND IMPORTANCE

**Circumstances under which it was passed.** (1) A feeling was gradually growing that the nation through Parliament rather than through a trading body must be responsible for British rule in India. Clive had suggested this in 1759, but Pitt the Elder evaded the question. (2) After the battle of Plassey, the retired servants of the Company brought immense wealth with them from India, lived like 'Nawabs,' and claimed equality with the nobles. Politicians wished that part of this wealth should come to the Exchequer, and the Proprietors of the Company clamoured for a share of the profits which their servants had misappropriated. From 1766, when the proprietors, in spite of the opposition of the Directors, raised their dividends, Parliament began to take interest in Indian affairs, and the question was raised that the Company's Indian possessions really belonged to the Crown. In 1767, Parliament modified the constitution of the Company, limited the rate of dividend, and obliged them to pay an annual sum of £ 400,000 to the Exchequer. This arrangement continued till 1772. (3) The financial bankruptcy of the Company was due (i) to its making investments for purchasing goods for export to Europe, (ii) to the mismanagement of finances after the departure of Lord Clive, (iii) to the war with Haider Ali and the famine in Bengal. (4) In 1769, the Court of Directors sent a Committee consisting of three of their old servants to investigate every branch of the administration in India but the ship in which they sailed was never heard of again. (5) In 1772, a Select and a Secret Parliamentary Committee were appointed, and their report showed that the servants of the Company received large sums as presents, and that Clive had got a *jagir*. The reports of these Committees confirmed the conviction that the independence of the Company must yield to the Parliament. This led, therefore, to the passing of two Acts. By the first Act, the company was given a loan of £ 1,400,000 by the Parliament. The dividends of the Company were limited and they were asked to make half-yearly report to the treasury of their account. The second was the Regulation Act of 1773.

**Its Objects.** The Regulating Act of 1773 had two objects in view : (1) the removal of the evils in the constitution of the company and (2) the removal of the evils found in India under the rule of the company.

**Provisions of the Act.** (1) The qualification for a vote in the Court of Proprietors was raised from £ 500 to £ 1,000. (2) The Directors, instead of being annually elected as before, were to hold office for four years, a quarter of the number being annually re-elected. These two clauses were meant for the improvement of the constitution. In order to remove the corruption prevalent in India, the following provisions were



made in the Act. (a) The civil and military government of Bengal was vested in a Governor-General and four Councillors, who were named in the Act, in the first instance. They were to hold office for five years, during which period they were not removable except by the King on the representation of the Court of Directors. (b) The decision of the majority of the Council was binding on the Governor-General, who had a casting vote only in case of a tie. (c) The supremacy of Bengal Presidency was asserted over Madras and Bombay at least in the matters of making war and peace. (d) Liberal salaries were provided for the superior officers, and all the servants, whether high or low, were forbidden to receive any present or bribes and to indulge in private trade. This had the effect of purifying the services. (e) The Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to issue rules, ordinances and regulations but they were to be registered in the Supreme Court, which was established under the provisions of this Act. (f) A Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges, was established in Bengal. It had civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all British subjects in the Company's dominions except the Governor-General and the members of his Council.

**Defects of the Act.** The Regulating Act was the first legislative interference by the British Parliament in the affairs of India. It subjected the Company to definite Parliamentary control. The Act was, however, defective in many respects, as the framers of the constitution were not fully aware of the real state of the Indian affairs. It was a "half-measure and disastrously vague in many points." (1) The authority of the titular Nawab remained intact by implication, as the sovereignty of the Crown or the Company was not declared clearly. (2) The term 'a British subject' and 'a servant of the Company' were not clearly defined. (3) It was not clear whether the Supreme Court was to administer English or Indian law. (4) The relations between the Supreme Court and the Governor-General-in-Council, and between the former and the Company's Sadar Adalats were not clearly defined. Thus there was a considerable scope for friction. The Supreme Court claimed jurisdiction over the entire native population, which resulted in creating many troubles. It also claimed superiority over the Company's Courts, which was denied by the Council. Hastings ended this friction by appointing Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, as the presiding judge of the Company Courts. For this he was severely criticised, because it meant losing sight of the very object for which the Supreme Court was created. Again, the application of the English law by the Supreme Court put the Indians to a lot of inconvenience. The Court itself became unpopular with them and its rule came to be regarded as a 'Reign of Terror.' (5) Again, the relations between the Court and the Council were not clear and thus a borderland warfare was constantly going on between the two. (6) The constitution of the Governor-General's Council was defective, as it allowed him to be over-ruled by the majority of his Council. Thus the system of 'Checks and Balances', which the Act sought to establish, failed to work.

**Removal of Defects.** The defects of the Regulating Act were removed by the Declaratory Act (1781), the Pitt's India Bill (1784), and the Amendment Act of 1786, the details of which are given later on.



**Its Importance or Good Effects.** In spite of these defects the Regulating Act is very important in the constitutional history of India, of which it is a starting point. (1) It made a beginning in the system of a written constitution for British India. (2) The right of the Parliament to interfere in the affairs of the Company and to legislate for its possessions was settled, and, therefore, it is a landmark in the transfer of power from the Company to the Parliament. (3) The rule of the Council was substituted for 'one-man-rule.' (4) It secured to a certain extent a unity of control and a uniformity of policy. It was also the first attempt made to apply to Indians, regular principles of law and justice and to reform the abuses in the Indian services. In the words of Lyall, it may be stated that "the system of administration set up by the Act of 1773 embodied the first attempt at giving some definite and recognizable form to the vague and arbitrary rulership that had devolved upon the Company. From that time forward the outline of Anglo-Indian government was gradually filled in."

QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Who were the real heirs of the Mughal Emperors, the Marathas or the English East India Company? (P.U., B.A., 1936)
2. "An incomparable man indeed and the most extraordinary prince of his age." How far do you agree with this estimate of Mir Kasim's character? (P.U., B.A., 1936 Sept.)
3. Which was more important from the point of view of the East India Company—the Battle of Plassey or that of Baxar? Give reasons. (P.U., B.A., 1936 Sept.)
4. Critically examine the work of Robert Clive during his second governorship of Bengal. (P.U., B.A., 1937)
5. Describe the events which led to the growth of English power in Bengal till the end of Lord Clive's second governorship. (P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)
6. "Our island has seldom produced a man more truly great than Robert Clive either in arms or in Council." (Macaulay). Examine and discuss. (P.U., B.A., 1938 Sept.)
7. Critically examine the value of Clive's work in Bengal as conqueror and an administrator. To what extent did he succeed in reforming the Company's administration? (P.U., B.A., 1939 Sept.)
8. Discuss the Dual system of Clive in all its bearings. (P.U., B.A., 1941)
9. Write an account of the Regulating Act, its provisions, its defects and its importance.
10. Write notes on :—The Black-Hole Tragedy, Three Revolutions in Bengal.
11. Show that Warren Hastings was an administrative-founder of India.
12. Give the causes, events and results of the Rohilla War. How far were they justifiable?
13. Name the various important treaties made by the English between (1755-71).
14. What was the political condition in India on the eve of the appointment of Warren Hastings as governor of Bengal?
15. Sketch the career of Haider Ali and give an account of the First Mysore War.
16. Point out the principles of government as laid down by Warren Hastings.
17. Give a brief estimate of the policy and character of Clive with special reference to the important events of his time. How far was his second administration successful? (P.U., 1920)
18. Comment on the statement :—"Although Clive did not completely purify the administration, yet he initiated and maintained reforms of considerable magnitude."
19. What do you understand by the acquisition of the Diwani by the Company? How did it affect the Company's position in India?
20. "Power divorced from responsibility is the worst imaginable mode of government." Explain this dictum with special reference to Clive's Dual system. (P.U., 1923)



## SECTION II

### *The Governors-General (1774-1858)*

(1) *Warren Hastings* (1774-85). Quarrel with the Council. The case of Nand Kumar—First Maratha War (1775-82)—Raja Chet Singh of Benares—Begums of Oudh (1784)—Second Mysore War (1780-84). The Declaratory Act of 1781, Fox India Bill 1783—Pitt's India Bill, 1784. His Impeachment.

(2) *Macpherson* officiating Governor-General (1785—1786) for 21 months—

(3) *Lord Cornwallis* (1786-93). His reforms—the third Mysore War (1790)—Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1793). The renewal of the Charter (1793).

(4) *Sir John Shore* (1793-98). Policy of Non-Intervention, the affairs of Oudh. Battle of Kurdlah (1795). The mutiny of Bengal officers and his recall.

(5) *Lord Wellesley* (1798-1805). The condition of India in 1798. Fourth Mysore War (1799)—annexations—treaty of Bassein (1802)—Second and Third Maratha Wars (1802-1804)—subsidiary alliances—their good and bad results—policy and achievements.

(6) *Lord Cornwallis* (1805-1806). Second Time. Died at Ghazipore.

(7) *Sir George Barlow* (1805-7). His policy of Non-Intervention. Vellore Mutiny.

(8) *Lord Minto* (1807-13). Strong foreign policy. The sending of missions to foreign countries—Punjab, Persia, Afghanistan and Sind. Java expedition. The Charter renewed (1813).

(9) *Marquis of Hastings* (1813-23). War with Nepal (1814-16)—Pindari War—Fourth Maratha War (1817-18)—internal reforms.

(10) John Adam, a senior member of the Council (1823-23) officiating Governor-General James Silk Buckingham, editor of the Calcutta Journal, was deported from India for ridiculing some appointments.

(11) *Lord Amherst* (1823-28). The first Burmese War—capture of Bharatpur (1825). Mutiny at Barrackpore.

(12) *Lord William Bentinck* (1828-35). Reforms—relations with Native States—abolition of Sati and infanticide (1829)—suppression of thuggee—renewal of the Company's Charter (1833)—Macaulay—Wilson Controversy.

(13) *Charles Metcalfe* (1832-37). Officiating Governor-General. Press made free.

(14) *Lord Auckland* (1837-42). First Afghan War.

(15) *Lord Ellenborough* (1842-44). The first Afghan War re-opened and annexation of Sind (1843)—affairs of Gwalior.

(16) *Lord Hardings* (1844-47). First Sikh War—treaty of Lahore (1846). His reforms.

(17) *Lord Dalhousie* (1848-56). Second Sikh War—Second Burmese War—annexations and reforms. Doctrine of Lapse, renewal of Charter Act (1853).

(18) *Lord Canning* (1856-58). The Persian War. The Mutiny (1857), the Queen's Proclamation (1858)—end of the Company's rule.



## CHAPTER XVI

### THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL (1774-1857)

#### WARREN HASTINGS (1774—85)

##### First Period (1772-74)

**Four Periods of his Rule.** The rule of Hastings falls into *four* periods : (1) (1772-74). From his appointment as Governor of Bengal till the passing of the Regulating Act of India, discussed already. (2) (1774-76). From the advent of the four new members appointed under the Regulating Act till the death of one of the Members, Monson in 1776. This is the period when he was systematically over-ruled by his Council. (3) (1776-1782). The period of his partial supremacy in the Council. (4) (1782-1784). From the period of supremacy till his departure from India. During this period he was thwarted by his opponents in India at every step due to the antagonistic attitude of the Directors. In the previous Chapter, we have already discussed the events of the first period. Let us now discuss one by one the events during the remaining three periods.

##### Second Period (1774—1776)

**Hastings and His Council : or His Struggle with the Triumvirate.** According to the Regulating Act, Warren Hastings became the Governor-General of Bengal in place of the Governor of Bengal to be assisted by a Council of four members. All matters of the administration were to be decided by a majority of votes. Out of these four members, three members Clavering, Monson and Francis came from England in 1774, and are known as the *Triumvirate* and the fourth was Mr. Barwell, already a Company's servant in India. He sided with Hastings. Clavering was also appointed as the Commander-in-Chief.

**Causes of Friction with the Council.** The three new members, that came from England, complained that the reception given to them at their landing in India was not suitable to their position. They, therefore, took an attitude of hostility from the very start. For some time all real power passed into the hands of this Triumvirate. They condemned everything of Hastings' governorship such as the Rohilla War, the transfer of Allahabad to the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh and his new revenue arrangements. They recalled Middleton, the British Resident at Lucknow, and Colonel Champion from Rohelkhand. Shuja-ud-Daulah having died in 1775, new Nawab Vizier of Oudh, Asaf-ud-Dowlah, was made to sign a new treaty by which the subsidy was increased. He was compelled to pay all the arrears under a threat of removal of British troops from his territory in spite of the opposition of Warren Hastings that it amounted to the reversal of the Company's traditional friendship with Oudh. He was also compelled to cede to the Company the District of Benares. The Council took up the cause of Nand Kumar, who due to some grudge against the Governor-General, brought against him charges of peculation, which were entertained by the Council, and that of the Begums of Oudh, (mother and grand-mother of the Nawab) to the great portion of the treasure left behind by the late Nawab-Vizier of Oudh.

##### Third Period (1776-82)

**Q. 142. Explain, "The members of the Council died, sickened and fled away." (Cambridge History)**

**Hastings in Partial Power.** In view of all this opposition, Hastings offered through his agent, Maclean, to resign. In the meantime, Monson died a natural death in 1776. His death brought Hastings and Barwell to power by means of the Governor-General's casting vote. Hastings now changed his mind and desired to continue on the plea that his agent in London had misused his powers in tendering



the resignation on his behalf, therefore the resignation was not valid. The Directors, however, accepted his resignation and appointed Wheeler instead and asked Clavering to take over the charge which Hastings refused to give in 1777. The matter was referred to the judges of the Supreme Court in India, who decided in favour of Hastings. In the meantime *Clavering died of dysentery* in 1777, leaving Hastings free to follow his own line of action. Hastings was re-confirmed. In place of Monson and Clavering, two more members were appointed, viz, Wheeler and Sir Eyre Coote. In 1787, Francis was wounded by Hastings in a duel and he fled away to England and ultimately the hostilities came to a close. This undignified struggle between Hastings and his Council revealed one defect of the Regulating Act.

**The Supreme Court and the Council.** Another defect of the Regulating Act was that it did not clearly define the relations between the Supreme Court and the Council and this often led to friction between the two. The members of the Supreme Court, considered themselves as servants of the Crown in England. It claimed jurisdiction over all as well as power to override the decision of the Company's courts in the province. The real contest was that the Company had no power from either the Crown or the Parliament to act as judges. Hastings and Francis ordered the Company's servants to disregard the Supreme Court on promise of military aid. The Court issued summons against the Governor-General and his Council which were not obeyed. Hastings got over this difficulty by appointing Sir Elijah Impey as the head of the company's highest Court *Sadar Adalat Diwani* and for this new work, he was paid extra. The Home Government dissolved this arrangement, and recalled Impey. The new arrangement worked satisfactorily but was strongly condemned, for it appeared that the arrangement was a sort of bribe to stop Impey's opposition to the Council.

**The Declaratory Act 1781. The stopping of this conflict.** In 1781, the Parliament passed a Declaratory Act by which the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was defined inasmuch as the Governor-General and his Council were exempted from its jurisdiction, which was limited to Calcutta and to British subjects elsewhere. The other defects of the Regulating Act were proposed to be removed by Fox's India Bill (1783), but due to the opposition of King George III, it could not be passed. In 1784 the Pitt's India Bill and the Amendment Act of 1786, were passed which served this purpose. These Acts will be discussed at their proper place.

#### Fourth Period (1782-1784)

**Opposition from the Directors.** During this period, Hastings was thwarted by his enemies in India due to the antagonistic attitude of the Directors. The Second Mysore War (1781-84) and the First Maratha War (1778-82) are the concrete examples of this opposition. During both these wars, the Governors of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies acted quite independently of him.

**His Impeachment.** The directors were dissatisfied with Hastings, because his wars came in the way of their dividends and, he had failed to give his ministers their shares of Indian patronage. The opposite parties resolved to fight on Indian questions. He had created personal enemies like Francis, the reputed author of the 'Letters of Junius', who inflamed ministerial fury in the form of his impeachment. He was impeached for his conduct in India, as Governor and Governor-General, towards (1) The Rohillas, (2) Shah Alam II, (3) Nand Kumar, (4) Raja Chet Singh, and (5) the Begums of Oudh. Rohilla affairs have already been discussed in Part III.

**The Significance of Impeachment.** The impeachment of Warren Hastings is regarded as a very important event. It illustrates how the



Parliament interfered in the affairs of India, and how the system of government introduced by the English in India is subjected to condemnation. The people in England came to know of the various unclean methods employed by the servants of the Company to hoard wealth. The reforms during the subsequent period are the direct outcome of this impeachment. It also had a salutary effect inasmuch as the British administrators in this country began to rule with care as they were afraid lest they should be hauled up for all their improper and illegal actions. The view of Dr. Smith that the impeachment had no historical utility seems to be wrong.

**Impeachment unjustifiable.** The impeachment of Hastings was quite uncalled for. It has been conclusively proved that his acts were done with the best intention. He tried to establish peace and order in place of chaos and made the country prosperous. He had defects of his own as human beings are sure to have. Taking all facts into consideration, he deserved praise and not impeachment.

(1) **Treatment of Shah Alam II.** After the battle of Baxar, Shah Alam II was given the districts of Kora and Allahabad and a yearly tribute of 26 lakhs from Bengal and in return for this, the exiled Emperor conferred upon the English the Diwani or virtual government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. All this happened in 1765. During the next few years, the Marathas under Mahadaji Sindhia took possession of Delhi and consequently that of Shah Alam II, who made over the two provinces to the Marathas. This took place in 1772. This was unbearable for the English as they were the connecting link between Oudh and Bihar. Hastings ordered the occupation to both the provinces and a civil officer was sent to rule over them. The tribute was also stopped with the consent of the Directors. The whole Council was with the Governor in this matter. Hastings was of opinion that the payment of the tribute would mean the strengthening of the cause of the Marathas. These two provinces were handed over to the Nawab Vizier of Oudh for 50 lakhs in 1773 by the Treaty of Benares.

**Criticism.** Hastings was quite justified in this harsh treatment. The Shah could have no claim on the gratitude and friendship of the English when he, much against their will, accepted the protection of the Marathas, the enemies of the English.

(2) **Nand Kumar's Case.** Nand Kumar, a wily Brahman, had some grudge against Hastings. He desired to feed fat his vengeance through the Triumvirate. In 1775, he had a letter placed before the Council through Francis, in which he "charged the Governor-General with various acts of fraud, corruption and oppression. Hastings was openly accused of taking bribes from the Manni Begum, of sharing in the plunder amassed by Raza Khan, and of procuring that officer's acquittal in return for another large bribe." A few days later, he sent another letter asking the Council to permit him to appear in person and produce witnesses in support of his charge. The Triumvirate desired that Nand Kumar should be allowed to substantiate his charges, but Hastings and Barwell opposed it as an undignified thing. The Triumvirate over-ruled them, appointed Clavering as chairman, sent for Nand Kumar to tender evidence in support of his facts. After hearing the case, the Triumvirate declared "Hastings guilty of taking presents from



the Begum to the value of £ 35,000; and they ordered him to repay that sum forthwith into the public treasury." Hastings did not submit to this decision as the matter was not within the jurisdiction of the Council. After this decision, the Rani of Burdwan and the young Nawab of Bengal and others laid fresh charges against Hastings. But Nemesis came to his help when Mohan Parshad charged Nand Kumar of having obtained a large sum of money from a dead man's estate by means of a forged bond. The complaint led to Nand Kumar's arrest and after a good deal of controversy, Nand Kumar was declared guilty by a court of four Judges, with Impey as their chief, according to the English law and was condemned to death and executed.

**Criticism.** It is practically certain (1) that Hastings had nothing to do with the matter but the removal of his accuser was so exceedingly opportune for him that the world has generally attributed the whole business to a conspiracy between Hastings and the Chief Judge. (2) But the punishment of death was too severe. Fine or imprisonment would have been the appropriate penalty. It was very doubtful if the Supreme Court had any jurisdiction over the natives, and there is no doubt about it that the English law, making forgery a capital crime, was not operative in India even many years after the death of Nand Kumar. (3) The Supreme Court had authority to revise and suspend the execution of any capital punishment whenever there should appear in their own judgment a proper occasion for appeal. Since the Indians universally regarded forgery as a more misdemeanour, it was just the occasion for the exercise of such discretionary power. (4) Francis and Company had every reason to petition for a reprieve on the ground that Nand Kumar's execution would prevent the charges against Hastings from being properly investigated and that the execution be stopped lest the refusal of the Governor-General be misunderstood by the people.

(3) **Treatment of Chet Singh.** Balwant Singh, the first Raja of Benares, was an adventurer's son and held the place as a vassal of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. In 1775, it was transferred from the Nawab to the Company. Chet Singh, the son of Balwant Singh, was the next Raja and he paid yearly rent of his lands to the Company on the old terms, which could not be enhanced. In addition to this yearly rent, he was bound by law, custom and written agreement to aid his new masters with men and money in times of extraordinary need. Due to the outbreak of the First Maratha War, Hastings demanded in 1778 five lakhs of rupees and the amount was paid. In 1779, a similar demand was made and it was complied with after hesitation. In 1780, the Raja was asked to furnish (2000 horse) for the war and the Raja pleaded his inability to give the required number and offered about half of it due to poverty. Moreover, he put off the payment of his regular tribute. Complaints were also made against him for intriguing with the Oudh princesses. Hastings lowered his demand and still the Raja did not comply with it. Hastings wanted to punish him for his evasive conduct and fined him heavily to fill up an empty treasury. In 1781, he set out from Calcutta and reached Benares with a small escort and sent the list of charges against him demanding a full reply. The Raja's reply was full of falsehood and he was put under arrest. A few of Raja's retainers fell upon the place where the Raja had been imprisoned. The body-guard was cut to pieces and Raja fled away. Hastings himself had a very narrow escape. Troops from the nearest stations marched to the rescue of the Governor-General. General Popham defeated Chet Singh and his whole treasury was looted and nothing fell into Hastings' hands. The Raja's nephew was given Benares on the condition that he was to pay double the revenue formerly payable to the Company.



**Criticism.** (1) That the Raja was hostile and traitorous is not true, else Hastings would not have gone there with a small escort. (2) The 'thick and thin' apologists of Warren Hastings have justified this action. The Raja was not a sovereign prince, he was only a tributary Zamindar and thus in times of difficulty, Warren Hastings could demand anything from him. The Company had definitely engaged in 1775 to levy no further contribution from the Raja as long as he paid the stipulated sum. His supporters further say that he had a right to revise the Company's treaties in emergencies. Assuming that Hastings had a right to change the treaty, he ought not to have acted so harshly. He was resolved to put the Raja to trouble. It led to a revolt by his subjects for which he was not responsible. Alfred Lyall is right in remarking that "Hastings must bear the blame of having provoked an insurrection in Benares." Even Dr. Smith, who was a great apologist of Hastings, admits that 'Hastings was injudicious and imprudent in arresting the Raja whom he treated with improper harshness and that the proposed fine of 40 or 50 lakhs was excessive. (3) The whole affair was a sorry failure. He set forth to get money from the Raja, he got nothing. He put his own life in danger, the Raja escaped with a part of the treasury and the rest was distributed among his troops. The total financial result of the war was the cost of hostilities that ensued. The rule of the new Raja proved a poor substitute for Chet Singh's. (4) Some admirers of Warren Hastings put forth the principle of 'Political expediency' as justification for this immoral and illegal act.

**(4) Treatment of Begums.** Hastings was staying at Chanar after his narrow escape from Benares. Asaf-ud-Dowlah, the Vizier of Oudh, met him there and explained to him that he was unable to pay the Company's debt due from him. The only way he could make the payment was that he should be allowed to resume all the jagirs and secure the large treasure left behind by his father with the two Begums, his mother and grand-mother. Hastings was badly in need of money at this time. Moreover he had a grudge against the Begums for their having assisted Chet Singh of Benares with their troops. In view of the above facts, Hastings signed the treaty of Chanar in 1781 which relieved the Nawab of Oudh from the chief part of his military obligations and empowered him to resume at will all the jagirs within his realm and to reclaim the paternal treasure. He promised to pay 50 lakhs in the first instance to be followed by another instalment of 20 lakhs. He was asked by Hastings to grant the Princesses liberal pensions. The Vizier, on his return to Lucknow, could not fulfil the promise and Hastings, who stood badly in need of money, threatened to withdraw his Resident and the British troops from Oudh. In 1782, Hastings returned to Calcutta and the Vizier resumed all the jagirs with the help of British troops in spite of an armed resistance from the Begums and by putting under confinement, the two eunuchs, he took possession of wealth and remitted the balance due to the Company. The eunuchs were set free after two months under instructions from Hastings.

**Criticism.** (1) Begums' right to the state treasury was guaranteed by the British Resident and the Council. Hastings ought to have kept the word of the Government. Asaf's mother by Muslim law was entitled to one-third of the treasure. Even if they had not been so entitled, the methods of coercion he employed were indeed unworthy of a civilized nation. It was not true that the Begums were acting in complicity with Chet Singh. (2) The Begums armed themselves with the motives of self-defence, fearing lest they should be treated like Chet Singh. But if the charge was true, it ought to have been proved before any harsh and active measures were taken. (3) The need of the hour necessitated such an action on the part of Hastings.

*cancel eunuchs*



## HASTINGS FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS CONDUCTIVENESS TO THE BRITISH POWER

(P.U. 1938)

Warren Hastings, a great diplomat, was not an annexationist. He was more in favour of consolidating the possessions of the Company. The safety of the province of Bengal, an inexhaustible store of resources was uppermost in his mind. With this object in view, he fortified Oudh as a buffer state and even helped the Nawab in his design against Robil-khand. He was also active to the revival of French intervention in India. The French were already helping the Americans in their War of Independence. To check this danger, Hastings improved communications with Europe through the Suez Canal. In fact he was *non-aggressive* in his foreign policy, but much against his will he was dragged in the struggle with the Sultan of Mysore and the Marathas due to the mistaken policy of the Governors of Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Be it said to his credit, that Hastings in all these wars maintained British prestige by his wisely managing the situation.

**The Second Mysore War (1780-84). Causes.** (1) The English at the conclusion of the first Mysore War, had engaged to help Haider Ali but in 1769, when the Marathas fell upon him they abandoned him outright. He kept on nursing this grievance in his mind, waiting for an opportunity to take his revenge. The occasion was not very far to seek. (2) War broke out between England and France and in order to seize the French settlements orders were issued to Madras to occupy Mahe, a French possession, without delay. Haider Ali did not like to lose the help of the French and also the only port that belonged to him through which French troops and supplies could reach him. He, therefore, warned the English that any attempt on Mahe would be regarded as a hostile act and would result in war. Nevertheless Mahe was taken by an English detachment in 1779.

**Events: The Battle of Pollilore (1780).** Haider Ali made common cause with the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad and obtained promises of French co-operation. With full confidence in his own powers he descended from the hills upon the plains of the Carnatic with an army of 80,000 men setting fire to the villages that came in his way. The Government of Madras showed no fore-thought or preparation in meeting his terrible invasion. Haider Ali made no secret of his dreadful ferocity. There "ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple.....fathers torn from children, husbands from wives—enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry." An army of nearly 4,000 men under Baillie was cut up at Pollilore in September, 1781, Sir Hector Munro threw his guns and retired. 'The fortunes of the English in India,' says Alfred Lyall, 'had fallen to their lowest water mark.'

**The Battle of Porto Novo (1781).** When the news of the crisis reached Calcutta, Warren Hastings lost no time in despatching Sir Eyre Coote with every available soldier. Haider Ali had become over-confident of his success but the English general found a way to storm his trenches and defeated him at Porto Novo in 1781. Two other victories followed and Haider Ali being in the greatest straits for provisions became



most hopeless. There came another turn of fortune. Braithwaite with a considerable army was cut up at Tanjore by Tipu, and de Suffrein, the great French admiral, landed with more than 200 troops at Calicut. Land forces were entrusted to Bussy who came later, and Haider Ali was in possession of Cuddalore. The seas were swept by the forces of Suffrein.

**The Death of Haider Ali (1782).** Nothing decisive followed though damages were inflicted on both sides. In the meantime, Haider Ali died of carbuncle and Tipu continued the hostilities. He captured Bednor and Coimbatore. He was advancing on the capital when unfortunately he was recalled. Negotiations followed but Tipu was not disposed to make peace till he had been gratified by a surrender. He treated the British envoys with incredible insolence, to which they tamely submitted thus making it appear that the English had begged for peace.

**The Treaty of Mangalore (1784).** The treaty of Mangalore (1784) brought the Second Mysore War to an end. By this treaty, the conquests were mutually restored and prisoners of war were exchanged. Warren Hastings looked upon this treaty as disgraceful and humiliating but had perforce to give his assent. Lyall remarks, "with the termination of this war ended the only period in the long contest between England and the native powers during which our position in India was for a time seriously jeopardized. That the English dominions emerged from this prolonged struggle uninjured, though not shaken, is a result due to the political intrepidity of Warren Hastings."

**Haider Ali's greatness.** It is impossible to deny the greatness of Haider Ali. It was due to four reasons: (1) A penniless adventurer, he raised himself to the first position in his country and made Mysore greater than it had ever been before or since. (2) Although illiterate, he yet restored the finances of his country, and left to his successors a full treasury and an efficient army. He used to write to his officers, "Bring money, nothing but money." (3) His judgment of men can be gauged by his liking for the French, who rendered him the most valuable services both as officers and engineers. (4) Although a Muslim, yet he was no bigot and cared not a jot to what religion his subordinates belonged so long as they did their duty.

#### The Maratha Wars

First Maratha War (1778-82)

Second Maratha War (1803)

Third Maratha War (1804)

Fourth Maratha War (1814-1818)

Treaty of Salbai (1782)

Treaty of Bassein (1802) and Treaty of Deogaon (1803)

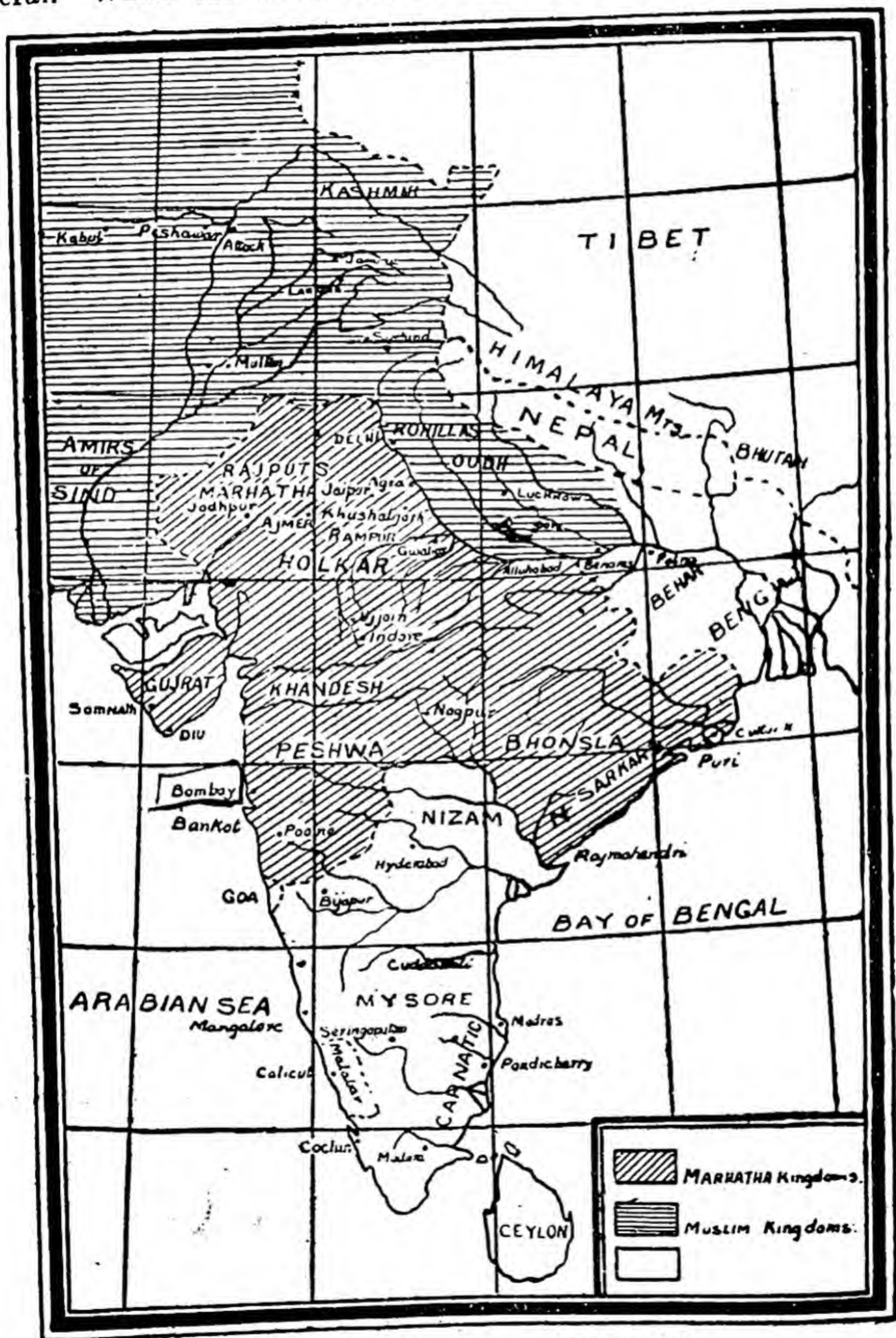
**Q. 143. Give an account of the First Maratha War.**

#### THE FIRST MARATHA WAR

**The First Maratha War (1778-82). Causes.** The first Maratha War arose out of a disputed succession to the office of Peshwa. Madho Rao Peshwa died in 1772 and was succeeded by his brother, Narayan Rao, who, nine months later, was murdered by his uncle Narayan Rao Raghoba. The succession was contested between the murderer Raghoba and the supporters of Narayan Rao's posthumous child, Madho Rao



General: \_\_\_\_\_



### Anglo-Maratha Wars (1782-1818)

the Bombay Government without reference to Calcutta reached the Calcutta Council, they ordered it to be cancelled. An envoy was sent from Calcutta to Poona and in 1776 the Treaty of Purandhar was signed



which gave up the advantages obtained by the former treaty. But then orders arrived from England confirming the treaty of Surat and the war was renewed.

**Events of the War.** A British force accompanied by Raghoba ascended the ghats to attack Poona. But the expedition was mismanaged, and, before it reached Poona, the British Commander surrendered to the Peshwa at Wargaoon. This disaster roused Warren Hastings, who saved the Bombay settlement from destruction by the despatch of an expedition under Colonel Goddard, which marched right across India from Bengal in 1779. In the following year (1780) the fortress of Gwalior was taken by Major Popham—a feat which did much to wipe out the disgrace of the infamous Convention of Wargaoon.

**The Treaty of Salbai.** Ultimately in 1782, through the mediation of Sindhia, the treaty of Salbai was signed, which awarded to the English the islands of Salsetta and Elephanta, guaranteed to Raghoba a liberal pension and acknowledged Madho Rao Narayan, the son of Narayan Rao, as the Peshwa.

**Fox's India Bill (1783).** During his Coalition Ministry (1783-83), Fox at the suggestion of Burke and Francis, the two arch-enemies of Warren Hastings, introduced his bill with a view to remove the misgovernment in India. The bill proposed that the Courts of Proprietors and Directors be abolished and replaced by two bodies of Commissioners, one to be in charge of the commercial affairs of the Company and the other to be in charge of all the political affairs of India. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but it was rejected by the House of Lords through the vehement opposition of king George III. The defeated ministry went out of power and Pitt the Younger came into office.

**Pitt's India Bill (1784).** During his ministry, Pitt introduced his bill for reforming the administration of India and placing the Company under the direct supervision of a body representing the Parliament of Britain. The Bill proposed :—

(1) A Board of six unpaid commissioners, known as the Board of Control, was appointed to control the civil, military and revenue affairs of India. (2) The Court of Directors were to obey the orders of the Board of Control. (3) A Committee of Secrecy of 3 members out of the Directors was formed through whom secret orders to India were to be sent. (4) The Court of Proprietors lost all power of modifying the proceedings of the Court of Directors. (5) The Governor-General's Council was reduced from four to three members including the Commander-in-Chief. (6) The Bombay and Madras Presidencies were each given a Council consisting of the Governor and three Councillors including the Commander-in-Chief. (7) The governors of the Presidencies were placed under the Governor-General and his Council in matters of war, peace and revenue. (8) The Governor-General could not make war or peace without the consent of the Court of Directors.

**Double Government.** The system of government as introduced by this Bill has been described by writers of Indian Constitutional history as *Double Government*, because of its being placed under two Boards, the Board of Control, representing the Parliament and the Crown, and the Board of Directors, representing the Court of Proprietors. The *Double Government* continued till the Indian Mutiny of 1858 after which the power was transferred to the Crown.

*Board of Control = Parliament & Crown  
Directors = Court of Proprietors*



**Amending Act of 1786.** Lord Cornwallis, before his appointment, wanted Pitt to remove the defects of the Pitt's India Bill. By the Amending Act of 1786 it was laid down that the offices of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were to be combined in the same person, and the Governor-General should be empowered to over-ride the decisions of his Council and act on his own initiative in the interest of peace and tranquility in India.

**Q. 144.** What was the political condition of India at the time of the departure of Warren Hastings?

#### POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA AT WARREN HASTINGS' DEPARTURE

**Political condition in 1785.** The political condition of India, when Warren Hastings left it, was as follows:—In *Burma*, the dynasty of Alompra, which had been established there about 1750 A.D. and was expanding in various directions had conquered Arakan in 1784 and was threatening Assam. In *Nepal*, the Gurkhas of the north, who had established themselves in that valley about 10 years after Plassey, were gradually rising into power. The Rajput chiefs had lost their old valour, patriotism and strength of character, and their land was subject to foreign aggressions. Sind was theoretically under Persia and Afghanistan since 1739 and 1757, but the tribute from this province very seldom reached the new masters. In 1783, Mir Fateh Ali of the Talpura family made himself the master of Sind by overthrowing the last of the Kaloras. Since the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1774 at Kandhar, when he had been recalled for suppressing a revolt, the Afghan hold on the Punjab began to relax and the vacuum created by their gradual withdrawal was being filled up by the revival and organization of the Sikhs. Oudh under Nawab Asaf-ud-Dawlah was the scene of misrule and corruption, more flagrant than those prevailing in the Carnatic. Shah Alam II, sitting crowned among the ruins of its ancient splendour, still reigned over Delhi; and although the imperial authority had lost all substance, the shadow of the great name still so far overspread the surrounding districts as to prevent their absorption under a new dominion. The Marathas in spite of their being split up into hostile groups and their mutual jealousies, held a dominant position in Central India. Mahadaji Sindhia exercised a powerful influence over Hindustan, Malwa and the Deccan; and Nana Farnavis, the Brahman Minister at Poona, was trying to maintain the Peshwa's hegemony over the whole Maratha Confederacy. Tipu, the most relentless of the Company's foes, was busy with plans for extending his conquests and for breaking the power of the Company. The Nizam of Hyderabad was playing a vacillating game and was making shifting alliances with this power and that power. The Carnatic was in a state of disorder and the relations of the Company with its Nawab were complicated.

**Q. 145.** Attempt a critical estimate of the difficulties and achievements of Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India.

[Hints. *Warren Hastings' difficulties.* (1) Government of the country was in a state of chaos. (2) The blunders committed by the Governors of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies in creating anti-British combination of southern powers under the lead of the Nizam in 1779. (3) The hostility of the Triumvirate as created by the Regulating Act in which he could be out-voted by the Council. (4) The friction between the Governor-General and his Council and the Supreme Court of Judicature. (5) The financial bankruptcy of the Company.

*His achievements.* (1) Administration of the country purified by the removal of various abuses and the introduction of judicial reforms. (2) He separated the Nizam from the Tripartite between the Nizam, the Marathas and Haider Ali and defeated the latter in the 2nd Mysore War and also the Marathas. (3) The opposition of the Council disappeared with the death of Monson and Clavering and the flight of Philip to England and that of the Supreme Council by the Declaratory Act of 1781. (4) The financial bankruptcy was improved by getting money from the Begums of Oudh and Raja Chet Singh.]

**Q. 146.** Give an estimate of Warren Hastings.



### AN ESTIMATE OF WARREN HASTINGS

**His Character.** He was a man of versatile genius, unflinching energy, and unconquerable will. He undoubtedly possessed the art of inspiring large masses with his intimate knowledge of the people of India and was "the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary princes of India." Magnanimity appears to have been the great want of his character. To friends he could be generous, towards opponents he came perilously near to being vindictive. He seems to have been capable of resentment, bitter and long enduring; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder, that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was anything but policy. He was deficient in respect for the rights of others and sympathy for the sufferings of others. He was a man of somewhat lax moral principles, but selfish cupidity was not one of his faults. The motive which prompted his worst acts was misdirected and illregulated public spirit. He was 'the ablest of the able men who have given to Great Britain her Indian Empire.'

"We may applaud unreservedly the energy, boldness, tenacity and resource which enabled him to grapple successfully with his hydra-headed enemies. He may be described with justice as the Indian Pitt,—*'The Chatham of the East.'*"

**His work as an Administrator.** He was a great administrator, and gave a firm government to Bengal. As he himself said in his written defence before the Lords, "Every division of official business, and every department of Government which now exists in Bengal...are of my foundation. The establishment formed for the administration of the revenue, the institution of the Civil and Criminal justice in the province of Bengal, and its immediate dependencies, the form of government established for the province of Benares...were created by me. Two great sources of revenue, opium and salts, were of my creation." He found the Bengal province in Chaos, and introduced law and order. He converted British traders into revenue collectors, magistrates, and judges, but he established courts of appeal to supervise their proceedings; and if his magistrates and judges had no legal training, they were at any rate Britons with a national sense of justice, and their decisions were infinitely better than those of Bengal Zemindars without law, without justice or control.

**His Services to his Country.** He made Bengal a secure possession, and Oudh a friendly dependency; maintained English power in the south, and checked the Marathas. He himself summed up his services in his written defence before the House of Lords as follows:—"The valour of others acquired, I enlarged, and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there I preserved it; I sent forth its armies with an effectual but economical hand, through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your possessions, to the retrieval of one from degradation and dishonour, and of the other from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation or that of others, not of mine. I won one member of the great Indian Confederacy (the Nizam) by an act of one reasonable restitution; with another (Raghuji Bhonsla) I maintained a secret intercourse and converted him into a friend; a third (Mahadaji Sindhia) I drew off by diversion and negotiation and employed him as the instrument of peace." He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal with the help of Sir William Jones. He founded the Madrasa in Calcutta, two commercial missions were sent to Tibet.

**Conclusion.** He was not blameless, but "his offences are cast into the shade when we contemplate the grandeur of his whole career, and we may adopt the opinion of one of the statesmen of the day 'though he was not blameless; yet if there was a bald place in his head, it ought to be covered with laurels'".

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. "One of the greatest Englishmen who ever ruled India." Is it a correct estimate of the character and achievements of Warren Hastings?  
(P.U., B.A., 1934)
2. How far was the foreign policy of the East India Company under Warren Hastings conducive to the growth of the British power in India?  
(P.U., B.A., 1935)
3. Carefully discuss the foreign policy and revenue administration of Warren Hastings. What were the principal defects in the revenue system of his time?  
(P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)



4. Attempt a critical estimate of the difficulties and achievements of Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India. (P.U., B.A., 1938)

5. "Hastings was perhaps the greatest Englishman who ever ruled, a man who with some ethical defects possessed in a superabundant measure the mobile and fertile brain, the tireless energy and the lofty fortitude, which distinguishes only the supreme statesmen." (Roberts). Examine and discuss.

6. Explain how 'the Regulating Act was the worst piece of legislation' ever passed by the British Parliament regarding India? And show how far the Pitt's India Act succeeded in remedying the defects of the Regulating Act. (P.U. B.A., 1939, 1941)

7. Describe the condition of India at the time of the appointment of Warren Hastings as the Governor of Bengal in 1772, and explain in what condition he left the possessions of the Company in 1785.

8. "The aspect of affairs at the close of 1780 might well have appalled an English statesman." Elucidate the statement with reference to English fortunes in India and estimate Hastings' services in this connection.

9. "Hastings made no conquest, but his treaties and his subsidiary system paved the way for the final overthrow or defeat of every power that sought to hinder the growth of our Eastern Empire." Comment upon this statement.

10. "The valour of others acquired, I enlarged, and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there." Explain how far this summing up of his administration by Hastings is true.

11. Compare the services rendered by Clive and Warren Hastings to the East India Company. (P.U., B.A., 1918)

12. In the final defence of his administration which he wrote on his way home, Warren Hastings remarks: "The seed of this wonderful production was sown by the hand of calamity. It was nourished by fortune, and cultivated and shaped by necessity." Comment on the statement bringing out its historical significance. (P.U., B.A., 1931)

[Hints. Calamity means the Black-Hole of Calcutta—Fortune means the success of the British in the Revolutions of Bengal—Necessity means Dual Government which failed and led to the establishment of the new system of Government.]

13. "His was, therefore, essentially a period of experiments"; explain this with reference to the reign of Hastings.

[Hints. "Warren Hastings did not introduce fixed principles. He tried measures one after the other."]

78-12-83



1st January  
2nd

1786

## CHAPTER XVII

### LORD CORNWALLIS (1786-1793)

**Macpherson, the Officiating Governor-General (1785-1786).** Macpherson, the senior member of the Bengal Council, was appointed as officiating Governor-General. His previous career in the Madras Presidency had not been praiseworthy. During his short period, he tried to improve the finances of the Company. He incurred the displeasure of Sultan Tipu by offering assistance to the Marathas in spite of the treaty of Mangalore. He in fact paved the way for the outbreak of the third Mysore war.

**His Career and Appointment.** Lord Cornwallis, a general and a diplomat, was appointed as the Governor-General in 1786 in spite of his surrender at Yorktown in the American War of Independence in preference to Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras. In 1785, he had declined the offer. (Pitt, the Prime Minister and Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, had full confidence in him on account of the mobility of his character, and judgment. He had no experience of Indian affairs before this. Before accepting the appointment, he strengthened his position by the passing of an Amending Act of 1786 to the Pitt's India Bill (1784). The bill enabled him to over-ride the decisions of the Council as well as to be both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief.)

**His Policy.** Lord Cornwallis had three main objects before him : (1) To inquire into the grievances of the Zamindars and to redress them. He was to make permanent rules so that rent may be regularly paid. (2) To re-organize the administrative machinery of the country. (3) To inaugurate the policy of non-intervention in Foreign affairs. R.C. Dutt remarks, "He did not belie the expectations formed of him and his rule afforded a gleam of sunshine in India after an age of darkness and storms."

**Q. 147. Give an account of the permanent settlement of Bengal under Lord Cornwallis.**

#### 1. THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL

(1) *Previous History of the Measure.* Hastings' revenue arrangements, which were at first quinquennial and then annual, were not intended to be permanent; so that the question still awaited a final decision. The policy of ousting the Zamindars when others offered to pay more than they were prepared to pay, had proved so detrimental to the improvement of the lands, the welfare of the ryots, and the interests of the Company, that the Directors in 1786, directed Lord Cornwallis to conclude with the Zamindars a settlement for a period of ten years, and suggested that it might be made permanent if it proved satisfactory. But the Bengal Civil Service was so ignorant of Indian land tenures that the Governor-General thought it best to postpone the



execution of the orders of the Court of Directors till he had collected sufficient information on the subject. After the work of collecting information was completed, Lord Cornwallis announced that he proposed to confer upon the Bengal Zamindars proprietary rights in the lands. Mr. Shore, then a Bengal civilian, who was reckoned as an authority on revenue matters, opposed the Governor-General's proposal, pointing out that the rights of the ryots were more ancient and absolute than those of the Zamindars and urged that some interference on the part of Government was necessary in order to prevent the landlords from rack-renting their tenants. Mr. Shore's representations induced Lord Cornwallis to enact that "the Zamindar should keep a register of his tenants and grant them Pattahs or leases, specifying the rent they were to pay, and that in case of any infringement of these rules, the ryot was to seek a remedy in an action against him in the Civil Court." The next question to decide was whether the settlement should be decennial or permanent. Mr. Shore and the Governor-General again differed, and the question was referred to the Court of Directors. But that body could not be persuaded to give their attention to the matter, so the Board of Control took up the question. At last William Pitt, the then Prime Minister, declared himself in favour of Permanent Settlement; the Board of Control agreed; the Court of Directors acquiesced and a dispatch to that effect was sent out to India and promulgated in Calcutta in 1793.

**Its Aims.** The Permanent Settlement of Bengal had three points in view: (1) The provisions for a minimum but stable revenue paid punctually. (2) Cultivation to be done on an extensive scale. (3) Improvements in agriculture.

**Opinions.** R. C. Datt, "If the prosperity and happiness of a nation be the criterion of wisdom and success Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement of 1793 is the wisest and most successful measure which the British nation had ever adopted in India." He further remarks it as 'the one act of the British nation within the century and a half of their rule in India which has most effectually safeguarded the economic welfare of the people.'

**Its Merits.** (1) A permanent land tax is always inexpensive uniform and certain. (2) It has prevented famine in Bengal. Since 1793 there has never been a famine in permanently settled areas which has caused any serious loss of life. (3) With the increase in population and cultivation, the revenue of the provinces of Bengal and Bihar have increased immensely. (4) Permanent Settlement has been the means of developing in Bengal of an exceptional flow of public-spirited and charitable investment. (5) Looking at it solely from the public point of view, it was the means of making people more loyal as was witnessed in the Mutiny of 1857. It was found that the mutineers got no help from the Zamindars of Bengal.

**Its Demerits.** (1) A permanent land tax is unsuitable for growing society. (2) The contention of the Government of India that Bengal has been saved from famine by Permanent Settlement is incorrect as is clear from the Bihar famine of 1873-74 and the Bengal famine of 1897. (3) The measure proved a total failure as the landlords did nothing for the improvement of estates, but everything for their own. (4) It sacrificed the yeomanry of Bengal by merging all village rights whether of property or occupancy in the all-devouring recognition of the



Support - President -  
zamindar's paramount property in the soil. (5) It sacrificed the peasantry by one sweeping enactment which left the zamindar practically free to rack-rent his tenants, as the checks on his power proved quite illusory. The registers were not kept, patahs were rarely given, and as to the remedy at law for redress in the Civil Courts where the subordinates were usually venal was too expensive and difficult for a poor tenant to avail himself of. The melancholy consequence of these errors was that the Bengal cultivator was rack-rented, impoverished and oppressed till the Government of India stepped in to protect him by tenancy legislation.

## 2. ADMINISTRATION REFORMS

**Its General Nature.** (1) Lord Cornwallis in order to make the administrative system more efficient, at first raised the salaries of officials so that they should be above temptation. (The officials were asked to give up all other methods of income.) Suitable persons were appointed to responsible posts and the recommendations of the Directors in these matters were ignored. (He wanted to make justice cheap and accessible.) (He separated the executive and judicial functions.) (He is also the founder of Civil Service in India.) (He organized the regular police force in place of the privately established by the zamindars.) (The cardinal mistake committed by him was the exclusion of the Indians from all responsible posts.)

**(2) Reforms in the Department of Criminal Justice.** (i) As regards the criminal work, every district was divided into the number of small areas under a darogah - who was authorized to arrest the offenders and have bails from them. (ii) In 1787, the Collectors again became civil judges and their jurisdiction was extended to minor criminal offences. (iii) But in 1790, owing to the prevalence of crime, Cornwallis took up the work of reform in right earnest. Four new Courts of Appeal were constituted to proceed on circuit, from Zillah to Zillah, within their respective circles, and hold jail deliveries twice a year. (iv) From the decision of the circuit courts an appeal lay to the Nizamat Adalat, (the chief criminal court) which was again removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The Governor-General superintended the administration of justice in the Nizamat Adalat.

Lord Cornwallis transferred the administration of criminal justice of the Europeans. The lowest courts in this domain were those of the petty magistrates or the Justices of the Peace. The Registrars, the Ameens and the Districts Judges enjoyed also the powers of the Justice of the Peace. They could inflict punishment up to 15 days and impose a fine up to Rs. 200.

**(3) Re-organisation of the Civil Judicature.** He appointed an ascending hierarchy of courts, both civil and criminal. (i) A Civil court under the District Judge was established in every district, having jurisdiction over all except Englishmen, who were under the special jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Four Appellate courts to hear all appeals from the district courts were established at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad from whose decisions again an appeal lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta. An appeal against the decisions of the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta lay to the Privy Council. (ii) In 1793, further reforms were introduced; a separation of judicial and



executive duties was effected. The Collector ceased to be a civil judge, and both the Boards of Revenue and District Collectors were deprived of their judicial functions in revenue cases.

In large towns, he appointed for the recovery of debts, 'the munsiff's courts,' 'the Ameen's courts' which could hear cases up to the value of Rs. 500 and the Registrar's court which could hear suits not exceeding the value of Rs. 200. Appeals against the decisions of these courts lay to the court of the District Judge presided over by a European Judge with Indian assessors. From these courts appeal lay to the Provincial Courts which were presided over by three European judges and a Registrar, a Qazi and a Pandit. In all the suits of the value of more than Rs. 1000, an appeal lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta.

**Laws Administered.** In Criminal cases, the Mohammadan law shorn of its severity and absurdity, was used. In Civil cases, the law of the defender was used.

**Cornwallis Code, 1793.** For the guidance of the Company's servants in the police and judicial departments, all regulations affecting the rights of person and property of British subjects were revised, formed into a code, and printed with translations in the native languages. These regulations have defined and set bounds to authority; created procedure and guarded against the miscarriage of justice, and founded the Civil Service of India as it exists to-day. It gave everyone the right to bring any officials before the courts for any offence. As a fact, however, they were altogether unsuited to Indian conditions. "The course of procedure was loaded with formalities, and the multiplication of puzzling and pedantic rules only served to bewilder the mind, and defeat the object in view. There was, in fact, too much of law to yield much justice. Every suit became a game of chess, and afforded the amplest scope for oriental ingenuity and chicanery. Justice was thus made sour by delay, and equity was smothered by legal processes."

**Exclusion of Natives from Power.** Lord Cornwallis placed the administration of the country almost entirely in the hands of Englishmen to the exclusion of all native agency. For instance in the department of criminal justice, the only office to which a native was appointed, was that of the Daroga, carrying a salary of Rs. 25 per month.

**Its Criticism.** The administrative reforms of Lord Cornwallis have immensely improved the state of affairs as stated above; but they were not without defects. The exclusion of Indians from all high appointments was a great hit to the natives of India. The Cornwallis Code was also very cumbersome. However, it did one good that "the supremacy of all law and the law-courts over all persons whatever and the foundation of civil liberty," was established. By it a person got the right to sue any high official for the wrong done to him.

**Constitutional Reforms : Renewal of the Charter Act in 1793.** (1) By this Charter, the commercial and political privileges of the Company were renewed for another period of 20 years. (2) Englishmen were given a few concessions for private trade with India after much agitation. (3) The Governors of Bombay and Madras Presidencies, like the Governor-General of Bengal, were empowered to over-ride the decisions of their Councils. (4) Provisions were also made for payment of salaries to the members and staff of the Board of Control out of Indian



revenues. (5) The Directors were required to submit annually to the British Parliament an account of their income and expenditure. (6) The missionaries could not go to India without a licence. (7) The Board of Control got the right to send royal troops to India and their expenses were to be met out of the Indian revenues.

### 3. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

#### The Third Mysore War (1790-92)

**Causes.** The Third Mysore war was forced on by Tipu himself. (1) He had by no means abandoned his father's policy of endeavouring to check the growth of the British predominance by calling in the assistance of France. In 1787 he sent an ambassador to Constantinople and Paris. This filled the English with suspicion and jealousy which evidently made for war between the two powers. (2) Besides this the immediate cause of the war was that Tipu made quite an unjustifiable attack upon the Raja of Travancore, a state under British protection. Lord Cornwallis thereupon entered into a triple alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas. (3) The possession of Guntur by Tipu, which belonged to the Nizam, became another factor.

**Events.** The first march did not prove successful and in 1790 Lord Cornwallis himself took the command. Tipu was overpowered and besieged in his capital. His mountain fortresses were reduced. The outworks of the town were captured. He, thereupon, made his submission and was compelled to sign a treaty (1792) which crippled his resources and stripped him of half of his territory.

**Why Peace was made.** Lord Cornwallis had it then in his power to complete the work that he left for Wellesley but there were certain reasons which checked him from doing that. (1) Sickness was spreading in the British camps, (2) treachery was suspected in the Nizam and the Marathas, (3) there was danger of French War, (4) the Governor-General did not like to take over the whole of the kingdom of Mysore.

**The Treaty of Seringapatam (1792).** By this treaty (1) Tipu was to cede half his territory to be equally shared by the members of the Triple Alliance, the English, the Nizam and the Marathas. The English got Malabar, Coorg and Dindigul and Baramahal, the Marathas got the territory in the North-West and the Nizam in the North-East of Mysore. (2) He was to pay a war indemnity of 3½ crores of rupees to the English. (3) He was to send two of his sons as hostages to the English. (4) He was to set free all prisoners of war.

**Q. 148. Give an estimate of Lord Cornwallis.**

### 4. ESTIMATE OF LORD CORNWALLIS

**As a Man.** Lord Cornwallis led a very simple, pure and unassuming life. He had in him a high sense of public duty. He was extremely serviceable to his nation and was a very honest man.

**As an Administrator.** He had great contempt for jobbery. He desired that the servants of the Company should be above the reach of temptation. In constructive ability and tenacity of purpose, he may challenge comparison with some of the most eminent men who have ruled India. "With all his benevolent and generous sympathies for the natives, Lord Cornwallis was not able to advance beyond the traditional



creed of England, that all her colonial and foreign possessions were to be administered primarily and emphatically for her benefit. No effort was spared to secure the protection, the improvement, and the happiness of the people, but it was with an eye exclusively to the credit and interests of the governing power. He closes his minute on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal with this characteristic remark—"The real value of Bengal and Bihar to Britain depends on the continuance of its ability to furnish a large investment to Europe, to assist in providing an investment for China, and to supply the pressing wants of other presidencies."

**His Achievements.** During his reign of 8 years, Lord Cornwallis inflicted a defeat upon Sultan Tipu, removed the irksome majority clause from the regulation act, ushered in an era of law and order in India, carried out the Permanent Revenue Settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, made justice impartial and cheap by introducing hereditary law courts and is ultimately the father of the Indian Civil Service of today.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give some account of the development of the judicial system of Bengal till the time of Lord Cornwallis. (P.U., B.A., 1937)
2. 'A very great blunder as well as gross injustice was committed when a settlement was made with the Zamindars alone and rights of property every bit as good as theirs were ignored.' How far is this a just criticism of Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement? (P.U., B.A. 1937, Sept.)
3. "Lord Cornwallis was a public servant who upheld national and not private traditions. His service was to the Crown and the people whom he governed, and he thus embodied fitly the new spirit of Indian rule. (Dr. Dodwell). Discuss it with reference to his principal measures. (P.U., B.A., 1939)
4. Discuss the statement :—"Upon this famous Permanent Settlement historians have passed diametrically opposite judgments." (P.U., B.A., 1941)
5. "If the foundation of the civil administration had been laid by Warren Hastings, the structure was raised by Lord Cornwallis." Discuss the statement noting what reforms were carried out by Warren Hastings and what by Cornwallis in the system of civil administration. (A.U. 1913)
6. Examine and comment :—"The Permanent Settlement, in contrast to the chaotic system which it supplanted, had many fairly obvious advantages." (P.U., B.A., 1931)
7. "He (Cornwallis) committed himself to a policy, which in regard to the three interested parties—the Zamindar, the Ryot and the Ruling Power—assured the welfare of the first, somewhat postponed the claims of the second, and sacrificed the increment of the third." Discuss this statement.
8. "It may be said that in so far as the Pitt's India Act, and Cornwallis as its executor, departed from the principles of Warren Hastings, experience has proved that they were wrong." Comment on this. (P.U., B.A., 1921)



1795 Nizam defeated by Hydrabad

## CHAPTER XVIII

### SIR JOHN SHORE (1793-98)

**Sir John Shore and the Policy of Non-Intervention.** Sir John Shore succeeded Lord Cornwallis in 1793. He was his colleague and adviser in forming the land settlement of Bengal. His administration was marked by the *non-intervention policy*. For five years peace was preserved, but it was a lull before the storm, and was followed by wars and annexations of Lord Wellesley. His neutral policy weakened the English authority, and enabled the Marathas and Tipu Sultan to increase and extend their power. During his regime, the Marathas defeated the Nizam at the battle of Kurdla in 1795.

**Its Effects.** The policy of Non-Intervention was not politically sound at this stage. Its effects : (1) The increase of the power of the Marathas, (2) the crippling of the power of the Nizam, an ally of the English, (3) the loss of confidence in the English by the allies; (4) the increase of ambition in other powers; and (5) the encouragement of Tipu to become inimical to the Company.

**His Relations with Oudh.** The Nawab of Oudh, Asaf-ud-Dowla (1775-1790), died in 1795 and was succeeded by a reputed son Wazir Ali of ignoble birth and worthless character. Sir John Shore interfered and placed Saadat Ali, the brother of the late Nawab, on the throne. This interference was due to the invasion of Zaman Shah of Kabul who was at Lahore in those days.

**His Recall.** Sir John Shore was a man of high character but the officers of Bengal mutinied at the end of his Governor-Generalship due to their dissatisfaction with the reforms of Cornwallis. Sir John Shore was forced to make many concessions to the disaffected officers. He was thereupon superseded and was created Lord of Teignmouth on his retirement and was succeeded by Lord Wellesley.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. What do you understand by the policy of Non-Intervention? At what periods and with what result was this policy adopted?
2. Give an account of the relations between Oudh and Sir John Shore.
3. What circumstances necessitated the recall of Sir John Shore?



## CHAPTER XIX

### LORD WELLESLEY (1798-1805)

**Forward Policy Introduced.** Lord Wellesley was a great scholar, and was only 37 years old when he came to India. He had served for many years as a member of the Board of Control before this appointment. The policy of non-intervention had failed, and he came at a very opportune moment to inaugurate a change in it to the great disadvantage of British rule in India. The change was inevitable, but while others shrank from it though they felt its necessity, he boldly went forward to meet it, and his achievements, therefore, eclipse even those of Clive, Warren Hastings and Dalhousie.

**Q. 149. Give an account of the political condition of India in 1798.**

#### POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA IN 1798

**General Condition.** "The old territorial landmarks were thrown down; the country was cut up and distributed according to the shifting fortunes of predatory warfare; the principle rulers were newcomers, without stability and with no clearly defined possessions or jurisdiction; and even the larger states never acquired distinctive territorial designation or boundary lines. It would have been impossible to ascertain the precise areas under the effective administration of any ruler at a given time, for they were always disputed and incessantly changing.

(a) **The Mughals at Delhi.** Shah Alam II, was merely the shadow of an Emperor; landless and powerless, he was entirely in the hands of Daulat Rao Sindhia. (b) **The Marathas.** The Maratha chiefs were everywhere gaining ground: (1) Sindhia of Gwalior, the most powerful of them, held in sovereignty large tracts in Central India, had extended his conquest north-westwards upon Delhi, outflanking Oudh and the English possessions in Bengal. (2) The Bhonsla of Berar had asserted his authority over a great part of Central India, and was now exacting revenue from its poor inhabitants indiscriminately. (3) The Gaekwar of Baroda was simply extending his power north of Bombay, while (4) Holkar of Indore with his army of daring free booters was becoming a terror everywhere. In spite of this extension of Maratha influence over Central and Northern India, the condition of the Maratha state was not such as to inspire alarm in the minds of Englishmen in India. The Maratha Confederacy had lost its old cohesion; its members were at this time occupied with their own rivalries; its nominal leader had lost all control over its insolent and unruly members. (c) **Mysore.** Tipu had greatly improved his position since the peace of Seringapatam while the powers around him had been distracted and exhausted by domestic rebellions, successive revolutions, and mutual wars. He had been employed in recruiting the sources of his strength; improving his revenues, and invigorating the discipline of his forces. He was now actively endeavouring to excite the other native powers against the English, and form an alliance with the French through the Governor of the Isle of France. On the very day when Wellesley landed at Madras, his ambassadors returned from the Isle of France, bringing



with them some French volunteers and assurances from the French Governor that this Republic would entertain with pleasure Tipu's offer of alliance and amity. (d) **Hyderabad.** The Nizam had not yet recovered from the crushing defeat at Kurla in 1795, which had reduced him 'from the condition of a great and leading power to that of a tributary of the Marathas.' - He was no longer well disposed towards the English. Sir John Shore's policy had demonstrated to him how little he could rely upon the assistance of his British regiments in time of need. He had now increased the strength of his French battalions under Raymont to 14 000 men and 36 field pieces, and assigned districts yielding 18 lakhs of rupees for their support. (e) **Oudh.** Oudh was still shamefully misgoverned; its troops were ill-disciplined and irregularly paid. It thus no longer served the purpose of a buffer state as designed by Clive, for its defenceless condition exposed the north-west frontier of the British territory to the attacks of the Marathas. (f) **Carnatic.** Carnatic was even in a worse state than Oudh. (g) **The Punjab.** Zaman Shah Abdali's grandson, was at this time the ruler of the province. He entertained an idea of invading Hindustan and rescuing Shah Alam from the hands of the Marathas.

**Q. 150. Write a short note on the Subsidiary System.**

**SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM** (P.U., B.A., 1938, 1941)

**Its Evolution.** Sir Alfred Lyall notices four stages in the evolution of this system :—(1) In the beginning of their political career in India, the English contented themselves with lending a military contingent to assist some native princes. (2) In the second stage of their participation in Indian wars the Company took the field on their own account, assisted usually by the army of some native prince, who made common cause with them and whose troops were undisciplined, untrustworthy and very clumsily handled. (3) After a time the English required their native allies to supply not men but money and undertook to train, and pay a fixed number of troops on receiving a subsidy equivalent to their cost. (4) The fourth stage of the system was reached when the native princes who had been too much in the habit of paying the subsidies irregularly, were asked for assignment of territories in lieu of money to enable the English to maintain a fixed number of disciplined troops. The British control was completed by forcing the native States to surrender completely their international life, that is, these native states were to have no relations with any foreign power other than the English.

**Originators of the System.** (a) Strictly speaking the English were not the originators of this system. Ranade writes : "The idea was in fact a mere reproduction on a more organized scale of the plan followed by the Maratha leader a hundred years in advance when they secured the grant of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the imperial authority at Delhi." (b) Nor was Wellesley the first Governor-General who developed the system into its final form. The credit really belonged to Warren Hastings and Sir John Shore. In 1777, Warren Hastings had arranged a treaty with the Nawab of Oudh by which his army was to be drilled, officered, controlled and paid by the British, who

*Chauth and Sardeshmukhi*



in return were to have the revenues of certain districts allotted to them for that purpose. In 1797, Shore further increased British control over Oudh by forcing the new Nawab to agree to a new treaty which deprived him of the right of having any independent relations with other powers.

**Its Advantages.** (1) The Subsidiary System enabled the British to throw forward their militia considerably in advance of their political frontier. (2) The evils of war have been kept at a distance from our power. (3) It enabled the British to keep in readiness considerable armies for instant action, (4) It reduced the military expenditure of the British. (5) The method did not arouse the jealousy of the other European nations. (6) It brought peace in India.

**Its Disadvantages.** (1) The Subsidy generally demanded from the rulers was out of all proportion to their revenue, as the scale of pay was lavish and the cost of quarters and equipment high. (2) The system tended to bring about the internal decay of the protected state as it abolished the natural occupations and extinguished the spirit of ruling, fighting and administrative classes and at the same time degraded and impoverished the people. (3) It supported the weak and vicious rulers and deprived their subjects of the natural remedy of revolution. The system had a tendency to bring such states sooner or later under the exclusive control of the British Government. (5) The Court of Directors disapproved of it because it created jealousy in the native powers against them because the plan of commuting subsidy for territorial revenue was contrary to their established policy as laid down by law.

**Q. 151. What were the different measures adopted by Wellesley to meet the French menace to the British power in India ?**  
(P. U. 1936)

**French Menace.** (1) Tipu and his offensive and defensive alliance with the French Generals in the Nizam and Sindhia's army. (2) The efforts of Napoleon to reach Hindustan through Egypt and Persia. (3) The French influence at the court of the Indian Princes.

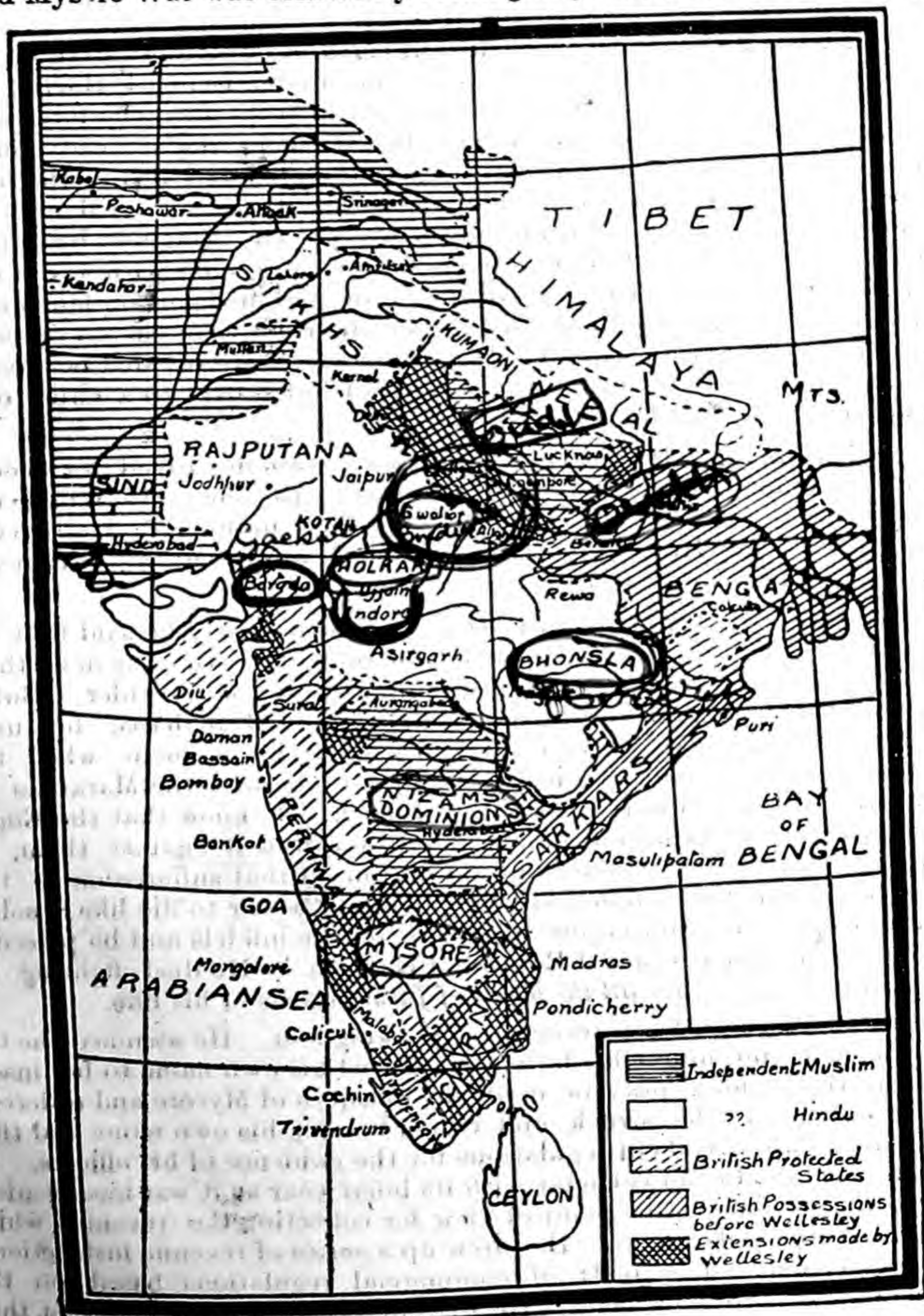
**Measures.** (1) Subsidiary Alliance with the Nizam, the Peshwa, the Maratha leaders such as Bhonsla of Berar, the Sindhia of Gwalior, Saadat Ali, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh and Mysore. (2) There was a fear of Napoleon's invasion of India via Persia. A political mission under John Malcolm was sent to Persia to make her friendly with the British and it proved a failure. (3) Wellesley refused to restore Pondicherry, the French settlement to the French. (4) He kept Ceylon as a bulwark for the defence of India. (5) Egypt was conquered to check the progress of Napoleon towards India. (6) An expedition was sent against the Isles of France in the East with a view to weaken the French influence, but it proved unsuccessful. (7) The Cape of Good Hope was conquered as it was an important military station towards the south of Africa. (8) Systematic and elaborate schemes for the defence of India were made to meet the danger. (9) The European element was increased in the army. (10) Wellesley took Gujrat, a very important commercial and military station, from the Gækwar chief on political grounds by a treaty.



**Q. 152. Give an account of the Fourth Mysore War (1799).**

### THE FOURTH MYSORE WAR (1799)

**Causes.** Tipu whose resources had been very much reduced in the Third Mysore War was constantly seeking ways and means of revenge



India under Lord Wellesley

against the English. (1) He negotiated with the Marathas, with Zaman Shah, the Afghan King and with the French who made a show of



helping him. (2) He planted the tree of liberty in his capital and introduced all the models of dress and fashion of the French nation. (3) The Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, demanded absolute submission from Tipu. He wished him to enter into a Subsidiary alliance like the Nizam. Having received no satisfactory response from him, he set his forces in motion.

**Events : The Battle of Malavalli (1799).** Two armies were prepared, one under Arthur Wellesley and the other under General Harris. Tipu was driven into Seringapatam and besieged there until the fortress was taken by assault on May 4, 1799. He tried to make peace but the terms proposed were very hard. He himself was killed in the breach, and his death brought the short Mohammadan dynasty of Mysore to a violent end. Lord Mornington broke up the kingdom by annexing Kanara on the west, Coimbatore on the east, together with the fortress of Seringapatam. To the Nizam were assigned certain lands on the north-east, while to the Peshwa some districts were offered on certain conditions, which he refused. Upon this they were divided between the Nizam and the Company. The rest was handed over to a child of the old Hindu reigning family of Mysore.

**General Results.** (1) The Mysore wars destroyed for ever the French influence on the south sea coast. (2) They also removed the inveterate enemy of the English. (3) They indirectly destroyed the Nawabship of Carnatic. (4) Tipu's sons were sent as prisoners to Vellore and thence to Calcutta.

**Causes of his Downfall.** In conclusion it may be said that Tipu was a fierce fanatic and an ignorant Mohammadau, who was nevertheless possessed of some of the superior qualities of an Asiatic ruler. But he had no political ability of the higher sort. He fell, perhaps, because he had thrown in his lot with the French just at the moment when their power had almost subsided in India and more because the Marathas and the Nizam deserted him at the hour of need. He knew that the English would wrest the sword out of any hand that drew it against them, but at the same time he was so proud of himself that submission to their power was hateful to him and he thought it "better to die like a soldier than to live as a miserable dependent on the infidels and be placed on the rolls of their pensioned Rajas and Nawabs." He died fighting like a man *closing once for all the books of future events* of his line.

**His Work.** Tipu recognized his kingdom. He assumed the title of Padshah and, unlike his father, he caused his own name to be inserted in the Friday prayers in all the mosques of Mysore and ordered a new coinage to be struck and issued bearing his own name and title. He drew up a code of regulations for the guidance of his officers. He abolished the Muslim calendar with its lunar year as it was inconvenient from the administrative point of view for collecting the revenue which followed the solar year. He drew up a series of revenue instructions. He also prepared a body of commercial regulations based on the principle of self-sufficiency. He discouraged foreign trade except that which was useful for the state. The foreign trade was also placed under a board of nine members. The people were asked to subscribe and get profits out of it. He abolished local bankers and substituted the state agency instead. His treatment of Hindus was not very happy. He



used to make mass circumcisions, destroy temples in large numbers and confiscate their property as well. This severity was due to political motives and not religious.

**Summary of British Relations with Mysore.** The rise of Haider Ali was a menace to the neighbouring powers and so in 1766, the Madras Government joined the Nizam and the Marathas in a coalition against him. In the First Mysore War (1767-69) that followed, Haider succeeded in detaching the Marathas and the Nizam and then frightened the British into coming to terms. The war came to a close in 1769 by a treaty of Madras, which provided for the mutual restitution of conquests and reciprocal assistance in defensive wars. In 1771, the Marathas invaded Haider Ali who applied for help which the English refused. This led to estrangement between the two. In 1778, the English took possession of Mahe, Haider Ali remonstrated but in vain. Haider Ali declared the Second Mysore War (1782-84) in a coalition with the Marathas and the Nizam against the English which was broken. After Haider Ali's death in 1782, it was carried on by Tipu till 1784 when it was brought to a close by the treaty of Mangalore. Lord Cornwallis violated this treaty by agreeing to help the Nizam in recovering certain territories ceded to Tipu by the said treaty. Thereupon, Tipu, who hated the English, began the war by attacking the Travancore State, an ally of the Company. It led to the Third Mysore War (1790-93) in which Tipu was completely defeated and compelled to cede half of his territory which was equally divided between the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Marathas. Sir John Shore's policy of non-intervention encouraged him to intrigue with the French against the English, Wellesley on his arrival asked Tipu to join the subsidiary alliance. His evasive and unsatisfactory answer led him to declare war, the Fourth Mysore War (1799), in which Tipu was killed. The greater portion of Mysore territory was partitioned between the English and the Nizam, and the Marathas were offered a share on anti-French conditions but they refused. The residua was handed over to a member of the old Hindu royal family which had been dispossessed by Haider Ali. Lord William Bentinck took over the administration of the state on account of misgovernment, but Lord Ripon restored it to the old family in 1881.

**Q. 153. Carefully compare the character and policy of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan.** (P.U., B.A., 1938)

**Character of Haider Ali.** Haider Ali was a born soldier, an excellent rider and skilful alike with his sword and his gun. Trained by early habits to active exertion he could undergo great fatigue without suffering from it. Cool and sagacious in war time, he excelled in cavalry tactics and seemed to possess by intuition the knowledge how to launch his horsemen with the greatest effect on the enemy. Perhaps his most remarkable characteristic was the celerity with which he made forced marches on various occasions, always with successful results, feats which could only have been performed by a man who was both hardy and daring. He had no compunction in devastating whole tracts of his own country in order to prevent an enemy from subsisting his troops on local supplies, nor did he evince any compassion for the conquered, but he rewarded handsomely those who served him well, and thus secured their attachment. He was entirely free from bigotry, being indeed wholly indifferent to religious sentiments, and he cared not one jot what faith his officials followed, so long as they obeyed his behests. In matters of business his shrewdness and capacity were remarkable and he had the faculty of giving his attention to several subjects at the same time, so that he could hear a letter read, dictate orders, and witness a theatrical performance all at once without being distracted by any of these occupations. All state business was transacted under his own eyes with regularity and despatch, his retentive memory enabling him to supervise closely everything that was done by his subordinates.



**Character of Tipu Sultan.** Tipu Sultan, the tiger of Mysore, has been commemorated by Muslim chroniclers of the old school, following the traditional ways and seeking to glorify him as a martyred champion of Islam, the steadfast enemy of the infidel, no matter whether Hindu or English. English writers, who naturally regarded him as the obstinate enemy of their own people, reckoned his fall as the culmination of their triumph in Southern India. The first show him as the indifferent and unsympathetic master of his Hindu subjects; the second ascribe to the faults of his character and intelligence the failure of his political management. His education had been carefully attended to. He spoke and wrote Persian with ease and fluency. He was a practised horseman, incessantly in the saddle. His mind was too active, his nature too independent, for him ever to have been willing to sink into subordination to another power. His qualities were his bold spirit, his persistent and unwavering hostility to the fast-rising power of the East India Company. A less resolute and adventurous ruler might well have saved his throne and dynasty.

**Contrast with Haider Ali.** The character of Tipu stands out in marked contrast to that of his more celebrated father. Personal courage he certainly possessed and he is said to have been a good rider and a skilful marksman. Although deficient in the capacity for war which eminently distinguished his father, he on several occasions showed considerable skill in strategy. He had a rage for innovations, and was constantly changing the name of places, and altering well-established customs, measures of distance too were amended. All the names of weights and measures were altered. But the most wonderful of his improvements was his new method of calculating time. His pen was the most prolific, and he wrote to his officials, both civil and military, detailed instructions on every conceivable matter. He pronounced decided opinions on science, medicine, commerce, religious observance, engineering, military establishments and host of obtruse matters with equal facility. As he claimed an intimate acquaintance with all military matters, he compiled a code called "The Triumph of Holy Warriors," a work in eighteen chapters. Minute instructions are given in it for guidance regarding manual exercise, the duties of all grades of officers, night attacks, fighting in a wooded country or in plains, salutes on special occasions, military guards, furlough, desertions and so forth. Tipu also prohibited the sale of intoxicating drinks.

Q. 154. Give an account of the Second Maratha War (1802-1803).

#### THE SECOND MARATHA WAR (1802-1803)

**Causes.** In 1800, the able statesman Nana Farnavis died and with him departed "all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government." There was no one else capable enough to mediate between the Maratha chiefs and to moderate their rivalries. Both Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar, who succeeded the well-known Maratha lady, Ahalya Bai, in 1795, at once endeavoured to attain the upper hand at Poona and went to war with each other. The Peshwa Baji Rao was under the control of Daulat Rao Sindhia. Jaswant Rao Holkar defeated their united armies at Poona in 1802. The Peshwa fled to Bassein and appealed to the British Government for help. Holkar



set up Amrit Rao, the brother of Baji Rao by adoption, as the Peshwa.

**The Treaty of Bassein (1802).** Lord Wellesley, who did not believe in the policy of non-intervention, re-instated the Peshwa in 1803, entering into a subsidiary alliance with him. This is known as the Treaty of Bassein. Its terms were: (1) Permanent stationing of Company's troops at Poona. (2) British control of foreign policy. (3) Cession of territory to meet the expenses of the army, and (4) the stipulation that the Peshwa's claims upon the Nizam, and the Gaekwar of Baroda should be subject to British control.

**War against Sindhia and Berar.** Sindhia and Gwalior and Bhonsla of Berar were furious when they heard of the treaty of Bassein. Though they were often at variance with the Peshwa, their nominal head, they did not like that any foreign power should lower his prestige and they regarded this treaty as an open surrender of national independence. They composed their differences and joined their forces. The Peshwa secretly approved of their action. Guessing their hostile intention the British Government requested Sindhia and Bhonsla to withdraw their troops from the Nizam's frontier. They refused and so the war began. Holkar for a time held aloof.

**Events of the War.** The war began in 1803. The British armies in the Deccan were commanded by General Wellesley, who later on became the Duke of Wellington. Wellesley took Ahmadnagar and advanced until he met Bhonsla's forces at Assaye. In this battle, the British were completely victorious. Shortly after this Bhonsla was again defeated at Argaon and when Wellesley stormed the fortress of Gawilgarh, he submitted and signed the treaty of Deogon (1803). The treaty laid down that Bhonsla should receive a British Resident at his court and should submit all his disputes to be settled by the British. He ceded Cuttack to the English.

**The Treaty of Surji Arjangaon (1803).** In Hindustan, a British army was commanded by General Lake. He opposed the French trained troops of Sindhia. He captured Agra and Aligarh and then advanced to Delhi. A battle took place outside the city and Sindhia was defeated. The French officers surrendered and the aged Shah Alam II was taken under British protection. The war came to an end by the decisive battle of Laswari and the treaty of Surji Arjangaon (1803) was signed. By the treaty Sindhia gave up the country between the Jumna and the Ganges including Agra, Delhi, Ahmadnagar and Broach. Like Bhonsla he agreed to enter into subsidiary alliance.

**Note.** The annexation of the Doab carried the English frontier to the upper course of Jumna while the acquisition of Cuttack linked up the provinces of Bengal and Madras.

**(3) The Third Maratha War (1804-1805). Causes.** Jaswant Rao Holkar of Indore had held aloof from the struggle watching its issues. In 1804, he took up his arms on his own account and plundered the territory of the Raja of Jaipur, an ally of the British. Moreover he demanded from the English Chauth and cession of territories. Wellesley rejected these demands and declared war.



**Events of the War and its Results.** Holkar was successful in the beginning due to the mistakes committed by the English generals. Colonel Monson advancing too far into Rajputana was forced to retreat. The Raja of Bharatpore renounced alliance with the British and joined Holkar in an attack on Delhi. This attempt, however, failed as Delhi was defended by Ochterlony. One part of the Maratha army was defeated at Dig and Holkar was routed at Farrukhabad in 1804. Lake determined to capture the fort of Bharatpore four times but all his four assaults were beaten back. This was a serious blow to the British prestige. Lake made peace with the Raja of Bharatpore, who in his turn, returned to his alliance with the British and promised to pay an indemnity of 20 lakhs of rupees.

**Q. 155. Give an account of Wellesley's administration.**

### WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION

**Revenue Settlement in Northern India.** (1) *Ceded Districts.* (i) The Company's demand was immediately raised beyond the Nawab's by two million rupees, another million was added to it before the third year was out. (ii) An important regulation was enacted recognizing triennial settlement of land revenue already made, and notifying that at the expiration of that term, another settlement would be made for three years to be followed by a settlement for four years, at the expiration of which a permanent settlement would be concluded on such terms as 'Government should deem fair and equitable.' (2) *Conquered Provinces* (i.e. the country between the Jumna and the Ganges). The same pledge which had been given to ceded districts was given here also; settlements of one, three and four years were to be made, in succession to be followed by permanent settlement.

**Natives and the Administration.** Although in general Wellesley continued the erroneous policy initiated by Lord Cornwallis of working the administration exclusively by European agency, he relaxed it somewhat in the judicial department. He allowed the employment of natives as Arbitrators (Amins), as referees (to decide suits referred to them by the judges), and as munsiffs in petty cases affecting personal property of value not exceeding fifty rupees.

**Education of Company's Servants.** Wellesley urged upon the Directors the desirability of change in the methods of training the young civil servants of the Company, and founded, in anticipation of their sanction, a college at Calcutta where the Junior civil servants were to study History, Political Economy, and Indian languages. The Court of Directors, however, disagreed with him and ordered him to abolish the college.

**Finance and Commerce.** (1) *Finance.* Immediately after Wellesley's arrival, the credit of the Company rose quickly in the market. Bankers and merchants now began to lend money to the Company at less than the usurious interest. But on account of the Wars, the debt of the Company rose immensely. (2) A Bank was established at Calcutta. (3) In matters of commerce, Wellesley was in favour of the policy of Free-Trade. He wanted to remove some of the restrictions on the private trade with India, but he was strongly opposed by the Court of Directors.

**Q. 156. What were the annexations and results of Lord Wellesley's reign? Why were the Directors dissatisfied with him?**

### ANNEXATIONS AND RESULTS OF WELLESLEY'S REIGN

**Annexations.** During this period, marvellous changes were made in the country. (1) As a result of Mysore wars, Sultan Tipu was crushed and the Company got possession of the Madras Presidency. (2) The Company also took over Tanjore, the whole of Surat and the Carnatic. (3) Lord Wellesley extended control over Oudh and Hyderabad Deccan through the subsidiary alliances.

**Results.** (1) He crippled the power of the Peshwa and created the Bombay Presidency by the treaty of Bassein. (2) The French influence in India was crippled. (3) Lord Wellesley released the Mughal Emperor from the clutches of



the Sindbia. In a word he made the British Government a paramount power in India. He was an imperialistic statesman with large and comprehensive views.

**Causes of dissatisfaction against Wellesley.** The causes of dissatisfaction were : (1) the constant extension of territory caused uneasiness. (2) His leanings towards free-trade were not liked by the Court of Directors. (3) His dispatch of Sir Malcolm on a commercial mission to Persia was not approved of. (4) The appointment conferred upon his brother (Henry Wellesley). (5) Wellesley's attitude to the Directors was one of haughtiness. (6) The Indian conquests had become too large for efficient management.

**Critical Notes.** (1) *Change of Non-Intervention Policy.* Lord Wellesley, also known as the Akbar of the Company, gave up the policy of *Non-Intervention* because of (i) the absence of a central controlling power in India, (ii) mutual jealousy and ambition of the natives, (iii) the French intrigues with the native princes, (iv) the inefficient and inconsistent policy of the Madras Government, geographical and historical forces.

(2) *The Policy and Achievement of Wellesley, "a Great Pro-Consul."* (B.A., 1939, Sept). "The Marquess of Wellesley is undoubtedly entitled to a place in the front rank of the Governors-General by the side of Warren Hastings, Marquess of Hastings and Lord Dalhousie. Some authors would award him the first place, but in my judgment that honour belongs to Warren Hastings. Lord Wellesley, like Lords Lytton and Dufferin in later times, looked upon the affairs of India as seen by a British nobleman and politician from a Foreign Office point of view. He was a statesman rather than an administrator, concerned chiefly with matters of high policy and little inclined to examine closely the details of departmental administration. His policy was directed to *two main objects*. The first was the elevation of the British Government to the position of paramount power in India; or to use his stately words, 'to establishing a comprehensive system of alliance and political relation over every region of Hindustan and the Deccan.' The second object was the full utilization of Indian strength so that it might play a proper part in resistance to the menace of Napoleon's world-wide ambition, which avowedly aimed at the overthrow of the British power in the whole of India. All the most important acts of Wellesley—such as the destruction of Tipu, the treaty of Bassein, the Maratha Wars and the series of annexations—were directed to the attainment of these two purposes which were inseparably connected. The India of those days was bound to come under the domination of either France or England. It was impossible for her to withstand Napoleonic ambition unless shielded by the might of England. Wellesley, as already observed, seized every opportunity for effecting annexations because he believed sincerely, that every such operation was a clear benefit to the people inhabiting the annexed territory."—Smith.

(3) *Hastings and Wellesley.* There was a curious contrast in the treatment at home of Hastings and Wellesley. Hastings was supported by the Directors and the Parliament had impeached him, but in the case of Wellesley, the Parliament praised him for his services, while the Directors tried to impeach him.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. What were the different measures adopted by Wellesley to meet the French menace to British power in India ? (P.U., B.A., 1936)

2. Give an account of the development of the "Subsidiary system" and estimate its effect on (a) the rise of British power in India, (b) the position and status of the Indian princes, and (c) the condition of the subjects of the Indian states. (P.U., B.A., 1938)

(3) Carefully compare the character and policy of Haider Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan and give an account of the events that led to Tipu's fall. (P.U., B.A., 1938)

4. "The great Pro-Consul." How far did Wellesley deserve this title owing to his diplomacy and conquests ? (P.U., B.A., 1939, Sept.)

5. Make out a case for and against the Subsidiary Alliance System of Lord Wellesley. (P.U., B.A., 1941)

6. Examine the political state of India in 1798, and say how it contributed to the formation of Wellesley's imperial policy.



7. Sketch briefly the history of the relations between the East India Company and the Mysore State (1766-99). What, in your opinion, was the historical significance of the destruction of Tipu's power?

8. It is said of Lord Wellesley that "he created a British Empire of India, when formerly there existed a British Empire in India." Justify the statement.

9. Discuss the relations between the East India Company and Oudh during the period 1765-1805.

10. "The seven years of Lord Wellesley's Governor-Generalship constituted the most important and critical stage in the building up of our Indian dominions on the foundations that were laid by Clive and Hastings." Discuss.

11. Explain carefully the reasons which determined Wellesley to undertake the Second Maratha War and sketch the progress of the war.

12. Describe the events that led to the treaty of Bassein, mention its chief provisions and discuss its importance.

13. Why was Wellesley able to carry on his project of aggrandizement in India without being checked by the Directors?

14. Estimate the work done by Lord Wellesley in consolidating British Dominion in India.

15. Why was it that Lord Wellesley was applauded for doing things more high-handed than those for which Warren Hastings had been impeached?

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1761 defeat - of French at wandwash

Nizam Asaf Jah - 1748 -  
on the one hand and the intervention  
of British the French and English -  
defeat at wandwash 1761



## CHAPTER XX

1. LORD CORNWALLIS again (1805)
2. SIR GEORGE BARLOW (1805-1807)

**Lord Cornwallis again.** After Wellesley's recall, Lord Cornwallis was sent a second time to reverse the whole forward policy of his predecessor and to revert to the idea of non-intervention and balance of power. He discontinued the Subsidiary System. He was ready to end the hostilities with Holkar and to pacify Sindhia. Old as he was, the care and fatigue of his position told very heavily upon his health and he died at Ghazipore on 5th October, 1805, without carrying out his policy.

### SIR GEORGE BARLOW (1805-1807)

**His Policy (1805-1807).** On the death of Lord Cornwallis in 1805, Barlow, a distinguished civil officer in the Company's service, was appointed as a temporary Governor-General. In pursuance of the orders from the home authorities, Barlow strictly followed the policy of *non-intervention*, specially with regard to Sindhia and Holkar. But he made departures in two cases, viz., (1) in forcing the Nizam to abide by the terms of the subsidiary alliance, and (2) by maintaining the treaty of Bassein.

**The Vellore Mutiny (1806).** The Commander-in-Chief of Vellore in the Carnatic issued some new regulations by which the sepoys were to wear turban of a novel kind, to trim their beards in a particular way and to abstain from putting sectarian marks on their foreheads. The sepoys felt that these regulations were introduced to convert them forcibly to Christianity. It was suspected that the sons of Sultan Tipu, who were at Vellore, created this discontent amongst the sepoys, who seized the fort and murdered the European soldiers and officers. Due to suspicion, Tipu's sons were removed to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras and the Commander-in-Chief, were at once recalled. Barlow's nomination was cancelled and Lord Minto, after some controversy, was sent as Governor-General.

**Q. 157. Give an account of the British relations with the Nizam.**

### BRITISH RELATIONS WITH THE NIZAM

The Nizam of Hyderabad was one of the first Indian princes who came in contact with the British. With the death of the Nizam Asaf Jah in 1748, there followed a disputed succession in which the English and the French took opposite sides. This was the first interference of the English in the affairs of the Nizam. The subsequent Anglo-French rivalry came to a close by the defeat of the French at Wandewash in 1761. Afterwards the Nizam generally remained on friendly terms with the British. During the period of his first governorship, Clive obtained from the Emperor Shah Alam II the grant of the Northern Circars along with that of the Diwani of Bengal. The Nizam surrendered the Northern Circars on condition that the English should pay him a yearly tribute. An alliance between the Nizam and the English was made by which the Nizam agreed to help the English against Haider Ali and the Marathas (1765). This alliance did not last long, and in 1767 the Nizam joined Haider Ali against the English. Their combined forces were, however, defeated by Colonel Smith at Trincomali. In



spite of their victory the English concluded a humiliating treaty with the Nizam (Treaty of Masulipatam) in 1768 by which they agreed to an offensive and defensive alliance with the Nizam and to pay him a tribute for the Northern Circars!

The Nizam was hostile to the English during the First Maratha War because of the alliance of the Bombay Government with his enemy, Raghoba. The annexation of the Guntur district by the British in 1779 made the Nizam, the Maratha power and Haider Ali to combine. Warren Hastings restored Guntur to the Nizam with a view to secure his neutrality in the Second Mysore War. Thenceforth the Nizam remained the ally of the English. Lord Cornwallis pleased the Nizam by helping him against Tipu Sultan and provoked the Third Mysore War. The Nizam's co-operation with the English brought him a share of the territory which Tipu was compelled to part with. Sir John Shore by his non-intervention policy offended the Nizam by not helping him against the Marathas. The Nizam was defeated by the Marathas at the battle of Kurdla in 1795. Henceforth he became offended with the British. He employed a French officer to train his troops. Lord Wellesley induced him to dismiss the French officer and to enter into a Subsidiary alliance with the Company. During the Fourth Mysore War the Nizam helped the English and was given a share of the Mysore territory. But the Nizam surrendered his acquisitions in lieu of the payment for the Subsidiary force. In Sir George Barlow's time the Nizam intrigued to subvert the alliance with the British Government but was checked. Thenceforth friendly relations continued between the Nizam and the British Government and during the Mutiny the Nizam rendered valuable assistance to the British. These services were duly rewarded by territorial concessions and remissions of debt to the Company.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. To what extent did Cornwallis in his second Governor-Generalship reverse the policy of Wellesley?
2. Write notes on the Vellore Mutiny.
3. In what cases did Sir George Barlow make a departure from the policy of Non-Intervention?
4. Give an account of the relations between the East India Company and the Nizam up to 1807.



# CHAPTER XXI

## LORD MINTO (1807-13)

**His Career and Policy.** Lord Minto, a canny and genial Scotsman, was the President of the Board of Control at the time of Lord Cornwallis's death. He, in consultation with the Court of Directors, supported the confirmation of Sir George Barlow. Pitt the Younger died and the change of Ministry upset the arrangement and suggested the Earl of Lauderdale as a candidate. The Directors objected. Lord Grenville, the Prime Minister, was opposed to the confirmation of Barlow. After much heated discussion, all parties accepted Lord Minto, who gave his consent after much reluctance. He was asked to follow the policy of *non-intervention*; but circumstances made him give up that policy in four cases. (1) In Bundelkhand, several turbulent chieftains, who had spread anarchy in the province, were defeated; and order restored. The fort of Kalinjar was captured. (2) The Governor-General had to arbitrate between the Peshwa and his discontented feudatories. (3) In regard to the Raja of Berar. (4) The Sikhs.

**Q. 158.** Give an account of Lord Minto's administration (1807-1813) laying special stress on his foreign policy.

Or

**Q. 159.** Show that Lord Minto's period was a period of foreign missions.

### LORD MINTO'S PERIOD—A PERIOD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

**Napoleon's Designs on Asia (1805).** The king of Persia, who had suffered heavily from a war with Russia in 1804-05, appealed for succour to Napoleon in Europe. The latter immediately responded to the call by sending an embassy to Persia for the conclusion of a triple alliance between France, Turkey and Persia. Great Britain, being then in the midst of a desperate struggle with Napoleonic France, was naturally excited at these news and thought that these movements pointed clearly to the beginning of Napoleon's favourite schemes of Asiatic conquest. In 1807, Napoleon's victory at Friedland converted the Russian Emperor from an enemy into an ally of France. The two emperors then planned a joint expedition through Turkey and Persia against the English in India and set about organizing a formidable confederation against their common enemy. The two partners in this projected joint stock enterprise, however, disagreed on certain preliminary conditions, with the result that the projected scheme fell through. Nevertheless, Napoleon sent his agents to Persia and Asiatic countries to extend French influence and excite a feeling of animosity against the Indian Government.

**Object of British Missions to Asiatic Courts.** As a counterstroke, the Indian Government endeavoured to establish defensive alliance with Princes whose territories lay on the land-route to India *viz.*, the Shah of Persia, the Amir of Afghanistan, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, and the Amirs of Sind.

(1) **Missions to Persia.** On hearing of the extension of French influence in Persia, the Indian Government dispatched Colonel Malcolm at the head of a mission to the Shah of Persia. The British envoy foolishly approached the Persian Monarch "with the language, not of application but of temperate remonstrance and offended friendship." The result was that he was not favourably received, and was forbidden to go further than Shiraz. Taking offence at this, he precipitately



abandoned the mission, and embarked for Calcutta. Meanwhile, the British Cabinet, thinking that a mission from the Crown would be more befitting than one from the Company, had ordered Sir Harford Jones, the British Consul at Bushire, to proceed as an ambassador to the Persian Court. He arrived at Bombay in April, 1808, and was about to proceed on his mission when Lord Minto directed him to remain at Bombay till the result of Malcolm's Mission could be known. The intelligence of Malcolm's failure reached the Governor-General on the 12th of August, when he immediately allowed Sir Harford Jones to prosecute the Mission which the Crown had entrusted to him. Colonel Malcolm landed at Calcutta on the 22nd of August, 1809, breathing vengeance against the Persian monarch. He induced the Indian Government to believe that a military expedition was the only effectual way of defeating the French influence at Tehran. Arrangements were consequently made for the dispatch of a British force; but before the expedition could start, Lord Minto received the intelligence that Sir Harford Jones had succeeded in inducing the Shah to agree to a friendly treaty with the British, and dismiss the French embassy. Lord Minto accepted the treaty concluded by the British ambassador, but felt that his rank and estimation had been compromised by the dispatch of a mission from the Crown. He, therefore, resolved to assert himself by sending Malcolm on a second mission to Persia to counteract the impression that his authority had been superseded by Sir Harford Jones. The presence of two rival envoys at the Persian Court gave rise to unseemly quarrels; and the British Ministry was obliged to recall both of them. Sir Gose Ouriley was then appointed as the representative of the King of England at Teheran. Since this episode British diplomacy in Persia has been controlled not from India but from England.

(2) **Mission to Kabul.** The embassy to Kabul was entrusted to Mountstuart Elphinstone. No practical results followed the mission; and as the French scare died out, the embassy was withdrawn. Shah Shujah was at that time the Amir of Afghanistan.

(3) **Mission to Sind.** A similar mission was dispatched to Sind about the same time. It resulted in a treaty of 'eternal friendship' by which the Amirs of Sind agreed to exclude the French from their territories.

(4) **Mission to Raja Ranjit Singh.** At this time British statesmen dreaded a Franco-Russian invasion by the land route. Ranjit Singh controlled a strategic position as his territory lay between the British dominions and any possible invasion from the north. Lord Minto, therefore, was called upon to take a momentous decision. He knew that Ranjit Singh would prove a dangerous foe, if allied with the enemy, and a useful friend if allied with the Company. At the same time consideration of his point meant the extension of the Sikh frontier to the Jumna, which was not desirable from the point of view of British imperialism. Lord Minto, therefore, decided to confine Ranjit Singh to the trans-Sutlej territory and at the same time to arrange an offensive and defensive alliance with him against the enemies of the British Empire. Negotiations were carried on with Ranjit Singh by an able civilian, Sir Charles Metcalfe. The Sikh potentate understood his advantage and decided to press it. He astutely made non-interference



in his designs on the cis-Sutlej territory, the price of an offensive and defensive alliance with the British. But meanwhile the danger of a foreign invasion passed away, and Metcalfe was able to arrange with him the treaty of Amritsar. The Sikh Maharaja now agreed to confine himself in the trans-Sutlej territory besides allying himself with the British power.

**The Conquest of Mauritius and Java** (1) *Mauritius captured (1810)*. The French naval station at Mauritius was a standing danger to the British in India. Throughout the Napoleonic struggle, French cruisers from Mauritius preyed upon the maritime trade of India almost with impunity. Lord Minto, therefore, fitted out a naval expedition against it at the end of the year 1810. The French, overwhelmed by superior numbers, thought it prudent to surrender the island on fair and honourable terms. (2) *Java (1808-11)*. Holland having been conquered by Napoleon, the Spice islands became French property. A British expedition was accordingly sent out against them in 1809. Amboyna was occupied without much struggle; Banda and Ternato surrendered soon after; only Java offered desperate resistance. In 1811, Lord Minto proceeded in the theatre of war. The French defended the place gallantly; but the odds were too heavy against them. Accordingly they surrendered the islands, with all its dependencies in September, 1811.

**Importance of Lord Minto's Anti-French Asiatic policy.** (1) It is from this period that we must date the embarkation of Anglo-Indian diplomacy upon a much wider sphere of action than heretofore. The Company began, hereafter, to regard herself more as an Asiatic than as an Indian power, directly concerned in the vicissitudes of every important state in Asia. (2) Now for the first time, we entered upon that range of diplomatic observation in which all the countries of Western Asia, from Kabul to Constantinople, are surveyed as interposing barriers between Europe and our Indian possessions. The independence and integrity of these foreign and comparatively distant states are henceforward essential for the balance of Asiatic powers and for the security of our Indian frontiers. (3) The Asiatic policy of Lord Minto led eventually to two expeditions into Afghanistan, to a war with Persia, and to the policy which sought to extend British protectorate far beyond the natural limit of India.

**Q. 160. Give an account of the economic condition of India during the years 1793-1813.**

### ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA DURING 1793-1813

**Decay of the old landed Aristocracy.** The rigidity of the English administrative system brought about a great social revolution in the provinces under British control. The zamindar was required to pay every instalment of revenue on the very day it fell due; and on the very first failure he was evicted from his ancestral land, his estate put up to sale by public auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder. The result was that the old landlords who had lived in the bosom of their tenantry for generations and had promoted their social and religious activities, were rapidly displaced by money-lenders from Calcutta, who were often absentees, and in every case strangers to the ryots, unconnected with them by any of those beneficial ties which had associated old zamindars with their daily life. **Condition of the Ryots (1793-1813).** The settlement of 1793 had made no adequate provision for protecting the rights and interests of the ryots; while the displacement of the old aristocracy had dissolved the old sentimental ties between the landlords and the tenants. Neither law nor sentiment thus stood in the way of the free play of economic forces. The result was that the poor tenant was rack-rented and oppressed beyond measure. He paid the extortionate demand of his zamindar while there was anything left in his hut, or as long as his *Bania* would lend him; but when both money and credit was gone, he deserted his village and too often took to dacoity. The country thus became impoverished and depopulated, and many smiling corn-fields were transformed into hunting hog-grounds. **Occupations.** Weaving was still the national industry of the people of Bihar and Bengal; millions of women eked out the family income by their earnings from spinning; dyeing, tanning and working in metals were some of the other chief occupations of the people. **Wages.** The average wage of agricultural labour in India was 4s. and 6s. a month;



the cost of subsistence was between 18s. and 27s. a head per annum. **Decline of the Indian Manufactures.** The cotton and silk goods of India could during this period be sold for a profit in the British markets at a price from 50 to 60% lower than those manufactured in England. The latter were consequently protected by duties of 70 to 80% on their value. Besides the protective policy of England, the Indian manufacturers had to contend against the oppressive policy of the East India Company. The whole weaving population of villages was held in subjection at the Company's factories in order to make the purchase of goods for exportation easy for the Company. This system was legalized by various Regulations. For example, it was enacted that the weaver who had received advances from the Company 'shall on no account give to any other person whatever, European or native, either the labour or the price engaged to the Company; and that on his failing to deliver the stipulated clothes, the commercial Resident shall be at liberty to place peons upon him in order to quicken his deliveries'.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. "The intelligence of Napoleon's projects diverted our attention from the seaboard to our land frontiers." Discuss the statement.
2. "Throughout the 18th century European politics materially affected the situation in India." Explain this.
3. In what does the importance of the administration of Lord Minto lie? Give an account of the Missions he sent to the various countries.
4. Discuss the importance of Lord Minto's Anti-French Asiatic policy.





19 summary

## CHAPTER XXII

### MARQUESS OF HASTINGS (1813-23)

#### *A Period of Foreign Wars*

**Lord Hastings.** The Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, became the Governor-General at the age of 59, after having actively served for 7 years in the War of American Independence. In England he had been an opponent of Lord Wellesley's Forward policy, as it was aggressive and ambitious, and he came to India with a fixed determination to follow the policy of Non-Intervention. But the local conditions in India made him follow the policy of his great predecessor. He was exceedingly generous, lovable and noble. He was full of strength, initiative and vigour.

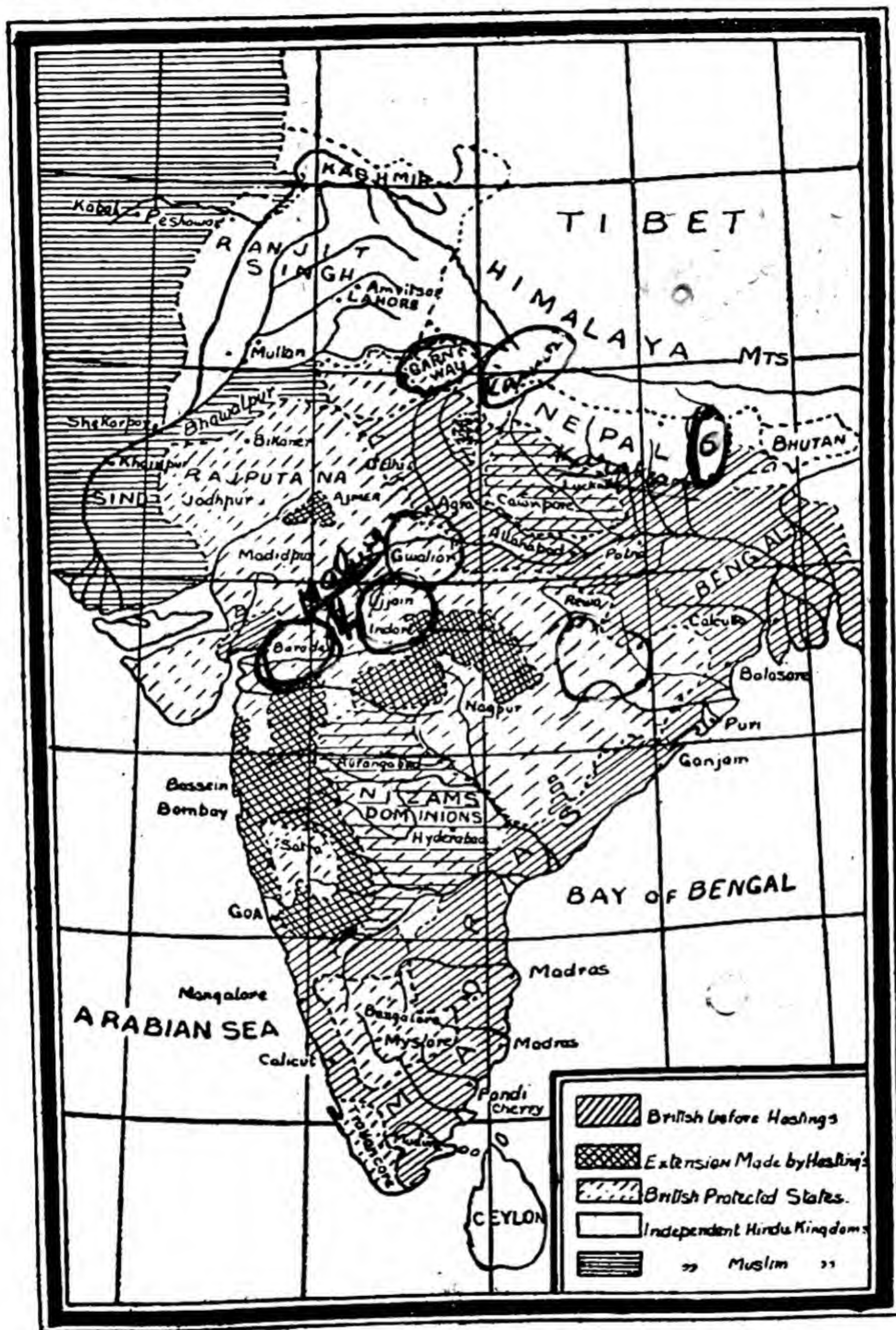
**Q. 161.** Give an account of the political condition of India in 1813.

#### POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA IN 1813

**Position of the English.** The area of British influence now extended roughly speaking over the whole of Hindustan except the large tract now known as Central India. (1) Holkar. Jaswant Rao Holkar died in 1811. His successor was a minor whose custody and the power it conferred became the bone of contention between his widowed mother and the Pathan Chieftain, Amir Khan. The struggle ended in favour of the latter, who thereupon became at once the prop and the burden of the throne. The government of the country was now virtually dissolved and its people fell a prey to all the evils of chronic disorder. (2) Sindhia. Sindhia, who had been allowed a free hand in Rajputana, had utilized his opportunity to the full. In 1813, he had made an alliance with the Bhonsla Raja, and the two were now engaged in attacking Bhopal, an important Mohammadan state connecting British territory with Bundelkhand and Berar. (3) Bhonsla. The Bhonsla Raja brooded over the losses he had sustained in the last Maratha War and maintained an attitude of reserve and distrust towards the English. Since 1812 the English had been endeavouring to induce him to accept a subsidiary alliance, but he had rejected all overtures on the subject. (4) The Peshwa. The Peshwa, Baji Rao II, too was extremely distrustful of the English. He had claims on the Gakwar which were still unsettled and which according to the treaty of Bassein had been left to the arbitration of the British. He now keenly felt the loss of his position, which prevented him from dealing directly with his subordinate chiefs. (5) The Pindaris. The Pindari chiefs, Chitu, Wasil Mohd, and Karim Khan had spread their devastations from Mysore to the banks of Jumna, and baffled all attempts to overtake them. The centre of their power was in the valley of Narbada.



Q. 162. Give an account of the Nepal War (1814-16).



India under Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823)

### THE NEPAL WAR

✓ **Its Causes.** (1) The Nepalese had annexed more than 200 villages from Darjeeling to Simla despite the protests from Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto. ✓ (2) The peaceful policy of this time further emboldened them to invade Gorakhpore in Oudh and annex it. (3) Lord Minto sent an ultimatum for its restoration which was answered in the nega-



tive. This answer was received by Marquess of Hastings as Lord Minto had left India by this time. (4) Hastings annexed the district and established police stations which were burnt down by the Gurkhas.

**Events.** The British made elaborate arrangements by borrowing a crore of rupees from the Nawab of Oudh. Four armies were despatched under four generals out of which two armies under Ochterlony and Gillespie were to enter Nepal, and the other two under Morley and Wood were to enter Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal. General Gillespie was killed in a premature assault upon a mountain fort of Kulunga by Balabhadra, the nephew of Amar Singh, the commander of the Gurkha army. Ochterlony forced the Nepalese to accept the following terms:— (1) The Gurkhas were to acknowledge the independence of the Raja of Sikkim. (2) A Resident was to live at Khatmandu. (3) The territory between the river Sutlej and the river Kali was to be given to the British. Amarsingh and his party did not accept these terms and resolved to make a war. Ochterlony marched a second time and defeated the Nepalese in no time. They, thereupon, signed the treaty.

**Treaty of Sagauli, 1826.** Its terms were the following:—(1) The Nepalese surrendered Garhwal and Kumaon to the west of the river Kali to the British. (2) The Gurkhas acknowledged the independence of the Raja of Sikkim. (3) A Resident was to live at Khatmandu, but he was not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. (4) The Nepalese cannot take any European into service without the previous sanction of the Indian Government.

**Its Effects.** These annexations to the British Government proved of the highest value. The climate of these places was temperate and therefore led to the growth of large "hill stations." (2) The peace has proved of immense value because the Nepalese remained loyal to the British Government during the Indian mutiny and even later on. (3) The Gurkha soldiers began to join the Company's service. They proved very efficient and trustworthy soldiers. (4) A path-way was opened to the regions of Central Asia.

### Q. 163. Give an account of the Pindari war.

**History of the Pindaris.** The origin of the Pindaris is lost in obscurity. They first came into notice in the days of Baji Rao I as a body of irregular horsemen attached to the Maratha army, serving without pay, and receiving in lieu of it, licence to plunder. After the battle of Panipat in 1761, their leaders settled chiefly in Malwa attaching themselves respectively to Sindhia and Holkar, and became distinguished as Sindhia Shahi and Nizam Shahi Pindaris. As the power of their masters declined, the Pindaris became a body by themselves frequently engaged in devastating the territory of the very chiefs whom they professed to follow. During the reign of Lord Wellesley, their number increased enormously owing to the English. The non-interference policy of the British Government during the period (1805-13) further aggravated the evil by giving the Pindaris a free hand in their predatory craft. Lawlessness increased and the predatory profession began to pay better than honest work. The miseries inflicted upon the industrial section of the population then stood in strong contrast with the rich harvests reaped by those who joined the Pindari ranks; and many a hardy peasant was impelled by his misery to seek admission into their borders. *The Pindaris thus formed "not a particular force but a system fed and nourished by the very miseries they created."*

**Their Characteristics.** (1) The prospect of plunder was the only tie of cohesion between the members of a Pindari party. They were bound to no chief, except to him who for the time being held out the highest prospect for booty. They formed a heterogeneous body of the scourgings of the Hindus and the Mohammadans,



of disbanded soldiers and fugitives from justice of the idle, the profligate, and the unscrupulous of every quarter and creed. (2) Their mode of warfare was a peculiar one. They carefully shunned an encounter with regular troops, and seldom persisted in overcoming prolonged resistance. When on march, they carried no baggage of any description, and supported themselves and their light ponies on the grains and provisions which they plundered, both horses and men being trained to endure great privation and fatigue. They pounced over their victims like swarms of locusts as sudden in their appearance, as destructive and intangible as they. (3) They were not entirely without organization. They were divided into parties, each following the lead of some chief; the parties were united in federal unions and frequently presented a united front to their enemies.

**Causes of the Pindari War (1817-18).** (1) The Pindaris began to loot the dominions of the Nizam, an ally of the British. (2) They also plundered the Northern Circars taken possession of by Clive during his first administration. (3) Their plundering raids in the Gangetic valley had also poisoned the British against them. The Court of Directors authorized Hastings to punish them.

**Events.** Hastings collected large armies and divided them into various sections throughout India with a view to round up bands of robbers. He also took measures to manage the leaders of the Maratha confederacy as it was feared that the Pindari war would merge into a war against the Marathas. With the successful termination of the Fourth Maratha War the Pindaris practically became impotent. They were now encircled on all sides by the British forces. The Pindari chiefs realized their helplessness and submitted. Of the three chiefs, Karim Khan got a small estate in the Gorakhpore District and began to lead a quiet life. Wasil Mohammad, the second chief, poisoned himself to death in the Ghazipore Jail, while Chitu, the third, died in a forest.

Q. 164. Give an account of the Fourth Maratha War (1817-18).

#### THE FOURTH MARATHA WAR

**Its Causes.** The Peshwa was under the influence of his minister Triumbakji and was intriguing once more to become the head of the Maratha Confederacy. In 1815, the minister of the Gakwar of Baroda was basely murdered when on a visit to Poona to settle some dispute between the two Maratha governments. Triumbakji was suspected of complicity in the crime, and Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona, at once demanded his arrest. He was delivered to the British authorities, but he escaped. The Peshwa was, however, threatened with war, and he was forced to sign a subsidiary treaty and an explicit renunciation of his claim to the headship of the Maratha Confederacy (1817). This was too much for Baji Rao II. He rose in rebellion, attacked and burnt the British Residency at Poona.

**Events of the War.** The British Resident had moved out to Kirkee a few miles outside Poona, where the Peshwa was decisively beaten and driven as a fugitive from his capital (1817). On January 1818, the Peshwa suffered another defeat at Koregaon, and a few days later yet another at Ashti, whereupon he surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, on condition that he was paid a yearly pension of eight lakhs. Lord Hastings followed the Mysore precedent, sought out a descendant of Sivaji and made him the ruler of Satara. The rest of the country was annexed and it now forms parts of the Bombay Presidency. The attack at Poona acted as a signal to Holkar and the Bhonsla to rise simultaneously. At Nagpur, the British Residency was attacked but the enemy were beaten off at Sitabaldi and Holkar was routed at Mahidpore in 1817. In this revolt Appa Sahib, the Raja of Nagpur, gave up Berar and other territory in the neighbourhood of the river Narbada.



It now forms the Central Provinces. Holkar was allowed to retain the districts which constitute the state of Indore.

**Results of the War.** (1) The success of this war brought the whole country ruled over by Indian provinces under the control of the British Government; (2) the power of Sindhia was paralysed; (3) that of Holkar broken; (4) the Pathan armies of Amir Khan and Ghafur Khan had ceased to exist; (5) the Raja of Nagpur became a captive; (6) the Peshwa was a fugitive and the Pindaris had disappeared; (7) the campaign finally extinguished the Maratha Empire, at which Lord Wellesley had struck the first blow. Mr. Marshman remarks: "The wars subdued not only the native armies but the native mind, and taught the princes and people of India to regard the supreme command in India as indisputably transferred to a foreign power. It placed the company on the Mughal throne with a more absolute authority than Akbar or Aurangzeb had ever enjoyed."

**Q. 165.** Give a brief review of the Anglo-Maratha relations till 1818.

#### ANGLO-MARATHA RELATIONS TILL 1818

**Warren Hastings' Maratha Policy.** Warren Hastings tried to avoid entanglements with the Marathas, but at the same time took steps to check their possible raids on Bengal. It was the fear of Maratha invasion that prompted him to strengthen the position of Oudh. The Emperor Shah Alam had then left British protection, and placed himself under the power of Sindhia, who was using the prestige of the Emperor's name for his own aggrandisement. Hence Hastings strengthened the position of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh by selling to him Kora and Allahabad, and by helping him to annex Rohilkhand. He thus created a strong buffer state against the Marathas. In the Deccan the Bombay Government tried to play at king-making by espousing the cause of Raghoba against the legitimate Peshwa, and thus brought on the first Maratha war, much against Hastings' will. Hastings showed great resourcefulness and energy, and by winning over Sindhia brought the war to a close by the treaty of Salbai.

**Cornwallis.** Lord Cornwallis kept on good terms with the Marathas and sought their alliance against Tipu. But he asked Sindhia to keep his hands off Oudh. His successor Sir John Shore strictly followed the policy of non-intervention, and allowed the Marathas a free hand against the Nizam, who suffered an overwhelming defeat at the hands of the Marathas in 1705. *Kurdla*

**Wellesley.** The power of the Marathas increased but their further aggrandisement was prevented by the discord and disorder that followed the suicide of the Peshwa Madho Rao Narayan. The death of Nana Fernavis, the able minister of the Peshwa, aggravated the situation, and a civil war broke out among the Maratha leaders. This gave Lord Wellesley the much-desired opportunity to interfere in the Maratha affairs. The Peshwa Baji Rao II, being defeated by Holkar, entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English by the treaty of Basrein. It brought the Second Maratha War to a close. The subjection of the technical head of the Marathas to the British control was looked upon as a national humiliation and the Sindhia, and the Raja of Nagpur, took up arms against the English. This led to the outbreak of the "Third Maratha War" in which they were defeated and compelled to accept treaties of subsidiary alliance. Holkar next declared war, but was humbled though not crushed. Thus under Wellesley the power of the Marathas was shattered.

**Hastings.** Sir George Barlow followed the policy of non-intervention, and gave advantageous terms of peace both to Sindhia and Holkar. In his desire to conciliate the Marathas, he withdrew British protection from the Rajputs and left them at the mercy of Sindhia and Holkar. It was left to Lord Hastings to complete the final overthrow of the Marathas. During the Pindari War he isolated Sindhia and bound him to give assistance to the English. He defeated them all and rendered them impotent for harm in future. The office of the Peshwa was abolished, and



a representative of the line of Shivaji was placed on the throne of Satara. Holkar and the Raja of Nagpur were forced to acknowledge British overlordship.

**Q. 166. Give an account of the administrative Reforms of Lord Hastings' regime.**

### THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF HASTINGS' REGIME

**A Great Administrator.** It may be said to the credit of Hastings that he was not only a great conqueror, but also a great administrator. He worked hard on the side of the administration and tried to remove the various defects which had crept in due to the reforms of Cornwallis.

**Judicial Reforms** The Court of Directors observed that the judicial system as set up by Lord Cornwallis was inefficient as well as unsuitable. The Civil Courts could not dispose of the whole work. It was proposed, therefore, by the Court of Directors, that the old Panchayat institution be revived in the villages for judicial purposes. The Presidencies of Bombay and Madras adopted this proposal with a few healthy changes, but the Bengal Presidency rejected this system as impracticable.

**Criminal Reforms.** The Board of Control suggested the re-union of the fiscal and the public duties, which had been separated in the days of Lord Cornwallis, in the hands of the collectors, and the restoration of the Zamindar to his former authority over the police. The Government of Bengal did not agree with the Board of Control as to the desirability of introducing the suggested changes in Bengal. Nevertheless, they unhesitatingly admitted the necessity of making some additional provision for the more prompt and effective administration of criminal justice. To achieve this object a few changes were introduced in the Bengal Presidency. On the other hand, the Bombay and Madras Presidencies fully accepted the proposals of the Board of Control.

**Revenue Reforms.** (1) *Punjab and N.W. Provinces.* Lord Hastings made a final appeal to the Directors for the measure of permanent settlement which had been solemnly promised by his predecessors; but the Directors rejected his request with curtness. Accordingly, arrangements were made with the representative of each village community for the whole of the village leaving the adjustment of the share of each individual cultivator to be settled among themselves, and allowing an appeal to the Civil Courts in case of a dispute. The system is known as the Mahalwari system. (2) *Bengal Tenancy Act of 1822.* The permanent settlement in Bengal had left the right of peasantry at the mercy of zamindars. This mistake was rectified. A new act was passed by which tenants or cultivators, having a hereditary and prescriptive right of occupancy, were not to be dispossessed as long as they paid the rents previously settled, and their rents were not to be augmented except under certain specified circumstances. (3) *Madras.* Sir Thomas Munro, who became Governor of Madras in 1820, introduced in his presidency the Ryotwari system. It is a system by which the ryots became the direct payers of revenue, without the intervention of either the zamindar or the village community. (4) *Bombay.* In Bombay Mr. Elphinstone combined the Ryotwari and the Mahalwari systems, fixing



the rights and the rent of each ryot by survey and entrusting the farming of the village for a certain number of years to the Patel.

**Promotion of Education.** The Governor-General promoted the cause of education by every means in his power, and established schools from his own private means. A college was opened at Calcutta under his patronage for the spread of English language. His wife also assisted him in this work. The Governments of Bombay and Madras likewise encouraged and assisted with funds the various schemes that were at this time set on foot for the improvement of Indian Education.

**Liberty of the Press.** Lord Hastings removed one harassing restraint to which the Indian Press had been subjected by Lord Wellesley. During the regime of the latter every Journal was submitted on the eve of its issue to a Government censor, who had the power to strike out matter which he considered objectionable. This censorship was now abolished. At the same time the press was by no means left to its own guidance ; it was still subject to many restrictions. "The editors were restrained from publishing animadversions on the proceedings of Indian authorities in England : disquisitions on the political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks on the public conduct of the members of Council, the judges, or the Bishop of Calcutta ; discussions having tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the parties as to any intended interference with their religion ; the republication from English or other newspapers, of passages coming under the preceding heads or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India ; and private scandal, or personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society." It was during his regime that the "Samachar Darpan," the first vernacular paper, was published.

**Q. 167. Write a note on the evolution of the principal land revenue systems of British India.**

#### VARIOUS LAND TENURES PREVALENT IN INDIA

The systems of land revenue are not uniform in India. This is so because different parts of what is now called British India were acquired at different times, and the Company being called upon to organize the revenue immediately, had to do so as best as it could, specially keeping in view the system and customs prevailing in those areas. The various land-revenue systems in force in India may be dealt with as under :—

(1) **The Permanent Land Settlement.** After the acquisition of the Diwani in 1764 from Shah Alam II, the British became responsible for the collection of the revenue. Lord Clive instituted his Dual Government, under which native officers continued to do the work of revenue collection. In 1769, English Supervisors were appointed. The system failed. Under Warren Hastings the Company stood forth as Diwan. He tried annual and quinquennial settlements, but these, too, did not prove successful. In 1793, Lord Cornwallis carried out the *Permanent Settlement* of land in *Bengal, Bihar and Orissa* with the help of Sir John Shore. This settlement was made with the Zamindars, whose contribution to the Government was fixed for ever.



**Its salient features.** The chief feature of the Permanent System was that the Zamindars who had hitherto been mere collectors of revenue were declared absolute proprietors of the soil and that the revenue payable by them was fixed in perpetuity. They were not liable to eviction except on the ground of non-payment of revenue. **Merits.** (i) It was a bold and wise measure. It created rights and interests in the soil. Under its influence population has increased and cultivation has been extended. It improved the position of the Zamindar, who was secured in his Zamindari and was relieved from the burden of maintaining order and had no fines to pay for secession or permission to be obtained before sale. (ii) It gave popularity and stability to the British Government and has made Bengal the wealthiest and the most flourishing province in India. It had removed the evils of periodic assessment which led to evasion, concealment of wealth and the throwing of land out of cultivation. The state sacrificed much revenue but it gained indirectly through the general increase in prosperity. **Demerits.** (i) Many of the Zamindars being unable to recover their rent from the cultivators could not pay state dues and had to sell their rights to new proprietors. (ii) The Zamindars have since then got enormous rents at the expense of the state, but they have not devoted much capital in improving and developing their estates. (iii) The rest of India has now to be taxed more heavily to make good the loss suffered in Bengal. (iv) The ryots and inferior tenants have received no benefit under the system. The position of these inferior tenants has, however, been improved by the Bengal Land Acts passed later on.

(2) **The Ryotwari Settlement.** It was established by Thomas Munro in Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Madura and Dindigul. This settlement was made with the *ryot*, the actual cultivator of the soil. He was considered the absolute owner of the soil, and enjoyed rights of sale and transfer. According to this system the Government deals directly with the *ryots* and recognizes no middle man. The system was afterwards extended to Bombay and Sind by Elphinstone.

(3) **The Village or Mahalwari System.** This system prevails in the United Provinces, Central Provinces and the Punjab. It was drafted by Mr. Bird and completed by James Thomson. According to this system the revenue is settled for 30 years in U.P. and 20 years in the Punjab and C.P. with the entire body of villagers who are jointly and separately responsible for the revenue of the whole village. The head man of the village, called the *Lambaradar*, signs the agreement with the Government on behalf of the villagers. In this system the Government deals with the middle man.

**The Affairs of Palmer & Co.** Chandu Lal, the Minister of the Nizam, was a dismal failure on account of his being a great prodigal. The Nizam was required to maintain a force known as the Hyderabad contingent, quite separate from the subsidiary force. On this and in other objects, money was lavishly spent. The state borrowed money from Palmer & Co., an English Banking House, established at Hyderabad, despite the Act of 1796, which prohibited the advance of loans to native princes without the consent of the Governor-General in Council. The Company, being afraid of the Act, applied to the Governor-General in the Council for the necessary permission. He left the matter at the



discretion of the British Resident at Hyderabad. The Resident, being a connection of the Governor-General, gave his consent and became a partner himself.

**Hastings Resignation (1823).** After him Sir Charles Metcalfe became the Resident. On his complaints to the Governor-General in Council the permission was cancelled. This matter went against Lord Hastings and he was suspected by the Home authorities of supporting the corrupt financial dealings of the firm. In view of this attitude of the Home Government, Lord Hastings resigned in 1823.

**Q. 168.** Carefully explain the chief objectives of Lord Moira's policy. Would it be correct to say that he succeeded in establishing the paramountcy of British power in India. (P.U., B.A., 1939)

**His Chief Objectives.** "Our object in India ought to be to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so, to hold the other states as vassal though not in name, and to oblige them, in return for our guarantee and protection to perform the two great feudatory duties of supporting our rule with all their forces, and submitting their mutual differences to our arbitration."

**Why he adopted Forward Policy.** Lord Moira intended to continue the policy of non-intervention in native affairs, but he was forced by circumstances into taking vigorous action. The disturbed state of Northern and Central India rendered peace in other parts impossible. Lord Wellesley's forward policy was, therefore, resumed by Lord Moira. Wars were undertaken against the Gurkhas of Nepal and the Pindaris. The latter were suppressed but the former made promises of obedience and loyalty to which they have been faithful ever since. In 1817-1818 the Maratha power was crushed for good. The territories of the Peshwa were annexed to the Bombay Presidency and he was removed to Cawnpore, where he lived for many years as a dependent of the Company. The states of Sindhia, Holkar, and Bhonsla were reduced, and that of Bhonsla was annexed later on. The power of the Marathas was destroyed and thus a large area of Central and Western India, barren from continual ravaging, became cultivated, peaceful, and prosperous.

**Hastings as a Builder of India.** This great political settlement of Central India—the disarmament and pacification of the military chiefships, and the adjustment of distinct relations of supremacy and subordination—established the universal recognition of the British power in India. It completed and consolidated the policy of Lord Wellesley. The last shadow of interference by any European rival had now for the time faded away. The contest with the Native States for ascendancy was finally decided. The largest, the most important, and by far the most valuable portion of this region was now under the Company's control, the rest of it under its sovereign influence. By the end of Lord Moira's period of office, British territory in India was taking its modern shape. Nagpur [Bhonsla's territory] and Oudh were not annexed until the time of Lord Dalhousie, and British power had not been extended to Sind and the Punjab, in the north-west, nor to Assam and Burma, to the east. In other respects the map of political India was not unlike that of to-day.

**A Great Administrator.** Lord Moira was one of the greatest of Indian administrators in the nineteenth century. He declined to regard



British territory in India merely as the property of a chartered company whose chief aim was to secure dividends, and he attempted to do his duty towards the millions of people placed in his charge. He demanded of his subordinates in the Government of India a high standard of integrity and responsibility, and in the period of his rule are to be found the first indications of a desire to encourage education among the natives.

**Estimate of the Work.** Mill says: "The administration of the Marquess of Hastings may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundations, and Warren Hastings and Marquess of Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India proper finally established. Of the soundness of the work no better proof can be afforded than the fact that there has been no international warfare since his administration. Rajput, Maratha, and Mohammadans have remained at peace with one another under the shade of British power. The wars in which the latter had been engaged have carried that power beyond the boundaries of Hindustan, but no interruption of internal tranquillity from the Himalayas to the sea has been suffered or attempted."

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. "Lord Hastings conceived and carried through the greatest strategical operation ever undertaken in India." Examine and illustrate.

(P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)

[Hints. The three wars: The Nepal War, the Pindari War and the Fourth Maratha War.]

2. "The Earl of Moira had been an opponent of Lord Wellesley's policy, and yet he was destined to complete the fabric of British dominion in India almost exactly as his great predecessor had planned it." (P.E. Roberts). Explain and discuss.

(P.U., B.A., 1938 Sept.)

3. Carefully explain the chief objectives of Lord Moira's policy. Would it be correct to say that he succeeded in establishing the paramountcy of British power in India?

(P.U., B.A., 1939,)

4. Is it correct to call the Marquess of Hastings one of the founders of the British Empire in India? What is his chief title to fame? Attempt a critical estimate of his achievements.

(P.U., 1929)

5. "Lord Hastings' reign may be described as consisting of three great campaigns." Mention the campaigns and clearly state their effect on the country.

6. How would you characterize the different stages in the growth of the British Empire in the reigns of Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings? What course did the further development of the Empire take?

7. Explain: "Marquess of Hastings was not only a great conqueror, but also a great administrator."

8. Justify the statement:—"The year 1818 marks the close of an era."

[Hints. The defeat of the Maratha Confederacy in 1818 makes the British the only sovereign and supreme power in Hindustan and the Deccan, Sind and the Punjab were the only two provinces left. Having finished the struggle for supremacy, the British Government turned its attention to the peaceful settlement of the country. Marshman remarks: "The settlement of India in 1818 was built on so sound and solid a foundation that it has required a fewer modifications than so great a political structure might have expected to need." Another writer remarks that "the era of trouble and violence gave place to an era of peace, prosperity and wealth, at least, if not of political liberty and high moral improvement."]



## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE HISTORY OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH, THE LION OF THE PUNJAB (1780-1838)

Q. 169. What was the political condition of the Punjab on the eve of Ranjit Singh's rule (1798)?

#### THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE PUNJAB IN 1798

The political condition of the Punjab in 1798 has been summarized from Latif's History of the Punjab. Kasur, a town at a distance of 25 kos to the south-east of Lahore, was under Nizam-ud-Din, a powerful Pathan Chief. Amritsar, then known as Chak-Guru, was under Gulab Singh of the Bhangi Misl. Multan was under Muzaffar Khan, a descendant of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Dera Ismail Khan was under Abdul Samad Khan, and Bannu, Kohat and the neighbouring countries were under Mohd. Shahnawaz Khan. Dera Ghazi Khan and Bahawalpore were under Bahawal Khan, Jhang under Ahmad Khan Sial, Peshawar under Fateh Khan, Barakzai and Kashmir under Azim Khan, the brother of Fateh Khan. Attock was under Jahandad Khan. Raja Sansar Chand was the ruler of the Kangra hills and Raja Charat Singh was the master of Chamba. Fateh Singh Abluwalia was the ruler of the country from Hoshiarpore to Kapurthala. The trans and Cis-Sutlej were under the independent Sikh Sardars representing different misls. Wazirabad was an independent state under Jodh Singh and Gujranwala was under Ranjit Singh. The account given above indicates that the various rulers in the Punjab at that time had religious and social differences with one another. There was no one central power to command allegiance. Even the Sikh misaldars were at daggers drawn with one another. Among the Mohammadan Chiefs also there was no unity. These states were under Ahmad Shah and his weak successors had given them an opportunity to become independent. "Thus the political situation on the eve of the 19th century was eminently suited for the rise of a resolute and outstanding personality, who might weld these discordant elements steadily into an organized kingdom." Such a person was Ranjit Singh, a man of ambition, and stamina, who availed himself of this opportunity and thus created a mighty Sikh Empire that has played a very important part in the history of this country.

**Divisions of his Reign.** Ranjit Singh's reign may be divided into three periods. (1) 1781-1799—from his birth till his possession of Lahore. (2) 1811-1819—from his appointment as Raja till the Treaty of Amritsar. (3) 1819-1839—the period of his fight against his Indian and Afghan neighbours.

#### 1. FIRST PERIOD (1780-1799)

**His Early Career.** Ranjit Singh was born in 1781 in the house of Sardar Mahan Singh, the enterprising leader of the Sukarchakiya Misl at Gujranwala, and was only twelve years old when his father died. (He commenced his military career at the age of sixteen, and succeeded within a few years in extending his power by successful inroads upon the territories of neighbouring chiefs.) In 1798, he attracted the attention of Zaman Shah, the Amir of Kabul, and the grandson of Abdali and performed that feat which laid the foundation of his future supremacy. That Amir of Afghanistan had occupied a great part of the Punjab, including the capital of Lahore; but had been recalled by a sudden rebellion to Afghanistan. He had left the Punjab so hastily



that he had been forced to abandon part of his artillery. Guns in those days were supremely valuable, and Ranjit Singh volunteered to forward them to Kabul if he allowed him in return to occupy Lahore. Zaman Shah agreed to it. Ranjit Singh recovered the guns from the river Jhelum and sent them to Peshawar. Zaman Shah kept his word. Ranjit Singh then took possession of Lahore, after defeating the Sardars of the Bhangi Misl and at once resumed the title of Raja (1799).

## 2. SECOND PERIOD (1800-1809)

**The Extension of his power upto the treaty of Amritsar (1809).** Ranjit Singh now turned his attention to Amritsar, which with its golden temple and great zumzama gun, was, in the eyes of the Sikhs, only second in importance, to Lahore. In 1802, he drove the Bhangi chief out of Amritsar and seized the city. In the following five years (1802-07) Ranjit Singh succeeded in creating a respectable kingdom in the Punjab and was practically master of all the Sikhs east of the river Sutlej. It was during this period that Jaswant Rao Holkar after having suffered a defeat in the 3rd Maratha War came over to Ranjit Singh and asked him for help, but the Maharaja refused as he did not like to offend the English. The great aim of Ranjit Singh now was to cross the Sutlej and conquer the Phulkian Rajas, whose rapacity and misrule had reduced the country to a state of abject misery. Here, however, the English stood in his way. In 1803, he therefore, proposed to form a defensive and offensive alliance with the English, on condition that the territory occupied by the Sikhs south of the Sutlej should be made over to him. His offer was politely but firmly declined.

**The Treaty of Amritsar (1809)** In 1809, the Sikh Sardars of Jind, Kaithal, and Patiala appealed to Lord Minto for protection against the aggression of Ranjit Singh. Metcalfe was then sent as an ambassador to the court of Ranjit Singh. The result was a friendly treaty with Ranjit Singh at Amritsar by which the latter gave up all designs against the territories on the other side of the Sutlej. He agreed to limit his troops and keep his required number for the maintenance of internal peace.

**Its Effects.** The treaty further checked the growth of Ranjit Singh's power over the whole of the Sikh population. It, therefore, caused a breach between the Maharaja and the Malwa. He could no longer claim now the overlordship of the whole Sikh population. It saved the seeds for future troubles.

## 3. THIRD PERIOD (1809-39)

**The War with the Neighbouring Countries.** Ranjit Singh spent the rest of his life in fighting against his Indian and Afghan neighbours. The first object of his attack was the Mohammadan fortress of Multan. Between 1810, and 1816, the Maharaja made frequent attacks on Multan and finally captured it in February, 1817. Kashmir was the next object of his ambition. He made repeated attempts on that kingdom from 1811 to 1819, and finally annexed it in 1819. At this juncture, the state of affairs in Afghanistan attracted his attention and invited his interference. Taking advantage of domestic dissensions at Kabul, he snatched from the Pathans their beloved city of Peshawar in 1837.



**His Relations with the English.** Maharaja Ranjit Singh's relations with the British begin from the treaty of Amritsar (1809) and remain intact till his death in 1839. In 1827 in Lord Amherst's time, there was an exchange of embassies or complimentary missions. During Lord William Bentinck's period, Sir Alexander Burn's mission in 1831 went to Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court through the river Indus with a view to see whether the Indus was a navigable river. This mission also strengthened the relations between the two and led to a commercial treaty in 1832. In 1837 there was also a meeting between Bentinck and Ranjit Singh at Rupar. This meeting resulted in a "treaty of perpetual friendship with the Sikh ruler, who agreed in his turn to encourage trade along the Sutlej and to respect the territories of the Sind Amirs", with whom Lord Bentinck had also concluded treaties. The object of the treaty was to counteract possible Russian aggression. During the regime of Lord Auckland, the Tripartite treaty was concluded in 1838 between the English, the Maharaja and Shah Shuja, the Amir of Kabul. The object of this treaty was to depose Amir Dost Mohammad and to replace Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. In the midst of this ill-fated campaign, Maharaja died in 1839.

**His Religious Views.** European and Indian writers hold opposite views regarding the religious views held by the Maharaja. The Indian writers allege that he had a real love for Sikhism inasmuch as he used to have the *Granth* recited daily in his presence and to attend the Golden Temple at Amritsar twice a year. He used to consider himself as a humble servant of the Sikh faith. Like a true Sikh devotee, he had engraved on the Royal Seal the words, *Akal Sahae* (under the grace of God.) The Europeans, on the other hand, believe, that like Henry VII and Elizabeth, he used religion as a cloak to serve his political ends. This view has been expressed due to the disparity that existed in his public and private life. The Maharaja was a champion of the Sikh faith. He was neither a religious bigot like Aurangzeb nor a vain religious dreamer like Akbar. He never believed in religious persecution and therefore showed toleration to all religions. Recruitments to different posts as in the time of Sher Shah were made irrespective of caste and creed. He encouraged even the Christian missionaries to his court to learn their doctrines.

**Ranjit Singh and his Army.** Ranjit Singh remodelled his army on the English system and converted it into a formidable fighting machine. He changed the entire organization of the Khalsa army with the assistance of Europeans—Allard, Ventura, Count Avitabile—who had served in the Napoleonic wars. The cavalry ceased to be the important item of the Khalsa army; the infantry instead became the favourite service. The English system of voluntary enlistment was adopted, and a strong artillery on European model was built up. The Sikhs were drilled in European fashion and trained to great endurance. The whole wealth and the whole energies of the people were devoted to war, and to the preparation of military means and equipment.

**Its Contrast with the Maratha System.** The military system of Ranjit Singh was different from that of the Marathas. He gave up entirely the guerilla method of warfare as practised by the Marathas. In place of the feudal indisciplined levies of the Marathas, Ranjit Singh kept a standing national army to be maintained by the State. The infantry and the artillery, which had been neglected during the 18th century, began to be now looked upon as the most important branches of the military system. Moreover, Ranjit Singh began to have his army trained and disciplined on European lines, a thing which was lacking in



the Maratha system. The Marathas depended chiefly upon the cavalry, which was thrown into the background by Ranjit Singh.

**Ranjit Singh's Administration.** (1) *His general attention towards administrative matters.* He did not at all trouble himself with the theory or the practical niceties of administration. (2) *His System of taxation.* Ranjit Singh often took as much as one-half the gross produce of an estate, besides a multitude of cesses. The Sikh peasantry, however enjoyed a light assesment. Duties were levied, under 48 heads, on almost every article of common use, without any attempt to discriminate between luxuries and necessities, or to assess lightly the articles used by the poor such as fuel, grain or vegetables. The mode of collection was extremely vexatious, country being covered with custom houses, at which merchants were treated with the utmost insolence and oppression. An article paid duty on being taken into a town, a second time on being taken to the shop, and a third time on re-export. (3) *Employment of both Hindus and Mohammadans.* Ranjit Singh employed in his civil administration both Hindus and Mohammadans. His most famous minister was the Mohammadan nobleman Fakir Aziz ud-Din. (4) *His Judicial Arrangement.* There was no written system of laws in existence in those days. Decisions were made in accordance with customary principles. The Panchayats used to decide the cases in the villages and their decisions were subject to revision by the kardars who decided the cases in the towns. The Nizams did the same work in the cities. Adalatul Ala was at the capital like the High Courts of to-day in every province. Pecuniary contributions were realized from both the parties viz., shukrana from the party that won the case and jurmana from the party that lost the case. (Bribery and corruption were rife.)

**Ranjit Singh's work summed up.** (1) Ranjit Singh found the Punjab waning confederacy, a prey to the factions of its chiefs, pressed by the Afghans and the Marathas, and ready to submit to English supremacy. He consolidated the numerous petty states into a kingdom. He wrested from Kabul the fairest of its provinces, and he gave the potent English no cause for interference. (2) He found the military array of his country a mass of horsemen, brave indeed but ignorant of war as an art, and he left mustering fifty thousand disciplined soldiers, fifty thousand well-armed yeomen and militia, and more than three hundred pieces of cannon for the field. (3) His rule was founded on the feelings of a people, but it involved the joint action of the necessary principles of order, and territorial extension; and when limit had been set to Sikh dominion, and his own genius was no more, the vital spirit of his race began to consume itself in domestic contentions.

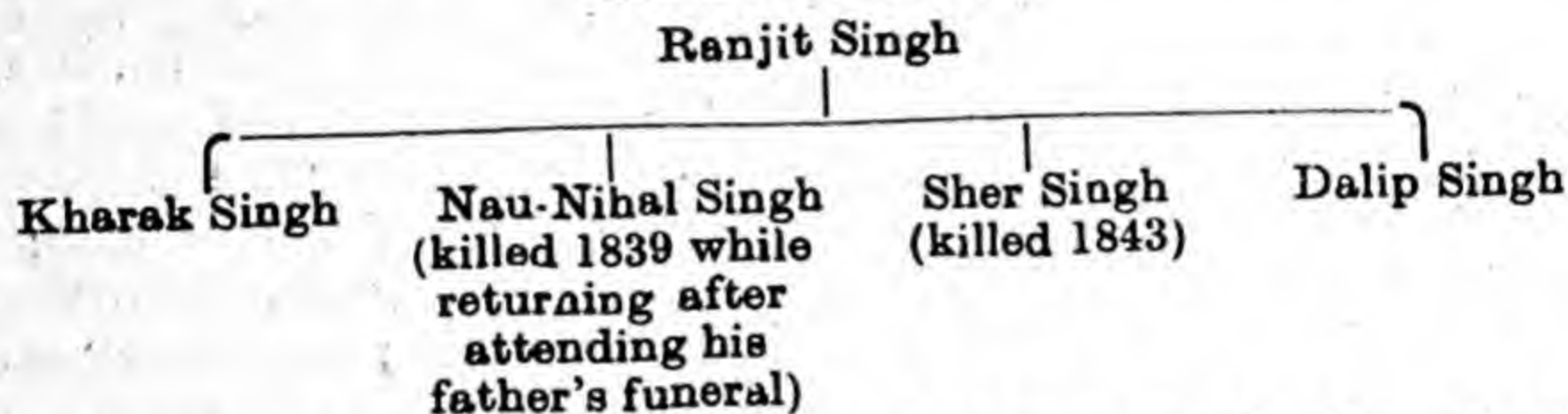
**Secret of Ranjit Singh's Success.** He never arrogated to himself title or powers of a despot or tyrant. He was assiduous in his devotions; he honoured men of reputed sanctity; he attributed every success to the favour of God, and he styled himself and his people collectively as the 'Khalsa' or the Commonwealth of Gobind.

**His Estimate.** The Maharaja was the beau ideal of a soldier, strong, spare, active, courageous and enduring. An excellent horseman, a keen sportsman and an accomplished swordsman; in fact he possessed all the accomplishments of a great warrior. He was a born ruler, with a natural



genius of command like Cæsar, Alexander, and Napoleon. Like Prince Bismarck later on, he was a believer of 'blood and iron' policy. Men obeyed him by instinct even in the closing years of his life. To the highest courage he added the perseverance which no obstacle could exhaust. His political sagacity was great, and was shown in nothing more convincingly than in his determined friendship with the English. Judged by the commonplace ethical point of modern times, Ranjit Singh had no moral character at all. He was selfish, avaricious, shamelessly and openly drunken and debauched. But it would be exceedingly unfair to Ranjit Singh to make no allowance for the age in which he lived. "Hard drinking in his age was a common vice of every chief; sexual morality was exceedingly low; and violence, fraud and rapacity are the only arms and defence of men who in demoralized and disintegrated society had to be ready to resist attack and protect their lives and property". "If we make allowance for all these facts, as in fairness we must, we shall not refuse to recognize Ranjit Singh as worthy of a pedestal in that inmost shrine where History honours the few human beings to whom may be indisputably assigned the palm of greatness."

### HIS SUCCESSORS



**Q. 170. What was the condition of the Punjab after the death of Ranjit Singh ?**

### THE PUNJAB AFTER THE DEATH OF RANJIT SINGH

After the death of the Maharaja, anarchy and confusion, due to the absence of worthy successors, prevailed in the country. This is but natural. 'The central government broke down; one weak ruler after another was removed by assassination in quick succession; all real powers passed into the hands of the Khalsa soldiers,' Kharak Singh, the imbecile son, succeeded but died soon. Nau-Nihal Singh had already been killed while returning after attending his father's funeral. Sher Singh followed next. He was under the grip of junior brothers and was killed in 1843 by treachery. Then Dalip Singh, a child of five, became the king. It is said that as a result of this state of affairs in the country, no revenues were realized. The court also became the hot-bed of intrigues. In short, the six years that followed the death of the 'Lion of the Punjab' "were a period of storm and anarchy, in which assassination was the rule, and the weak were ruthlessly trampled under foot."

**Q. 171. Account for the sudden collapse of the Sikh rule after the death of Ranjit Singh.** (P.U., B.A., '36, '39)

**His responsibility for the downfall of the Sikh Kingdom.** Ranjit Singh has been held responsible for the ultimate downfall of the Sikh kingdom. The reasons are—(1) that he committed a blunder in allowing the Dogra chiefs to acquire vast territorial power and influence. (2) The despotic and personal character of the Maharaja's rule was one of the fundamental causes of the downfall of the Sikh Empire. With his death, disintegration set in. (3) His court was composed of various diverse elements and conflicting interests and after his death, these



conflicting interests began to look to their individual gains rather than to collective benefit. (4) The presence of the British East India Company on the borders of his kingdom, the commercial aspirations of which would not allow them to let the Punjab remain alone. (5) After the death of the Maharaja, there was none left to keep under strict control his formidable and turbulent army. (6) His successors were quite weak and incompetent. They had no ability to keep under control either the court or the army. The Punjab, therefore, became the hot-bed of intrigues and counter-intrigues. (7) The first and the second Sikh wars were another factor.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Account for the anarchy after the death of Ranjit Singh. How far was that anarchy responsible for the intervention in the Punjab ? (P.U., B.A., '34 Sept.)
2. Account for the rapid decline of the Sikh power after the death of Ranjit Singh. (P.U., B.A., '35, Sept. '36 and '39)
3. Describe the career of Ranjit Singh, and examine his relations with the English, the Afghans and the Army of Sind. (P.U., B.A., '37)
4. Describe the Sikh policy of the pre-Ranjit Singh period. What changes were introduced by Ranjit Singh ? Point out the most out-standing features of Ranjit Singh's foreign policy. (P.U., B.A., '40)
5. What do you know of the Maratha Military system ? How do you compare it with Sikh Military system under Ranjit Singh ? (P.U., B.A., '40 Sept.)
6. What causes made for the rise and growth of Sikh power in the Punjab (1707-99) ? (P.U., B.A., '40 Sept.)
7. Attempt a critical estimate of Ranjit Singh's foreign policy and character.
8. Characterize Ranjit Singh's government. Was its downfall inevitable after his death ?
9. Describe the circumstances that led to the treaty of Amritsar. What were its provisions ?
10. Describe the expansion of the territories of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
11. Give an account of the achievements of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.



## CHAPTER XXIV

### JOHN ADAM, OFFICIATING GOVERNOR-GENERAL (1823-23)

### LORD AMHERST (1823-28)

**John Adam, officiating Governor-General.** John Adam, the senior member of the Council, officiated as Governor-General for about seven months till the arrival of Lord Amherst. During this uneventful period, James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, was deported from India for ridiculing some appointments made by the Government. On reaching London, Buckingham made good his losses by receiving subscriptions from his friends.

**Lord Amherst.** Lord Amherst, the successor of Lord Hastings, and a man of mediocre ability, was appointed Governor-General by way of compensation as he had conducted an unsuccessful embassy to China with credit and had suffered from shipwrecks and other troubles in its connection.

**Causes of the Barrackpore Mutiny (1824).** (i) The soldiers were expected to pay for the transport of their own baggage. The rates of conveyance had become abnormal owing to Government demand. The complaint was a genuine one. (ii) Caste restrictions against crossing the sea. (iii) The English defeat at Ramu at the hands of the Burmese had frightened the soldiers who thought that the Burmese had magical powers and were unconquerable. (iv) Measures of recognition under which the armies were placed under officers who could not even write their names. (v) The climate of Burma was unhealthy. Sickness was rife and the sepoys refused to march into this region of plague. (vi) Higher pay to coolies than to the soldiers of high caste.

**Events and Results.** The soldiers would neither disperse nor lay down their arms. No arguments availed. They were then told the dire consequences that must ensue in case of disobedience but they did not care. At last fire was opened. The ring leaders were hanged. The name of the 47th Bengal Native Infantry was erased from the army list. If the men had been fairly treated at first, there would never have been any mutiny.

**The War with Bharatpore (1826).** Bhandar Singh, the Raja of Bharatpore, died in 1823 leaving no issue to succeed him. There were two claimants, his brother Baldeo Singh and his nephew Dhuraj Sal. David Ochterlony, the British Resident in Malwa, decided in favour of his brother who unfortunately died within a month after his accession. Dhuraj Sal seized the fort and imprisoned the young son of Baldeo Singh. This defiance of British authority provoked David's wrath, who ordered a British army to march to vindicate the prestige of the British Government. The Governor-General disapproved of it, snubbed the British Resident who resigned and was succeeded by Sir C. Metcalfe. Dhuraj Sal, meanwhile, rallied round himself all the restless spirits, and defied the British Government. Metcalfe realized the gravity of the situation and wrote strongly to the Governor-General to dethrone Dhuraj Sal. He won over the Government to his view and in 1836 Lord Cambermere took the great fortress by storm. Dhuraj Sal was deposed and the young Raja was restored under the protection of the British.

**Its Effects.** (1) The capture of the fort of Bharatpore at once put an end to the incipient conspiracies of which the Indian Courts had been full, for the fall of Bharatpore made it evident even to the meanest intelligence that the Burmese war had not weakened the power of the British in India. (2) The territorial expansion came to a close and the attention of the Governor-General was now mainly concentrated on administration and progress.

**His work of Administration.** Lord Amherst was not called on to initiate any striking departures in land policy. His function was largely to watch the working of the systems actually in force, and, if possible, to suggest and apply remedies for any abuses that might be discovered in the working of the different systems. He



was lucky to secure the advice of such men as Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe and Elphinstone. He increased the revenue, employed the natives in large numbers and introduced the Panchayats in the villages.

**His Reforms.** (1) Engineering, as a branch of State policy, may be said to have commenced with Lord Amherst. Special attention was paid by him to the Western Jumna Canal. (2) Another special feature was the settlement of wild regions recently brought within the sphere of British influence. (3) In the field of education, colleges were established at Agra and Delhi. There was a certain tendency to Anglicization. Preliminary steps were taken towards the abolition of *Sati* by inviting the opinion of the learned pandits. *Dharna* was declared illegal. (5) Another feature was a grand tour made by him in the North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh. (6) He dispatched a mission to the court of Ranjit Singh. A visit to Simla was practically the inauguration of the place as the summer capital of the Government of India.

**Q. 172. Give an account of the First Burmese War (1826-28).**  
(P.U. 1939)

### THE FIRST BURMESE WAR

**Relations with Burma before Amherst.** The Burman chief Alompra had founded the Burmese dynasty in 1757. In 1793, several of the Arakan Chieftains due to the persecution of Alompra left their homes and took shelter in the neighbouring provinces. At the request of the Burmese king, Sir John Shore returned the fugitives. This made the king bold and more oppressive. By 1793, the king had absorbed Upper and Lower Burma. In 1798, 30,000 Arakanese took refuge in Chittagong, a British territory. Despite a threatening demand from the Burmese, the refugees were not returned. An unsuccessful attempt was made by means of a mission to restore healthy relations between the two countries. Another mission in 1809 met with the same fate. During the next 8 years the Arakan refugees made inroads upon Arakan in spite of remonstrances from the British Government. The Burmese authorities who suspected the British for this action, demanded in 1818 from Marquis of Hastings Chittagong and other places on the border and the British did not comply with it.

**Its Causes.** (1) The relations between the British and the Burmese authorities were already unfriendly. (2) The annexation of Pegu and the wresting of Tennasserim from Siam (1766) and that of Arakan which was hitherto an independent kingdom further embittered the relation between the English and Burmese. (3) In 1817-18 the Burmese began to threaten Assam and sent an insolent letter to the Indian Government laying claim to Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Cossimbazar. (4) The Burmese king and his ministers were as vain as they were ignorant. They imagined that their prowess was irresistible and that the British were hard pressed in the Pindaris' War. (5) In 1823, they made an attack upon Shahpuri, a small island belonging to the Company, and commenced hostilities on the Assam frontier.

**Events.** War was inevitable. The Burmese General Maha Bandula had orders to drive the English out of Bengal and bring the Governor-General bound in chains. The British plan of campaign was to approach from the sea, capture Rangoon and then enter into the capital. Rangoon was occupied by Sir Archibald Campbell, but then the rains prevented for six months the advance up country. The resistance offered by Burmese soldiers behind their wooden stockades was feeble indeed and easily overcome, but the fever and famine brought fearful havoc among the English troops. Maha Bandula who was busy near the frontier of Bengal tried to retake Rangoon but failed. It was not till 1828, that Assam, Kachar and Manipur could be occupied by the English. The capture of Rangoon was followed by an attack on Prome. It was



here that Maha Bandula died of a random shot. His army fled away but a small detachment reached Yandaboo where a treaty was concluded on February 24, 1828.

**Terms of the Treaty of Yandaboo, (1828).** (1) Assam, Arakan and the coast of Tenasserim were ceded in perpetuity to the Company. (2) A British Resident was to live at the capital of the Burmese King. (3) The Burmese were further required to recognize the independence of Manipur state, enter into a commercial treaty with the British, and pay them an indemnity of a crore of rupees. (4) They were to withdraw themselves from Assam and Kachar. (5) The king of Burma agreed to pay a crore of rupees as war indemnity.

**Its Effects.** (1) The Burmese Empire was shorn of most of its sea frontage by the surrender of two long narrow provinces. (2) The war was costly. It cost thirteen crores and lasted for two years. (3) It enabled the English to seal up and secure the Indian Eastern frontier. (4) It brought a large alien population within the control of the Indian Empire. The people had different manners, customs and religion. (5) The heavy expenditure caused a big deficit in the finances of the Company, which in due course of time was made up.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Sketch briefly the relations between the East India Company and the Court of Ava. (P. U. 1918)

[Hints. It means the relations with Burma upto Lord Dalhousie. The students are required to give an account of the First Burmese War and the Second Burmese War. The relations with Burma date from the time of Sir John Shore and have been given under Amherst.]

2. Give an account of the wars that led to the annexation of Burma. (P. U. 1938)

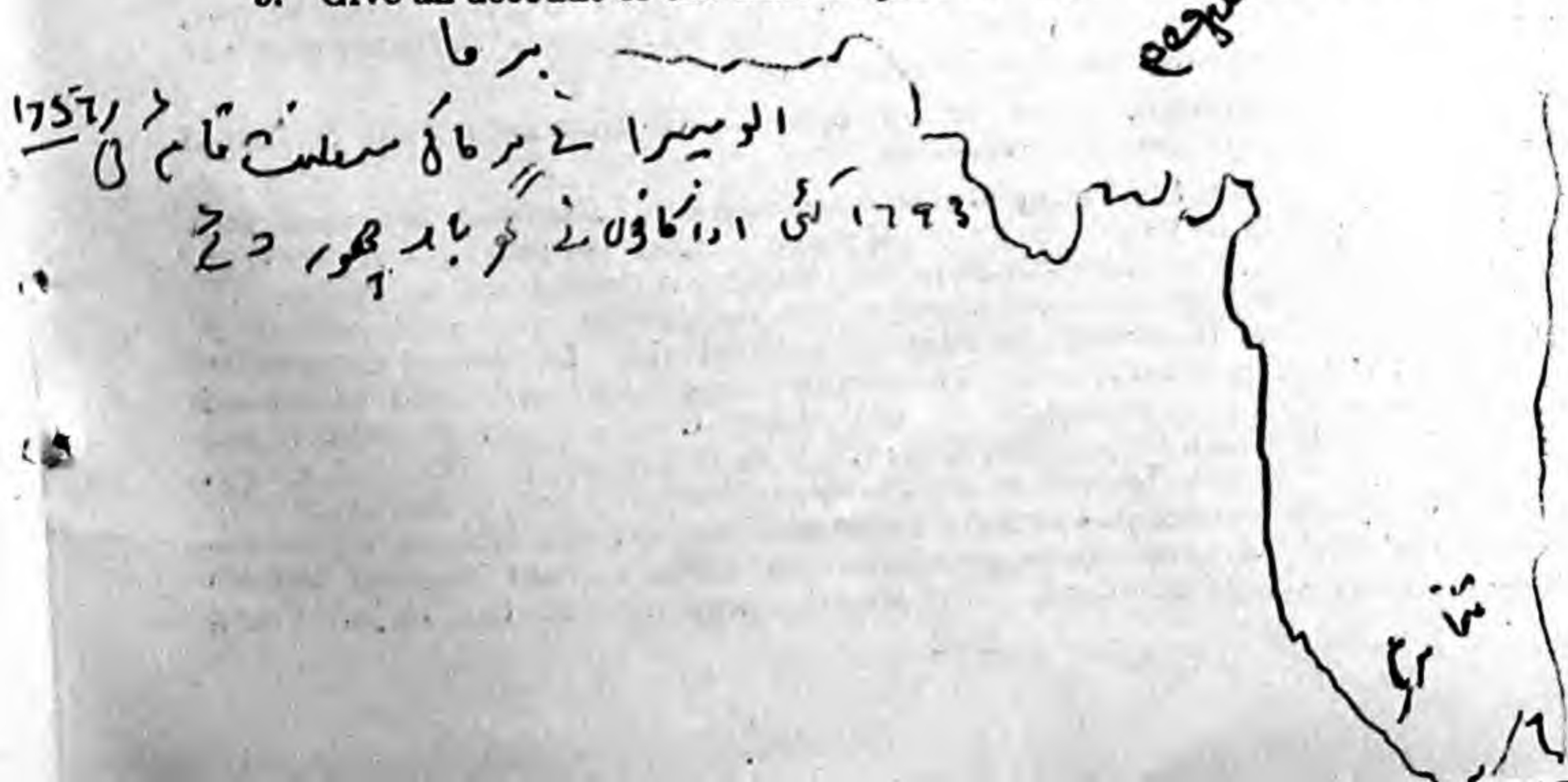
[Hints. The annexation of the whole of Burma as the result of the three Burmese Wars—(1) under Amherst ; (2) under Dalhousie ; (3) under Dufferin.]

3. Describe the circumstances that led to the conquest of the fort of Bharatpore, and estimate the effects it produced on the general condition of India.

4. In what respects does Lord Amherst anticipate his successor ?

[Hints. Most of the reforms of the reign of Lord Bentinck were started by Amherst.]

5. Give an account of the Barrackpore Mutiny. What were its results ?





## CHAPTER XXV

### LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (1828-1835)

*Napoleonic wars*

✓ *entirely*

**His Early Career.** William Bentinck was born in 1774. During the Napoleonic wars he served with distinction. At the age of 29, he was offered the governorship of Madras in appreciation of his exceptional military experience. He accepted the offer and held this post from (1803-7). As a Governor, he introduced into the Madras Presidency the Ryotwari system with the help of Sir Thomas Munro. A mutiny occurred at Vellore, as a sequel of which he was recalled. On his return from India, he participated in the Peninsular campaign. As a commander of the army stationed in Sicily he showed his administrative faculties which drew the following remarks from Napier. "Bentinck is a man of resolution, capacity and spirit, just in his actions and abhorring oppression, but of a sanguine, impetuous disposition." He then took up the parliamentary career. In 1819, he was re-offered the office of Governor of Madras, but he declined as he did not consider the offer sufficient amends for his previous unjust recall in 1807. After Hastings, he applied for the post but his claims were passed over in favour of Lord Amherst, after whose return he was selected as the next Governor-General.

(a) **His attitude towards Bahadur Shah II.** The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II complained bitterly against the inadequacy of his allowance. The Governor-General did not listen to his complaints and Raja Ram Mohan Roy went as his agent to England to plead his cause. The British Cabinet did not recognize him as the proper agent. This treatment wounded the pride of the Emperor and his family and on that account it is considered by some historians as one of the minor causes which led to the Indian Mutiny.

(b) **Policy of Non-intervention.** Bentinck followed the policy of Non-intervention towards most of the dependent states. (i) **Hyderabad.** Nizam Sikandar Shah of Hyderabad Deccan died in 1829 and was succeeded by his son Nazir-ud-Daulat. The new Nizam requested the Governor-General to remove the British officers and the request was granted. The work was carried on under the superintendence of the Nizam and his minister Chandu Lal. (ii) **Jaipore.** Jaipore was in a state of confusion. The Raja was a minor, the work was being carried on by the widowed Rani and her paramour. This was resented by the chiefs of the state. It led to civil war in 1830 in which the Rani and her lover were executed in 1835. The British Resident was assailed but Non-intervention policy was not given up. (iii) **Jodhpur.** Non-intervention policy followed in Jodhpur, Bundi and Kotah states. (iv) **Bhopal.** Nazir Mohammad, the Nawab of Bhopal, died and his widow Sikan-dar Begum assumed the control. She betrothed her daughter to her nephew and adopted him as heir to the throne. When the latter came of age, he claimed substantial share in the Government which the Queen refused to give. It led to war. The Governor-General remained neutral. The young Nawab was defeated and the leaders on both sides were defeated and slain.

(c) **Policy of oscillation.** His policy towards Gwalior and Sind oscillated between Intervention and Non-Intervention.

(d) **Departures from the Policy of Non-Intervention.** Bentinck departed from Non-Intervention policy in two cases:—(i) **Mysore.** After the fourth Mysore War, the Mysore state was restored to the Raja who had been turned out by Haider Ali. In 1832, the people of Mysore revolted against the oppression and misgovernment of their ruler, Krishna Raja and the minister Linga Raja. In view of the gravity of the situation, Bentinck intervened. The country was taken over and continued to be under the British administration till 1881, when Lord Ripon restored it to the true descendants of Krishna Raja. (ii) **Coorg.** Vira Rajendra, the Raja of Coorg, became insane. He put to death every male member of the royal family, cruelly oppressed his subjects and refused to have any relations with the British representative. The Governor-General by a proclamation declared him beyond British protection. This produced no effect. War was declared against the Raja. Coorg



was easily captured and the Raja surrendered. He was deposed and sent as a prisoner to Benares and the country with the consent of the people became British territory.

**His policy towards the independent rulers.** *Its Aims*—(i) To convert the Indus into the ditch of British India. (ii) To strengthen the alliance with Ranjit Singh. (iii) If possible, to create a friendly Afghanistan as a buffer state between India and any possible invasion from the North-West. **Relations with Ranjit Singh.** (a) In 1831, Alexander Burnes was sent to Lahore to renew the friendly relations. (b) In 1831, the Governor-General had a personal interview with Ranjit Singh at Rupar. (c) In 1832, a Commercial Treaty was drawn between the English and the Maharaja. (2) Relations with the Amirs of Sind—Discussed under Lord Ellenborough.

**Q. 173. Give an account of the Reforms of William Bentinck.**

(B.A., P.U., 1934 : Sept. 1938)

### REFORMS OF BENTINCK

1953 AP

**Constitutional Reforms.** *The Charter Act of 1833*, formed as it was 'in the most liberal spirit', made some changes both in the system of Indian administration as well as in the constitution of the East India Company. It is an important land-mark in the constitutional history of India. (1) The Company's monopoly of China trade was abolished and as compensation the Company was to be paid 90 millions sterling from the revenues of India. The Company now ceased to exist as a commercial body, as the monopoly of Indian trade had already been abolished in 1813. (2) The Company was to continue as a political power for 20 years more. (3) The title of Governor-General of India was substituted for that of Governor-General of Bengal. (4) The Governor-General in Council was empowered to make laws for the whole population of British India. These laws should not run counter to those of the Parliament. These laws will henceforth be called Acts and not regulations. (5) The Supreme Council was to consist in future of four instead of three members, besides the Governor-General. (6) A fourth Presidency was established at Agra for the administration of N.W.P. (7) The Licence system was brought to a close and the British subjects were given rights to acquire land, to trade and to travel. (8) No native of India, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour. This was the introduction of the policy of Indianisation by Bentinck. (9) The power of enacting laws was taken from the Governors of Provinces and for every bit of expenditure they were required to get the sanction of the supreme Government. (10) It was decided that the Governor-General in Council should take action in order to mitigate slavery in the country.

**Critical Note.** *Its contrast with the Indian Councils Act of 1891.* Points of difference are, (i) Decentralization in place of centralization in administration; (ii) Provincial legislatures were set up in Madras and Bombay; (iii) Finance member was added to the Viceroy's Executive Council etc.

**Social Reforms.** (1) The abolition of Sati. The inhuman practice of Sati was abolished and its abetment declared a crime. (2) The Suppression of Thuggee. The Thugs were a secret fraternity of assassins and robbers, whose hereditary occupation was the strangling of travellers. They worshipped the goddess Durga, and had their own temples and priests, their own initiatory observances and sacrificial rites. They



admitted none into their brotherhood, unless he had passed through a regular system of apprenticeship. Bentinck organized a special department for its suppression, and called upon native chiefs and princes to co-operate with him on the work of extermination. The result was that within six years over two thousand thugs were arrested, of whom about 1500 were put to death or transported for life and the rest confined to a reformatory at Jubbulpore. The name of Colonel Sleeman is generally associated with this work of extirpation. (3) Female Infanticide was forbidden. (4) The rule of the Hindu Law by which a convert to any other religion fortified his claim to paternal property was abrogated by a new Regulation.

**Judicial and Administrative Reforms.** (1) Persian as a court language was abolished, and the people were granted the boon of the use of their own vernaculars in all the courts. (2) A Supreme Sadar Court or Chief Court was established at Agra, and thus the natives of Delhi were no longer constrained to travel a thousand miles to Calcutta to file an appeal. (3) A Board of Revenue was also established at Allahabad for the North Western Provinces. (4) The six Provincial Courts of Circuit and Appeal, as well as the Provincial Board of Revenue as set up by Lord Cornwallis were swept away. (5) The criminal powers of a Sessions Judge were transferred to a Civil Judge now known as the District Judge. (6) The natives were employed in courts. The Primary Jurisdiction of all suits was entrusted to qualified Indians. (7) He created three grades of native judges, the highest getting Rs. 500, and the natives in the higher grades were named as Deputy Collectors.

**Financial and Economic Reforms.** (1) He reduced the Bhatta to one-half of its fixed amount and diminished the allowances of the civil servants. (2) He curtailed the establishment in the Revenue Department, the Provincial Courts, and the costly settlements in the straits of Malacca. (3) He abolished the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit, which had become proverbial for their dilatoriness. (4) He employed natives in the administration of the country, who were prepared to work on small pay and thus a great economy was made in the expenses of administration. (5) He increased the revenue by regulating the Opium Traffic. (6) He ordered a new settlement in North Western Provinces, which added to the prosperity of the people, and thus affected an increase in the revenue of the state. (7) Reductions were made in the staff appointed for the straits of Malacca. These economies resulted in the increase of revenue. Before leaving India, Bentinck had the satisfaction of converting what had been a deficit of one million into a surplus of two millions.

**Educational Reforms.** The Charter Act of 1813 allowed the Indian Government to spend a lakh of rupees annually upon the promotion of education among the inhabitants of India, but no satisfactory progress had been made in this direction owing to a strong controversy between the advocates of English and the advocates of Oriental Languages respectively. After a heated controversy known as the Macaulay-Wilson Controversy it was decided that this amount should be spent in encouraging and promoting English literature and science among the Indians. As a result of this decision, western education began to be imparted



in India by the opening of many schools in Bengal and Madras. A Medical College on the western lines was established in Calcutta and a college was founded at Agra.

**Public Works Reforms.** The irrigation scheme started in the days of Lord Minto was taken up and by slow degrees, canals were dug for the distribution of water in the North-West Provinces. Roads were also improved. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi, ultimately carried on to Lahore and Peshawar, was built, and that from Bombay to Agra was commenced.

**His achievements or the spirit of British freedom introduced with the oriental despotism.** "William Bentinck's seven years' rule was an era of peace, retrenchment and reform. He secured tranquility in the East India Company's dominions, and lived at peace with the Indian powers. He reduced the public debt, decreased the annual expenditure and showed a surplus. He commenced that revised settlement of land revenue in Northern India which gave relief to landlords and cultivators. He admitted the educated people of India to the higher appointments in the revenue and judicial departments. He abolished the practice of Sati, and suppressed the crime of Thuggee. He promoted English education in India, and endeavoured to carry out the maxim that the administration of India was primarily for the interest of the people." (R. C. Dutt.)

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Lord William Bentinck never forgot that the end of Government is the welfare of the governed. (1934 Sept.)

[Hints. His reforms to be given. They were based on the golden maxim that the first and foremost object of the British rule in India is the betterment and welfare of the people placed under their charge.]

2. "Lord William Bentinck infused into oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom." Discuss this verdict with reference to his principal measures. (P. U. 1933 and 1937 Sept.)

[Hints. Before Bentinck, the British administration in India was the adoption of Mughal system. They were despots like them. Their only object was to care for the interests of the rulers and to subordinate those of the ruled. The moral, educational or social welfare of the people was not looked after. People had no share in the administration. In short, the E. I. Company cared more for its dividends than for the good of the people. Bentinck was to a great extent the first man to attend to these questions, although he did not give the people any share in determining the policy of the Government. The students are further advised to mention his reforms.]

3. Estimate the services rendered to the Indian people by Bentinck and Macaulay. (P. U. 1938)

4. "Bentinck gave the finishing touch to the administrative machinery that had been started by Warren Hastings and improved upon by Cornwallis." Establish the truth of this statement by a brief narration of the charges and reforms made by each.

5. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." Explain it in connection with the reign of Lord William Bentinck.

6. What were the new ideas that began to express themselves in legislative and administrative actions during the Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck? How much did the development of the new ideas owe to Munro, Elphinstone and Metcalfe respectively?

[Hints. Munro—Revenue Reforms in the Madras Presidency. Elphinstone—



Revenue Reforms in the Bombay Presidency. Metcalfe — The liberty of the Press. Indian Element in judiciary — Munro and Metcalfe. Bentinck — His reforms.]

7. Why is the Charter Act of 1833 so important ?

8. What circumstances were responsible for the appointment of a reforming and peaceful Governor-General in 1828 ? Give an account of the financial and social reforms introduced by Lord William Bentinck. (P. U. 1917)

[Hints. The administration of Lord Amherst was a failure due to the costly Burmese War. He also failed to give peace to the country after the Imperialistic Hastings. The claims of Bentinck had been ignored. In spite of his being a failure as the Governor of Madras, Bentinck had a good deal of reforming zeal.]

9. Discuss the educational, social, economic and administrative reforms of William Bentinck and state how far were they successful.

10. Give an account of the influence of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in shaping the history of his age. (P. U. 1913)

[Hints. The abolition of Sati ; the promotion of the spread of English education in India ; his petition against the press regulations of Adams ; the worship of one God, and the father of comparative religion. He got a Charter Act of 1833 passed. In short his influence was felt in every department of life, social, religious, educational and political.]

11. Explain :—"Lord William Bentinck's period of Governor-Generalship may be regarded as one of consolidation rather than of expansion."

[Hints. The perusal of the events of his reign amply illustrate the truth of the remark. Except in one or two cases and that out of sheer necessity, he followed the policy of non-intervention. His reign was surely to be one of consolidation as he represented the liberal feelings of his country which had become predominant due to the passing of the First Reform Bill of 1832. It is alleged that the attitude of the liberals re. India was : (1) That Britain and not E. I. C. was responsible for the administration of the country. (2) The best men in the country felt that "British greatness must be founded on Indian happiness." (3) Macaulay's view was, "we have to engraft on despotism those blessings which are the natural fruits of liberty." (4) As a result of the Methodist Movement, there came into existence two new movements—Evangelical and Humanitarian. The advocates of these movements were supporting the cause of the weak against the strong.]

12. Examine the following statements :—"On a review of the political policy of Lord William Bentinck it is found to have one uniform characteristic, non-interference."

Handwritten notes in Urdu and Persian script are present at the bottom of the page, along with the word "Persian" written in English. The notes appear to be a student's response or additional information related to the questions above.



## CHAPTER XXVI

### SIR CHARLES METCALFE GOVERNOR GENERAL (1835-36) AND LORD AUCKLAND (1837-42)

**Metcalf, Officiating Governor-General (1835-36).** The Freedom of the Press granted Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed officiating Governor-General in 1835 on the retirement of Bentinck. He freed the Press in India from all restrictions, and this made him unpopular with the authorities at home. In 1801, a censorship was established by Lord Wellesley. It was abolished by Lord Hastings seventeen years later, but he imposed certain restrictions on the Press prohibiting all criticism of the executive. Every printer had to obtain a licence before he could publish a newspaper.

**Auckland appointed.** After the retirement of Lord William Bentinck, Henry St. George Tucker, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, wanted to appoint either Elphinstone or Metcalfe to this post; but the former declined to accept the post owing to feeble health, while the appointment of the latter was not approved of by the Board of Control, whose wish was that the prize appointment should be given to a Tory party man. In 1834 the Tory party was in power and it appointed Lord Heytesbury as Governor-General, who sailed out for India. Meanwhile the Tory Government fell and the Liberals came into power. They appointed Lord Auckland to take the reins of administration from the officiating incumbent Charles Metcalfe. This whole transaction clearly indicates that both the parties seemed equally anxious to place party interests before the interests of Indian administration.

**Q. 174. Give an account of the First Afghan War.**

(P.U., B.A., Sept. 1936, 1938).

#### FIRST AFGHAN WAR

Elphinstone

**Previous Relations.** Lord Minto had sent Elphinstone on a political mission to Kabul in order to counteract the threatened invasion from Napoleon. He returned in 1809. Shortly after his return, there broke out a civil war in Afghanistan. Shah Shuja, a descendant of Abdali, and a member of a great family of Sudozyes, was turned out by his Amirs and he came to the Punjab. The kingdom was divided into small states except Herat which remained in the hands of the Sudozyes. Amir Dost Mohammad, of the Barakzye family, took possession of Kabul, Ghazni, Multan and Kashmir, and his brothers took possession of Kandhar after a good deal of fighting in 1826. With the help of Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja attempted to capture Kabul, but suffered a defeat in 1833. Lord Palmerston had three fears. (i) Russia's control was increasing over Constantinople. (ii) Increase of her influence at the Court of Persia, the relations of which were not good with the Company since 1826 as the Company did not help Persia against Russia according to the treaty of Teheran (1809). (iii) The advance of Russia towards Central Asia.

**Causes of the War. Ostensible:—**(1) Invasion of Herat by Persia. (2) Dost Mohammad, the ruler of Afghanistan, gave his support to the king of Persia. (3) Dost Mohammad endeavoured to recover Peshawar from Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. (4) He received a Russian mission

Herat by Persia



at Kabul and gave it preferential treatment as compared with the British ambassador. (5) The real cause of the war was to dethrone a strong, able and unfriendly ruler like Dost Mohammad and to place on the throne of Afghanistan a creation of the British power.

**Events of the War.** John Keane advanced through the Bolan Pass and took possession of Kandhar under the Barakzyes and the ex-king Shah Shuja was installed as king. He then marched towards Kabul, having captured Ghazi on the way. The army via Khyber Pass under Prince Timur, son of Shah Shuja and Colonel Wade captured Ali Masjid and Jalalabad, and advanced towards Kabul. Before they joined, Keane made a triumphant entry into Kabul. Shah Shuja was not popular, and to keep him in power 10,000 troops were stationed at different strategic points in Afghanistan. Dost Mohammad was defeated at Parwin, taken prisoner and sent to Calcutta.

**Causes of Revolt against the English.** In 1841, Burns and Macnaughten were murdered; and there was a general rising in Afghanistan owing to the following causes: (i) The unpopularity of Shuja. (ii) The withdrawal of subsidies which had made the Afghans loyal. (iii) The wild hill tribes desired to return to the life of riot and rapine. (iv) The misconduct of some of the Englishmen at Kabul. (v) The Afghans resented the interference of foreigners in their affairs. (vi) Mullas did not acknowledge Shuja as the Amir, and the Amir himself smarted under the control of the British envoy.

**The Treaty.** The rising was at first local, but it became national under Akbar Khan, the eldest son of Dost Mohammad. General Elphinstone, the commander of the British forces at Kabul, made a retreat by making a treaty with Akbar Khan. Hostages were given, money and guns were supplied and 6½ lakhs more was promised.

**Elphinstone's Retreat.** The retreat begun under promise of assistance from Akbar Khan, who proved quite unwilling or unable to protect them from the attacks of the Ghilzais and other tribesmen who swarmed round the line of route. The party struggled on in misery and privation through snow-storms and a hail of bullets. The retreat became a rout, the rout a massacre. On the way, all the 16,000 men perished at the hands of Afghans except Dr. Brydon, who escaped on a pony and reached Jallalabad and gave the information. Kandhar was now under Nott, and Jallalabad under Sir Robert Sale. Akbar Khan was supreme in Afghanistan proper.

**Causes of British failure in Afghanistan.** (1) The nature of the country rendered the task of maintaining Shah Shuja, in the teeth of national opposition, hopeless. (2) It was foolish for the English to have relied on the loyalty of the Afghans, who were by nature restless, fanatical, lawless and patriotically suspicious of foreigners. (3) The position of encampment at Kabul was worst. (4) The economy and retrenchment in military expenditure under the instructions of the Court of Directors hastened the catastrophe. (5) The irresolution and cowardice of General Elphinstone allowed the local rising of the Afghans to develop into a national rising.

**Errors committed by Auckland (P. U. 1939).** Auckland's Afghan policy was full of errors and has been universally condemned. (1) The



fear from Russia was absolutely unfounded. The very idea that Russia would invade India was impossible in view of the vast tracts of land intervening such as the Punjab, Bahawalpore, Sind and Rajputana. (2) The Shah of Persia had raised the siege of Herat, which was put forth as one of the causes of the outbreak of the Afghan War. Even the Russian envoy at Kabul had been recalled by the Russian Government under pressure from London. Amir Dost Mohammad was prepared to come to terms with the British. The matter ought not to have been pursued further. (3) Roberts condemns the Afghan invasion both on moral and political grounds. Morally the Amir of Afghanistan had a right as an independent ruler to have relations with Persia and Russia. The English should have no cause for grievance. Politically it was unsound because Amir Dost Mohammad had succeeded in winning the allegiance of the Afghans in preference to Shah Shuja by his ability. Historians un-animously condemn 'the crime of the Afghan War.' Moreover some of the previous Governors-General, who are considered as high authorities on Indian affairs, were opposed to it. Lord Wellesley calls it 'an act of infatuation', his brother, the Duke of Wellington, declared that 'the consequence of once crossing the Indus to settle a government in Afghanistan would be a perennial march into the country.' Elphinstone maintained that it was hopeless to maintain Shah Shuja in a poor, cold, strong and remote country among a turbulent people like the Afghans. Lord William Bentinck's view was that the Afghan war was no less than a folly. (4) The Tripartite treaty concluded between the English, Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja was not the right move on the part of Auckland. In this matter he did not consult his council and went against the advice of the commander-in-chief. (5) Despite the treaties with the Amirs of Sind, Auckland committed a breach of trust in making Sind as the base of operations against Kabul. Let us conclude it in the words of Vincent Smith: "Lord Auckland had not the sense to see the truth, and was led away by ill-chosen and unwise advisers to break treaties only six years old; to bully the weak; to pursue a fantastic policy; to persist in that policy when the reasons for it, such as they were, had ceased to exist; to violate the principle of strategy: to throw thousands of lives by entrusting them to an incapable commander; and finally, at least to acquiesce silently in the garbling of the documents submitted for the information of Parliament."

**Results of the War.** (1) The war proved extremely disastrous, 20,000 lives were sacrificed and 15 million sterling were spent. (2) Dost Mohammad was set free and allowed to go back to Afghanistan as its ruler. (3) It paved the way for the conquest of Sind. (4) It led to the establishment of goodwill between both the nations and in future each began to have respect for the other. (5) The gates of Somnath were recovered.

**His Reforms.** (a) "The Black Act":—Before the days of Lord Auckland, the custom was that in civil suits the English in India had the privilege to take their appeals to the Supreme Court of the Crown and could dispense with the Sadar Adalat known as the High Court of the Company, if they so desired. Lord Macaulay, the newly appointed Law Member, was of opinion that this distinction was unjust and therefore should be abolished. A mere handful of the English settlers should have no distinction from the other millions of Indians who used to carry their appeals to the court of the Company. In spite of the clamour and abuse of the English at Calcutta, an act was passed which placed Englishmen in civil suits on a



level with Indians before the law. It is nicknamed as "the Black Act" by the English. (b) **Education Reforms**:—With a view to popularize the English language amongst the Indians, Lord Auckland founded a certain number of scholarships for the principal Government schools in India. He also issued a manifesto that the medium of instruction in all the primary schools should be the vernacular languages of the country in which those schools are situated. Like his predecessor, he opened a medical college in Bombay and Madras. (c) **Irrigation Reforms**:—There broke out a terrible famine in the Doab and a very large number of people died. Private charity did save some lives here and there. Even then it is alleged that about 8,00,000 persons died of hunger. Lord Auckland, with a view to prevent the recurrence of such a terrible calamity sanctioned a large scheme of irrigation to irrigate this famine-stricken part of the Doab. A Committee was also appointed for this purpose, but the scheme had to be postponed due to the outbreak of the First Afghan War, which drained the Indian treasury. (d) **Religious Reforms**:—Prior to Lord Auckland, the law was that the Company's troops had to be present on the occasion of Hindu festivals such as Durga Puja. Guns were fired and the District officers were also required to be present. In 1840, Lord Auckland abolished this practice and the management of temples was entrusted to the priests. The pilgrim tax was also abolished.

**His attitude towards the native states.—Policy of Intervention** (a) **Indore**. Hari Rao Holkar was the ruler of Indore state, but the state of affairs under him was going from bad to worse. Lord Auckland threatened him with deposition in case he did not mend his ways. This warning proved very effective. He improved the state within a very short time with the help of his minister. Corrupt officers were removed, necessary retrenchment was made, a better revenue system was introduced and all arrears in pay were soon cleared. (b) **Satara**. The Raja of Satara was only a figure-head and this he resented very much. He was also in correspondence with the Portuguese at Goa to enlist their sympathies for a combined attack on the British power. He also corresponded with Appa Sahib, the banished ex-Raja of Berar. These arrangements came to the notice of the government. The Governor of Bombay asked him to confess his fault and offer an apology which he refused to do. He was consequently deposed and sent as a prisoner to Benares. His brother Shahji was enthroned instead. (c) **Oudh**. The subject is discussed under Lord Dalhousie.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. What is your estimate of the policy of Lord Auckland with regard to Afghanistan? Narrate briefly the chief events of the campaign initiated by him and how far it was justified. (P.U. 1927)

2. How far do you accept the view that Lord Auckland's Afghan Policy met with practically universal condemnation and was politically inexpedient and morally untenable? (P.U. 1930)

3. Briefly sketch the course of the First Afghan War, and point out the principal errors of Lord Auckland's Afghan policy. (P.U. 1939)

4. Describe the circumstances, that led to the First Afghan War. How far should we blame Lord Auckland for the disaster in which the military enterprises ended? (P.U. 1936, Sept.)

5. Show how the fear of a Russian invasion affected the policy of the British Indian Government during the first half of the 19th century. (P.U. 1935, Sept.)

Minto's mission to different places...  
Counteract the influence of

French missions sent by Napoleon - 1809  
Maquis of Hastings: - 1820 Commercial  
bribe - merchants were allowed to trade in  
Sindh -



Ellenborough

## CHAPTER XXVII

### LORD ELLENBOROUGH (1842-44)

**His Appointment.** Lord Ellenborough, an able man with considerable reputation for vigour and decision of character, had qualified himself for his Indian administration by his work as President of the Indian Board of Control. He had helped in abolishing the transit duties which had impeded the internal trade of India.

**Situation in Afghanistan relieved under Lord Ellenborough.** Lord Ellenborough's first aim was to save the troops in Afghanistan, and to inflict some signal and decisive blow on the enemy, but the defeat of General England at Hikalzai and Palmer's surrender of Ghazni made him change his mind. He decided on immediate evacuation. Nott was ordered to evacuate Kandhar, and Pollock to retire to Peshawar. The order took the army by surprise for by this time the position in Afghanistan had greatly improved. Pollock had reached Jallalabad to find that the besieging army had been defeated and Nott had held his own at Kandhar. Neither Pollock nor Nott obeyed the order for retirement. Ellenborough saw that he had made a mistake. While maintaining verbal consistency, he reversed his order and threw the responsibility of making the decision on the generals. Pollock defeated the Afghans at Jagdalak and planted the British flag once more on the Bala Hissar. The next day he was joined by Nott, who had brought with him the gates of the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni, which he had carried off from the temple of Somnath. The European prisoners were rescued, the great bazar of Kabul was blown up and the city sacked. The Governor-General met the returning troops at Ferozepur amidst great rejoicings. The gates, however, proved to be of much later date than the eleventh century. Dost Mohammad was released, and he re-established his power. Before leaving for Kabul, when asked, he left the following impression regarding the strength of the British in India, "I have been struck with the magnitude of your resources and your power, your armies, your ships, your arsenals; but what I cannot understand is why the rulers of so vast and flourishing an empire should have gone across the Indus to deprive one of my poor and barren country." Subsequent events proved how useless was the boast of the Governor-General about this victory and how futile was the sacrifice of 20,000 lives and the waste of fifteen million sterling.

*Q. 175.* Give an account of the history of Sind.

*Ans.* **The Political Mission and the Commercial Treaties.** In the days of Lord Minto with a view to counteract the influence of the French missions sent by Napoleon, missions were sent by the English to different countries; amongst these one was sent to Sind (1809). It resulted in a treaty of 'eternal friendship' by which the Amirs of Sind agreed to exclude the French from their territories. In 1820, a commercial treaty was made by Marquis of Hastings by which British merchants were allowed to trade in Sind.



**Causes of Hostility.** (1) Lord Ellenborough wanted to conquer Sind with a view to restore the British prestige which had suffered a good deal on account of the reverses in the First Afghan War. (2) The British were anxious for the annexation of Sind because of its commercial and military utility as demonstrated by Alexander Burnes. (3) Sir Charles Napier advocated its annexation on the grounds of mal-administration. (4) The annexation of Sind was undertaken as Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a rival power was anxious to take possession of it. (5) By sending the British Armies through their territories the Amirs of Sind had been forced by Lord Auckland to pay a subsidy of 3 lakhs for the maintenance of an army in their country. (6) The Amirs of Sind had very much resented their country being used for military operations.

**Events Leading to the War.** The disorder in Afghanistan in 1841 created some unrest in Sind and Major Outram, the then British Resident in Sind, reported unfavourably of two or three of the Amirs. Lord Ellenborough deputed Charles Napier ostensibly to investigate the charges of disloyalty brought against the Amirs by Outram, but really to demand from the Amirs a permanent cession of the stations which the British troops had occupied temporarily. He reached Sind in 1842 and made investigation in a hasty and high-handed manner, and without an explanation from the Amirs, proceeded to announce that the charges were substantiated, and that the treaty of 1839 had been violated. He forced a new humiliating treaty upon the Amirs, by which in place of 3 lakhs a year for the forces, territory of a like value was demanded. English steamers were to be supplied with wood from the Amirs' plantations. The Amirs were to be deprived of the right of coining money. Before the Amirs could give a reply to these high-handed demands, Napier seized a portion of their territory even greater than the three lakhs of the subsidiary treaty warranted.

**Ali Murad's Perfidy.** Ali Murad, a cousin of one of the Amirs, did not desire Mir Rustam, his elder half-brother, to be the master of the country. By nefarious methods he created a gulf between Napier and Rustam. Napier seized the fort of *Imanqarh* without any declaration of war. The Amirs held a conference at Hyderabad to discuss the new treaty. They denied the charges brought against them, and Mir Rustam protested indignantly against the treachery of Ali Murad. In spite of all these protests Napier marched on Hyderabad. The Amirs had no alternative but to sign a treaty. The state of affairs provoked the Baloch followers of the Amirs. They attacked the residency at Hyderabad and Major Outram was obliged to take refuge in a steamer on the Indus. Napier took it as a declaration of war.

**Events of the War.** Napier won a brilliant victory over the Amirs at *Miani*. He then defeated them at *Daba* and consequently the province was annexed, and the Amirs were exiled. Napier felt no scruple in helping himself to the sum of £70,000 as his share of the plunder obtained at Hyderabad.

**Proceedings Unjustifiable.** No one has ever defended British policy in regard to Sind on moral grounds. Sir James Outram remonstrated against the whole business as unjustifiable. Sir Charles Napier believed that the Government of the Amirs was weak and inefficient and that British administration would benefit the country, and legal and moral considerations did not weigh with him. Napier calls the



conquest of Sind as 'a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality.' Marshman writes :—'The rascality is more apparent than the advantage, except to the captors, to whom it brought a rich draught of prize-money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of the General-in-Chief.' Major Outram was against the invasion of Sind and did not accept a coin from the loot. Let us conclude this paragraph with the following remarks, from Ramsay Muir, 'Sind is the only British acquisition in India of which it may fairly be said that it was not necessitated by circumstances, and that it was therefore an act of aggression' (P.U. 1931)

**The History of Gwalior.** Mahadaji Sindhia died in 1744 and his grand-nephew, Daulat Rao, succeeded him. He also died in 1827 leaving no son to succeed him. His widow Baiza-Bai took possession of the state. She adopted Junko Jee, a near relative of her deceased husband. Having attained majority, he demanded share in the administration but the widow opposed. The Governor-General refused to interfere when requested. Matters came to a crisis in 1833. The British Resident interfered. The widow was forced to retire and Junko Jee was recognized as Raja. But the state of Gwalior remained as before, and the Governor-General did not interfere.

**The Battles of Maharajpore and Paniar.** Junkoji died in 1840 leaving behind him only a widow who was permitted to adopt a boy of 8. Mamma Sahib, an uncle of the deceased, was appointed by the Governor-General as Regent. The Rani dismissed Mamma Sahib and appointed one Dada Khurji as her minister. This was taken as an insult. The Governor-General withdrew the Resident. Gwalior was in miserable plight. The Rani refused to give up Dada when asked for. The Governor-General sent an army and the state forces were defeated at *Maharajpore and Paniar*. Thus Gwalior state submitted.

**Results** The following changes were effected in the administration. (i) The Government was entrusted to a Council of Regency which were to act under the advice of the British Resident. (ii) The army was reduced from 40,000 to 9,000. (iii) The number of guns was reduced from 200 to 32. (iv) A subsidiary force was created out of sepoys who were trained and commanded by British officers.

**Lord Ellenborough's Work.** Lord Ellenborough's attention was so completely absorbed in war and politics as to leave him little leisure or inclination for the moral, intellectual or material improvement of the country, but there are some measures of his which deserve notice. It was during his administration that the police of the lower provinces was rendered more efficient by the establishment of the office of Deputy Magistrate, to which men of every class, creed and caste were eligible; and also by an improvement of the pay of the daroghas, who held the comfort of the great body of people in their hands. It was also under his government that state lotteries, which had become a prolific source of demoralization were abolished. To him also belongs the merit of having, under advice of Mr. Wilberforce Bird, passed an act for the total and immediate extinction of slavery. He was an impartial gentleman and the welfare of the people was always in his heart.

**Why Ellenborough was recalled.** He had offended the Directors by the tone of his correspondence. He showed contempt for the Civil Service. His aggressive ways, his love of display and high-sounding proclamations had displeased and disgusted the Directors.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Napier described the seizure of Sind as "a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality." Comment on this description.
2. Give your estimate of the policy of Lord Ellenborough with regard to Gwalior and Sind. How far is it correct to say that he deliberately provoked a war with the Amirs of Sind in order that he might annex that province?
3. Criticize Lord Ellenborough's policy towards the Amirs of Sind (P.U. 1923)
4. Comment on the following statement :—"Sind is the only British acquisition in India of which it may fairly be said that it was not necessitated by circumstances, and it was therefore, an act of aggression."



## CHAPTER XXVIII

SIR HENRY HARDINGE (1844-48)

**His Appointment.** Henry Hardinge was a brave soldier, and like many true soldiers, was well-versed both in the arts of war and peace. He had taken a distinguished part in the Peninsular War against Napoleon's forces, and had stood by Sir John Moore when he received his fatal wound in the field of Corunna. He was also present in the Waterloo campaign. After the Napoleonic wars, Hardinge entered Parliament and remained there for 20 years. He served twice as Secretary of War under the Tory Ministers.

**Q. 176.** Give an account of the causes, events and results of the Sikh War or the First Punjab War.

### THE FIRST SIKH WAR OR THE FIRST PUNJAB WAR

**Its Causes.** (1) Since the death of Ranjit Singh, anarchy had spread in the Punjab. All power was in the hands of the Sikh army, also called the Khalsa, the soldiery setting up or deposing those members of the royal house, who bade highest for its favour. There were several assassinations, and finally in 1845, the army acknowledged the claims of Prince Dalip Singh, whose mother Rani Jindan, acted as regent assisted by her favourite minister, Lal Singh. (2) The army was without a general and Rani Jindan dreaded its power. She, therefore, found her only hope of security in urging it to try its strength against the English, thereby either to win the sovereignty of Hindustan or be shattered in the conflict and thus would become amenable to discipline. (3) The increase of the Company forces to 40,000 along the river Sutlej to meet any impending invasion from the Sikhs added to the fear of Rani Jindan. (4) There was a frontier dispute between the British and the Sikhs which had embittered the mutual relations of both the governments. Lord Hardinge much against his will was forced to declare war purely in self-defence.

**Events.** On December, 13, 1845, the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej. On receiving the news of the Sikh advance, the Governor-General declared all Sikh possessions east of the Sutlej forfeited and hurried his forces from Ambala and Ludhiana to save Ferozepore. The first battle was fought at Mudki, the British army was under Sir Hugh Gough. The Sikhs were defeated. The victorious army then marched on Ferozeshah, where 35000 Sikhs under Lal Singh were waiting for them. The British army was about to be defeated, when dissensions in the Sikh army turned the tables, and the English won. Another army under Teja Singh appeared but did not engage in the fight and retired. After this defeat the Sikhs retreated across the Sutlej but finding that the British did not pursue them, they recrossed the river, and made a dash on Ludhiana. Sir Harry Smith, after suffering a check at Buddewal, defeated them at Aliwal on April 28, 1846. The final battle was fought at Sobraon at which the Sikhs were utterly routed. The army of the Khalsa was vanquished, and Lord Hardinge entered the capital, Lahore.



The Sikhs by their unprovoked violation of British territory looked for complete loss of their independence. But Hardinge, like Lord Clive who did not annex Oudh after the battle of Baxar, did not annex the Punjab for two reasons : Firstly, out of respect for the memory of Ranjit Singh, a faithful ally of Great Britain, and secondly, because he doubted his strength to occupy the whole country.

**The Treaty of Lahore (1846).** By the Treaty of Lahore (1846) all Sikh territories to the left of the Sutlej and the Jullundur Doab were given up, an indemnity of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees was to be paid for which Kashmir was handed over to Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, for one million sterling and  $\frac{1}{2}$  crore was got from the treasury. The Sikh army was to be reduced to 22,000 infantry, and 12,000 cavalry. The Sikhs were also deprived of all those guns that were used against the English. It was agreed that a British force should occupy Lahore to help Maharaja Dalip Singh till the close of the year during the reconstruction of the government. Colonel Henry Lawrence was left as Resident with Lal Singh as first minister and Rani Jindan as the Regent.

**A Supplementary Treaty (1848).** Henry Lawrence by his sympathy and personality won wonderful influence over the Sikh Sardars, but he was thwarted by the court party headed by the queen mother. Lal Singh was dismissed, and at the request of Sikh Sardars themselves, a new supplementary treaty was signed in December 1846, setting up a Council of Regency and maintaining British garrisons in the country for eight years till the Maharaja became of age, Henry Lawrence was President of the Council and he was in fact the ruler of the Punjab. He abolished Suttee, female infanticide, and removed all other abuses of Sikh rule. The burden of land revenue was lightened. The queen mother, on account of her intrigues, was removed from Lahore. Lawrence returned to England on leave and Hardinge went with him, and Lord Dalhousie became Governor-General in January (1848).

**Q. 177. Give an account of Lord Harding's Domestic Policy.**

#### THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF LORD HARDINGE

(1) **Educational Reforms** During his regime, Hardinge gave an impetus to the study of the English language by issuing an order that appointments in the public services would be given to the people who had received English Education. (2) **Financial Reforms.** (i) He abolished several octroi duties. (ii) The duty on salt was reduced. (iii) The cost of the army establishment was curtailed. (iv) Free-trade was promoted in the country. (3) **Public Works Reforms.** The construction of canals for irrigation especially the Ganges Canal and the making of railways in India were given a great impetus under him. (4) **Miscellaneous Reforms.** (i) Much improvement was effected in the sanitation of Calcutta. (ii) The Government offices should remain closed on Sundays. (iii) Tea began to be cultivated on an extensive scale throughout Assam. (iv) The native states were asked to abolish the practice of Sati from their territories. He also suppressed the practice of human sacrifices prevalent among the Khonds in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. (v) He made arrangements for the preservation of the Ancient monuments in India.

**His Achievements.** Lord Hardinge was great both as a warrior and as a human reformer. As a warrior his achievement was that he defeated the Sikhs, the bravest nation of the Indian people. As a reformer, he effected many improvements in the administration of the



country. He was an economist as well, as is clear from his financial reforms. His large heartedness is clear from the fact that in spite of his having won the First Punjab War, he did not annex the country partly out of regard for the friendship of the late Maharaja. The retirement of such a good soul was felt by all classes of people in India.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give an account of Lord Hardinge's rule as Governor-General of India.
2. Describe the causes, events and results of the First Sikh War.
3. Give an account of the various reforms introduced by Lord Hardinge.
4. Give an account of his achievements.
5. Write a note on the Treaty of Lahore.
6. Why Lord Hardinge did not annex the Punjab?

- (1) opposition of Rani and Raza Lal's with to laws
- (2) Reforms introduced by B deprived  
Gersh. Sardars from revenue -
- (3) humilation of Sikh Sardars
- (4) Banishment of Rani
- (5) Growing discontent of Sikhs
- (6) Multan - officer of B murdered  
alliance with Dost محمد of Afgh
- (7)

✓ Napier  
1843 - 1846 (2) - 1848 - 1849

independant - existed before -  
dependant - after British -  
if line stops -  
board of directors - not approved by the.



### LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-56)

**Q. 178. Give an account of Dalhousie's Annexations. Can he be called an Imperialist ?**

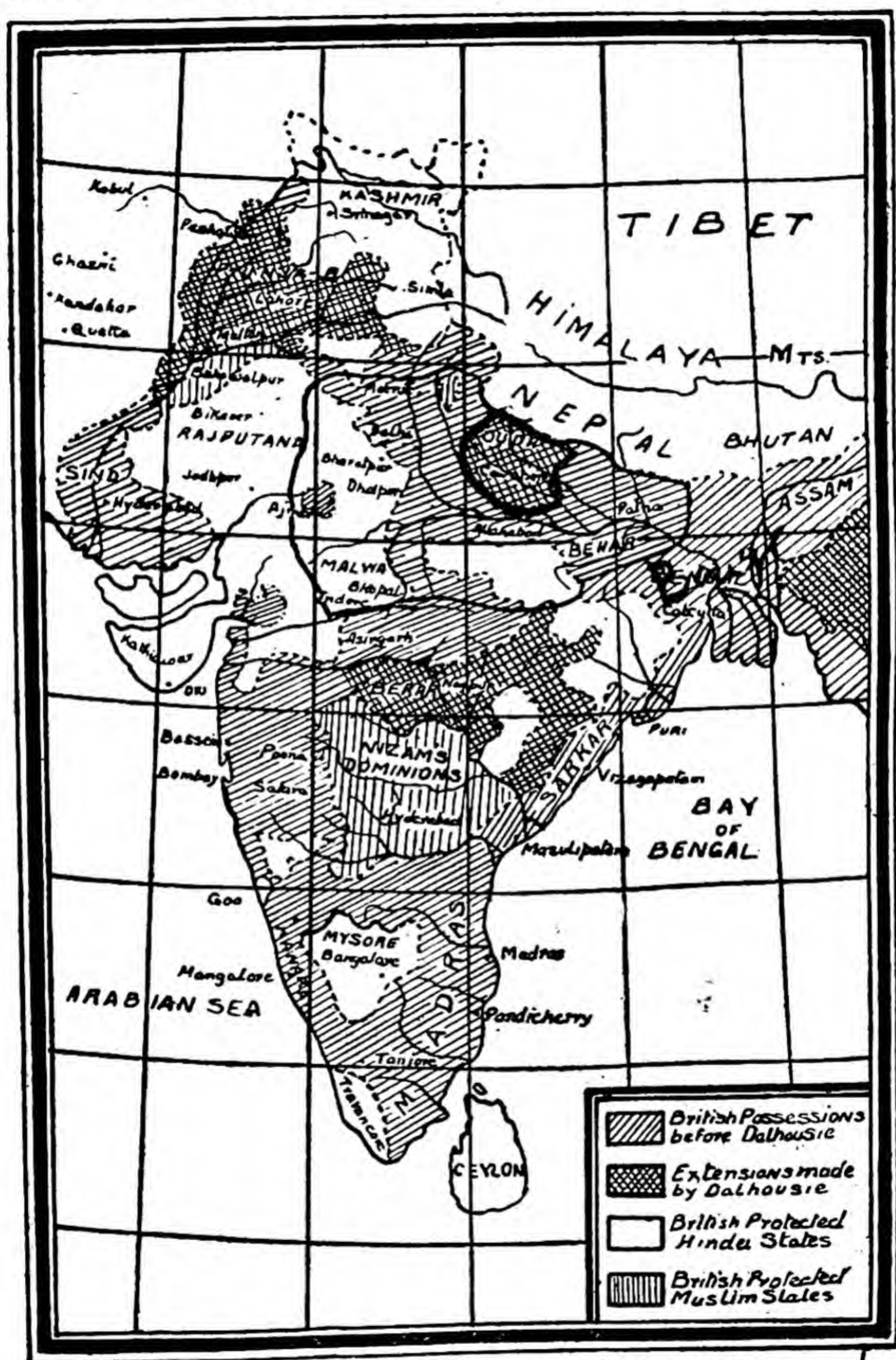
**I. Annexation by Conquest.** (a) As a result of the Second Sikh War, the Punjab was annexed to the British dominion, and its administration was entrusted to Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence. Their wise rule ensured the fidelity of the Sikhs during the great Mutiny. (b) The Second Burmese War was followed by the annexation of Lower Burma on December 20, 1853.

## THE SECOND SIKH WAR (1848-49)

**Events.** Lord Gough crossed the Ravi on November 16, 1848. A drawn battle was fought at Ramnagar. A great battle was fought at Chilianwala with Sher Singh. Lord Gough in a fit of passion ordered a blunder. The result was that while the Sikhs retreated in good order with the loss of twelve guns, a British brigade was repulsed with fearful loss. Sir Charles Napier was at once sent to supersede Gough as Commander-in-Chief, but before his arrival Lord Gough won a brilliant victory at Gujrat on February 22, 1849, and re-established his reputation. It is also called the 'battle of the guns'. Meanwhile Multan was taken by storm and Mul Raj surrendered. On March 12, Sher Singh and his army laid down their arms. General Gilbert defeated at Rawalpindi the Afghans who had come for the help of the Sikhs.



**Results.** Dalhousie had now to settle the future of the country. Three courses were open to him : (1) To revert to the the old position.



India under Lord Dalhousie (1848—1856)

(2) To assume the administration of the province while retaining the shadowy dignity of the Maharaja. (3) To annex the country. Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Ellenborough were opposed to annexation. Dalhousie thought that the establishment of status quo or to retain the shadowy dignity of the Maharaja would be a sign of weakness on the



part of the English. Accordingly on his own responsibility, Dalhousie annexed the whole of the Punjab on grounds of 'expediency and national security' on March 29, 1849. To Dalip Singh the minor Prince, he granted a generous pension of £50,000 a year. Some of the Sikh leaders were deprived of their jagirs and some were imprisoned for having started this trouble. Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan, was imprisoned for life. Forts and cantonments were constructed along the western lines and they were connected with the help of military roads. The Sikh army was disbanded.

**Settlement of the Punjab.** A Board of three Commissioners with joint responsibility but each in charge of his own department was appointed to settle the new province. The Board consisted of Sir Henry Lawrence in charge of military defence, his brother John Lawrence in charge of land revenue system and Charles Mansel in charge of the civil administration, later replaced in 1851 by Robert Montgomery. But the Board was soon abolished and Sir John Lawrence was appointed as the first Chief Commissioner. The Punjab was thus created into a non-regulation province. The country was disarmed. The settlement of the land revenue was carried out. New roads were constructed and old ones were repaired. Railways were planned, canals dug, thuggee and dacoity stamped out and simple civil and criminal laws were drawn up. External security was maintained by constructing a line of fortresses and cantonments along the north-western frontier. These measures resulted in the material prosperity of the province and the contentment of the people, so much so that in the dark days of the Mutiny, the Punjab never faltered in its loyalty. The credit for this mostly belongs to Dalhousie.

**John Lawrence as Chief Commissioner.** Differences having arisen between the brothers Lawrence, Dalhousie removed the elder brother Sir Henry to Rajputana as Agent for the Governor-General, and abolishing the Board made John Lawrence Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

**Q. 180. Compare the Punjab policy of Lord Hardinge with that of Lord Dalhousie. Which of the two was more sound and why?**

(P. U. 1930)

**Hints :—**The Punjab policy of Lord Hardinge has been narrated in the last chapter. Hardinge did not annex the Punjab for two reasons, but Lord Dalhousie annexed it on his responsibility thinking that the status quo would be a sign of weakness. He introduced reforms and settled the country. The time has shown that the policy of Dalhousie was more sound and useful. The willingness with which the Sikhs fought in the Second Burmese War and their loyalty during the Indian Mutiny are ample proofs of the success of the British administration in the Punjab as introduced by Lord Dalhousie.

**Q. 181. Give the causes, events and results of the Second Burmese War.**

#### THE SECOND BURMESE WAR (1852-53)

**Causes.** The Second Burmese War, in 1852, arose out of the determination of Lord Dalhousie to protect the interests of the merchants, who by the treaty of 1826, had settled on the southern coast of



Burma. The English merchants and ship captains complained of ill-treatment to the Indian Government. Lord Dalhousie sent an envoy but every effort to settle the affair by negotiation failed. The Governor-General sent an ultimatum to the Court of Ava demanding compensation and an indemnity of (£ 100,000) under threat of war. No answer having been received he pressed on preparations for war.

**Events.** Every precaution to ensure the comforts of troops was thought out and every detail was studied so as to avoid the mistakes and blunders of the last campaign. Within 8 weeks British ships appeared off Rangoon and captured Marthan. The Pagoda of Rangoon was stormed and Bassein also fell. Lord Dalhousie himself proceeded to Rangoon. As formerly, the Burmese soldiers offered a feeble resistance and Rangoon and Prome were occupied and Pegu was captured.

**Result : Annexation of Lower Burma (1853)** Since the king did not respond to the overtures of treaty, Dalhousie without any notice annexed Lower Burma and Pegu by proclamation. The administration of the new province was placed in the hands of Major Phayre. Trade flourished and the material resources of the country greatly improved under his administration. Independent Burma was now shut off altogether from the sea. In the words of Sir Alfred Lyall, "This conquest made the British possessions continuous along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and placed the English once more in a position of the kind which seems to have been everywhere peculiarly favourable to the expansion of the dominion."

## II. Annexations by the Theory of Lapse and Adoption :—

(A) **Idea underlying the Doctrine of Lapse.** (a) Dalhousie admitted the right of the Hindus to adopt sons, but he held that the adopted sons could succeed only to the private property and not to territory or position. Political functions could only pass to an adopted son with the express sanction of the sovereign power. (b) To admit the rights of adopted sons to sovereignty was in his opinion not only unfair to the sovereign power but unjust to the subjects of the states concerned. The system of ruling through the make-believe sham of royalties had nearly secured petty despots from the consequences of their misrule by removing all possibility of rebellion—the only corrective to despotism.

(B) **Dalhousie's Decision.** Dalhousie, therefore, laid it down as a principle that on the death of a ruling prince without direct descendants, the British Government should refuse to sanction the adoption of an heir and declare the dominions of the deceased as "lapsed to the sovereign power by total failure of heirs natural." The Court of Directors refused to accept Dalhousie's view in the case of (Protected allies) but accepted them as regards (dependent principalities) which had been the creation of the English.

(C) **The Nature of Dalhousie's Innovation.** Lord Dalhousie was a 'doctrinaire innovator'. This annexation policy, as it has been sometimes termed, was neither created nor enlarged by him. As long ago as 1804, the Court of Directors had laid down the doctrine that adoptions should be sanctioned not as a matter of course but as a



matter of exceptional grace. "But his predecessors had acted on the general principle of avoiding annexation if it could be avoided: while Dalhousie acted on the general principle of annexing if he could do so legitimately."

(D) States thus annexed: (1) Satara, 1849. The deceased Raja had been a good ruler but because his predecessor had been an oppressor, Dalhousie said, "We have no right to subject the people of Satara to the chances involved by again setting over them an irresponsible ruler." The creation of the Satara State, he contended, was an act of spontaneous liberality on the part of the British Government, which in 1818 had as much right to retain the Satara territory as any of the other districts which belonged to the Peshwa. The treaty of 1819 conferred the sovereignty on the Raja and on his heirs and successors; but, in his judgment it did not confer the right to create a heir by adoption on failure of natural heirs. Even if it did, the confirmation of the paramount power was essential to a valid adoption. He, therefore, declared the state to have lapsed to the British Government. (2) Samalpur (on the South-West Frontier of Bengal). This case was a peculiar one. The deceased Raja himself had declined to adopt with the express view that his people might after his death obtain the security of the British administration. (3) Jhansi, 1853. The deceased Raja had in the beginning of his rule governed very badly and the British had actually to interfere in order to restore order. The Raja had been restored to authority in 1842 after which he had governed very well. Dalhousie annexed the state on grounds similar to those advanced in the case of Satara. (4) Nagpur, 1854. In this case the deceased Raja had been urged by the British Resident to adopt, but he had chosen to remain silent on the subject. On his death, Dalhousie annexed the state. (5) Some other minor states were annexed on the same grounds e.g., Jaitpur in Bundelkhand. (6) By an extension or application of the same principle the adopted son of Baji Rao, the ex-Peshwa, was deprived of a large pension which had been paid to the dethroned potentate from his deposition in 1818 to his death in 1853.

III. Annexations on the ground of Misgovernment. Oudh was the only state which was annexed on the ground of misgovernment. In 1854, Colonel James Outram, the Resident at Lucknow, reported that the condition of the province was getting worse day by day. Lord Dalhousie thereupon informed the Nawab that the treaty of 1837 had never been ratified in England, but that by some mistake the fact had never been notified to him. This was followed by a heavier stroke. Acting under the instructions of the Court of Directors, Dalhousie annexed the state, in spite of the fact that the treaty of 1801 was still in force under which the English had no power to do more than withdraw their protection from Oudh.

Q. 182. "The Kingdom of Oudh fell under the weight of its own treaties." Explain this statement.

Or

"The annexation of Oudh falls under the head neither of conquest, lapse, nor abolition of purely titular sovereignty"—Robert. Discuss.

Or



Describe the circumstances that led to the annexation of Oudh to British India. How far is it correct to say that the annexation was an offence against good faith and public conscience?

(P.U., B.A., 1936, 1938 Sept.)

تجمع الرواد بلبر

### Genealogical Table

Shuja-ud-Daula (1754-1775)

سداد علی

Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-97)

Saadat Ali (1798-1802)

Wazir Ali (1797-1798)  
(a reputed son. First upheld; but later on given up. He was sent to Benares as State-prisoner.)

Ghazi-ud-Din (1802-1827)

Nasir-ud-Din (1827-1842)

Mohammad Ali (1842-1847)

Wajid Ali Shah (1847-54)  
removed to Calcutta in 1854.

### THE ANNEXATION OF OUDH

**Early History of Oudh.** Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, in combination with Mir Kasim and Shah Alam II, was defeated at the battle of Baxar (1764). The whole of Oudh then lay at the mercy of the British, who out of political considerations treated Oudh with moderation. The districts of Kora and Allahabad were given to Shah Alam by the Treaty of Allahabad (1765). A defensive alliance was concluded whereby the Company engaged to provide the Nawab Vizier with troops for the defence of his frontier if he consented to furnish the cost of maintenance. Thus Oudh was brought for the first time within the sphere of British influence. In short it was created into a buffer state between Bengal and the Marathas. Warren Hastings took away Allahabad and Kora from Shah and sold them to the Nawab Vizier of Oudh on the plea that the Emperor had placed himself under the protection of the Marathas. By the treaty of Benares (1773) he agreed to help the Vizier in his design upon Rohilkhand for a large sum of money. Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh and it strengthened its position as a buffer state. Warren Hastings also helped the Vizier to get money from the Beghms of Oudh. On the death of Asaf-ud-Daula, Sir John Shore set aside a reputed son of the late Nawab, who had seized the throne and placed his own nominee instead. A treaty was made with the Nawab by which the latter gave Allahabad to the Company and agreed to maintain a British force of 13,000 troops at the cost of 76 lacs for the defence of his own kingdom. Moreover, he was *not to carry on any diplomatic relations with any power*. Under Wellesley the Nawab Vizier of Oudh made a new treaty by which he was compelled to cede Gorakhpur, Rohilkhand and the Doab in order to provide permanently for the cost of maintaining the Company's troops. This was done on account of fear of Zaman Shah's invasion.

**Its Annexation by Lord Dalhousie.** The Nawab complained of the interference of the British Resident and vice versa. In the middle of the quarrel Saadat Ali died. Ghazi-ud-din, the next Nawab, loaned to the Company two millions of money out of his private purse, and thus



purchased the British favour. The British resident was withdrawn, the Nawab was given the title of king and thus he asserted his independence of the Great Mughal. The affairs of the kingdom soon fell into disorder owing to the withdrawal of the British control. In 1829, Lord William Bentick solemnly warned Ghazi-ud-Din's successor, Nasir-ud-Din, that deposition must surely follow, if this misrule continued. In 1837, Lord Auckland obtained from Nasir-ud-Din a new treaty by which if misrule continued the British Government reserved to itself the right to administer rendering account to the Nawab and maintaining existing forms so as to facilitate the future restoration of power to the rightful heir. Nasir-ud-Din died in 1842 and his son succeeded him. In 1847, another son of Nasir-ud-Din ascended the throne. The administration of this Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah by name, was utterly rotten. Lord Hardinge warned him of the penalty laid down by the treaty of 1837. Under Lord Dalhousie, Colonel James Outram, the Resident at Lucknow, reported that the condition of the province was getting worse day by day. Lord Dalhousie thereupon informed the Nawab that under instructions from the Court of Directors he annexed the kingdom in spite of the treaty of 1801 under which the English had no power to do more than withdraw their protection from Oudh. Thus the annexation of Oudh was the outcome of its treaties.

**Annexation, a Breach of Good Faith.** Moreover the account of the annexation of Oudh as narrated above also clearly proves that it was neither conquered, nor annexed due to the extinction of the royal family, nor was it the result of abolition of purely titular sovereignty of Wajid Ali Shah, but the annexation was the result of the various treaties made from time to time with the British Government. But even a treaty was ignored (e.g., that of 1801). So the real truth is that the annexation was an offence against good faith and public conscience.

**IV. Annexation by Assignment. Assignment of Berar, 1853.** The Nizam made over Berar to the British Government, who in their turn relieved him of his liability to pay the arrears of his subsidy and the future maintenance of the British contingent.

**Dalhousie, a Great Imperialist.** In view of the above annexations made for widening the limits of the British empire in India, Lord Dalhousie has been spoken of as the last amongst the Imperialists of India. Like his predecessors Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Marquis of Hastings he did a lot to add to the British Empire in India.

**Q. 183. Give an account of the Reforms during Lord Dalhousie's Regime.**

### DALHOUSIE'S REFORMS

**Public Works Reforms.** Dalhousie organized a Public Works Department, made macadamised roads, such as the Grand Trunk Road, and a road from Dacca to Arakan, whereby it became possible for the sepoys to march from Bengal to Burma without crossing the "back-water"; induced English Companies to undertake the construction of Railways by giving them a Government guarantee of five per cent per annum on the outlay, extended the telegraph, promoted irrigation by digging the Ganges Canal for watering the upper Ganges Districts, and introduced a cheap and uniform rate of postage for the whole of India.



in lieu of the old system of heavy charges. Steamers were also multiplied in the Hugli, the Indus and Irawadi.

**Administrative Reforms.** Dalhousie put down dacoity with a strong hand. He tried to lighten taxes, especially postal dues.

**Educational Reforms.** Lord Dalhousie extended the system of establishing a Government School in each Revenue Division and officially announced that the education of females was considered by Government as an object of national importance. He also took immediate measures to carry out the large scheme embodied in the celebrated despatch of Sir Charles Wood, dated July, 1854. "This famous Intellectual Charter of India" embraced vernacular schools throughout the districts; Government Colleges of a higher character, a University at each Presidency to which all educational establishments, supported by the State, or by the societies, or by individuals, might be affiliated; and above all the glorious measures of grants-in-aid to all schools, without reference to caste or creed."

**Constitutional Reforms : India Act of 1853 - its Provisions.** (1) Parliament refused to renew the Company's Charter but declined as yet to abolish the Company. (2) The new act placed the Indian Civil Service on a national basis by abolishing the system of nomination by the Court of Directors, and introducing the system of competitive examinations. The Services were thrown open to all British subjects irrespective of race, caste or religion. (3) It created a new Legislative Council by the addition of two judges and by representative members to the already existing Executive Council. The Governor-General and Executive Council were given the power to veto any Bill. (4) A Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for Bengal to relieve the Governor-General of some work. (5) The Act of 1853 very clearly declared that the Company held the political control of India in trust for the Crown and till the Parliament provided otherwise.

**Military Reforms.** The Military Board was suppressed. The Commissariat Ordnance and Staff Departments were entrusted to separate officers. The Headquarters of the army were removed from Dumdum to Meerut, because after the annexation of the Punjab, the political and military centre of gravity was transferred from Calcutta to the North-West.

**Dalhousie's Achievements.** Dalhousie was the last of the old Imperialist school of rulers in India. His powers of work were great but he shattered his health by his incessant labours. The list of his administrative acts and works of public utility is a long and meritorious one. His many annexations of territories were held to be the main cause of mutiny. He was accused of ignoring native feelings, but he refused to speak out in self-defence. He had a noble ideal of duty. One of his sayings is so noble that it deserves quotation. "We should do what is right," he said, "without fear of consequences. To fear God and to have no other fear is a maxim of religion, but the truth of it and the wisdom of it are proved day by day in politics." He had an imperious will, and was intolerant of opposition. He had a deeper personal impress on the destinies of India than any of his predecessors. (P.U., B. 1940)

**Q. 184. Give an account of the conquest of Sikkim.**

#### THE CONQUEST OF SIKKIM

**Events leading to the Conquest of Sikkim.** After the conquest of the Punjab, the next frontier annexation made by Lord Dalhousie was the outlying tract of Sikkim, a small hill state between Nepal and Bhutan. Towards the end of 1849, two British



dootors in the course of their researches about Darjeeling had wandered too far from British territory into Sikkim. While coming back, some of the Raja's men imprisoned them and tortured them. On the Raja's refusal to give up his prisoners, troops were sent, but due to winter nothing could be done before February. The Raja fled away. As a punishment for his misbehaviour, the Raja was stripped of the lands bestowed upon him at the Nepal War, and no more rent was paid to him for Darjeeling.

**Q 185.** "The distinctive features of modern India have been far more deeply influenced by Dalhousie's work than by the Mutiny itself or by the constitutional adjustments which followed it." Explain and criticize.

### DALHOUSIE'S WORK

**Dalhousie as the Maker of Modern India.** The work of Lord Dalhousie was essentially progressive and revolutionizing and left a permanent impress on the look of India, as it were. In general features India became widely different—distinct and distinguishable—from what it was only a few years ago. Under him India became modernised, the meeting place of the East and the West. Dalhousie opened the first Indian Railway and set up the first telegraph wire. He created the Public Works Department and undertook works of great magnitude, such as the Grand Trunk Road and the Ganges Canal. He established the uniform half-anna postage service over the entire length and breadth of India. He gave effect to the famous Educational Despatch of 1854, which provided for the establishment of vernacular schools in all districts, added schools and universities and organised the Department of Public Instruction. He made a beginning in framing the system of administration on modern lines. The antiquated survivals which had come down from the old mercantile days of the Company were got rid of and the distribution of the work of administration among distinct departments was begun. Another distinctive feature of modernism was that appointments to the Civil Services were thrown open to competition. On account of these many-sided reforms, "more than any other man, he may be called the maker of modern India."

**The effect of his Beneficent Reforms.** He extended the frontiers of British India almost up to its modern limits. He broke down the various distinctive inland boundaries and removed landmarks that stood in the way of the unification of the country and placed the people under the protection of one all-pervading rule. This in turn helped to produce the feeling of oneness, unity and nationality among the Indians. The consciousness of these was quickened by the beneficent reforms introduced by him. The spread of education, the establishment of easy means of communication, regular and efficient administrative machinery, widening of the Indian outlook, and the dawn of the reign of peace and prosperity and progress—all signs of modern India, can be traced to his benign administration. It may, therefore, be stated that "the distinctive features of modern India, have been far more deeply influenced by Dalhousie's work than by the Mutiny itself or by the constitutional adjustments which followed it."

**Q 186.** How far was Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse responsible for the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857? (P.U., B.A., 1936)

### DOCTRINE OF LAPSE AND THE MUTINY

**Doctrine of Lapse and the Dependent States.** From ages past it had been the custom among the kings in India to adopt sons in case of the failure of the natural heir of the royal line. It had almost become a religious function. According to religious injunctions it was required that a man should leave behind a son to perform his funeral and other religious rites. The doctrine of 'Lapse' was a direct blow to this old ingrained custom. Lord Dalhousie claimed that the sovereignty, when the natural heirs of the royal line came to end, could not pass on to an adopted son, but passed back or lapsed to the supreme power. Such was the case only with dependent states or states that owed their existence to British power. But it was thought imperative to check the abuses to which native rule was liable as a result of the adoption of

*lapsed back to the supreme power*



heirs who proved to be inefficient rulers and a constant source of trouble and uneasiness to the peace and prosperity of their subjects. The Governor-General with whom the welfare of the people was the sovereign law, thought that nothing could be more fortunate for the subjects of the dynasty than this kind of political death by painless means.

**Doctrine of Lapse and the Independent States.** Even in the case of independent states which were beyond the pale of this bitter policy, there was some technical difficulty in deciding whether these were independent states or otherwise and the Governor-General's decision was sometimes over-ruled as in the case of the Karauli State. 'But whatever may have been the facts the natives did undoubtedly believe that the existence of all native principalities was threatened.' The seed of uneasiness sown by Dalhousie bore bitter fruit in the Mutiny.

**The Doctrine of Lapse Leading to Mutiny.** The adoption of the policy of 'Lapse' was deeply resented by the native rulers, who lay in constant danger of the annexation of their territories by the British. The discontent and uneasiness in the minds of the people went on brewing till the time approached when the slightest provocation led to the outbreak of those dissatisfied native feelings and susceptibilities in the form of open revolt. The Governor-General's action in these annexations was too hasty. It made him blind to the signs of unrest, which began to give their smell the very day this policy was adopted. He is said to have completely disregarded the legitimate feelings of the Indian princes and the sovereign rights of Indian states, which resulted in a lot of trouble which his successor was obliged to face. The widowed Rani of Jhansi, who was pensioned off, her state having passed under British sway, took a dreadful revenge during the Mutiny for the loss of her throne by the massacre of every European who fell into her hands. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa, who was refused the pension that had been granted to the Peshwa, became the bitter and relentless foe of British rule and was the ultimate cause of so much misery and suffering to the British during the Mutiny. This was in short the result of Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation by 'Lapse'.

**Q. 187. Give an account of the Development of a definite Asiatic Policy before 1856.**

#### ASIATIC POLICY BEFORE 1856

**The Treaty of Tilsit and the Foreign Missions.** Early in the 15th century the rulers of India, fearful of the approach of European rivals by land, began to formulate a definite Asiatic policy. The first note of alarm was sounded by the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, the more distinctive when Persia promised to support the advance of the French and Russian troops to India through Central Asia. This led Lord Minto to send political missions to Persia, Afghanistan and Sind and enter into a definite treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The real conduct of affairs, however, rested with the British foreign office.

**Events leading to the First Afghan War.** Matters again came to a head about 1833. As a result of their political position in India, the British were unable to keep aloof any longer from complications beyond the limits of British India. At the same time a vigorous foreign policy was gaining ground in England. Lord Bentinck made commercial treaties with the rulers of Sind and the Punjab with a political end in view. Shortly after this, Afghanistan was threatened by Persia, which in return was threatened by Russia. Politicians in England viewed it with alarm. They had a great stake in the development of the Asiatic continent and the



news that Russia was gaining predominant influence in Persia filled them with fear of the intentions of Russia. A vigorous foreign policy was considered necessary for the balance of Asiatic powers and for the security of the Indian Empire. It is probable, therefore, that Lord Auckland arrived in India with a foreign policy already prepared for him by Lord Palmerston. Since Herat, the gate of India, was attacked by Persia, the situation became more tense. Lord Auckland concluded a Tripartite treaty (1838) with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja to restore the last-mentioned king to his hereditary throne at Kabul, so that Afghanistan might serve as a break-water for the advancing tide of Russian Imperialism. Situation was so much improved by the relief of Herat, that even the British Government at home insisted that a friendly and dependent Prince on the throne of Afghanistan was necessary for the security of India. Auckland ratified the tripartite treaty in which he sacrificed much including his better judgment and thus hastened the First Afghan War. The result was disastrous and the attempt to place a friendly and dependent Prince on the throne of Kabul ended in a dismal failure. Lord Auckland was recalled and Lord Ellenborough was sent out instead. The new Governor-General soon effected a change of policy. As soon as the tide of disaster turned, Amir Dost Mohammad was released from Calcutta and restored to power. The English withdrew from Afghanistan unconditionally.

**The Annexation of Sind.** The blunders in Afghanistan brought in their train trouble with the Amirs of Sind. The province was conquered and annexed primarily to secure British advance in Afghanistan but the former blunder was not repeated. When peace was restored in the Punjab, Lord Dalhousie was persuaded to make a treaty with Dost Mohammad. It initiated in the first place a new frontier policy of non intervention in Afghanistan which held good for many years. It ensured the friendship of Dost Mohammad, who loyally kept his faith during the Sepoy Mutiny. The English were content to look for the defence of the Empire within the natural frontiers of India.

**The Annexation of the Punjab.** A few words more about the Punjab would suffice to bring this outline sketch to a close. The friendship of the Sikhs was specially desirable to double-lock the gates of India against foreign invaders coming through the north-west. But this friendship was short-lived. The forces which the iron-hand of Ranjit Singh had kept under control broke loose after his death. Rulers followed each other with alarming rapidity. The uncontrollable licence of the army brought a conflict of arms. In the wars that ensued, four pitched battles were fought before the Sikhs were subdued. Lord Hardinge refrained from annexing the entire province. He desired to see a strong and independent Sikh government established in the Punjab to double-lock the gates of India as before. But the edifice reared by him crumbled away from its foundation and the Sikhs entered again into a life-and-death struggle with the British. Their power was finally broken and the whole country was disarmed. The utter futility of upholding a weak and profligate government controlled by a licentious army became quite clear and consequently Lord Dalhousie carried out the annexation of the Punjab. British Empire thus gained its natural frontiers and the Indian Government was content to organize its defence within these limits. Thus the last important stage of British advance in India was influenced by European politics.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Compare the Punjab policy of Lord Hardinge with that of Lord Dalhousie. Which of the two was more sound and why ? (P.U. 1930)
2. Describe the relations of the East India Company with the state of Oudh. How far can you justify the final extinction of that state ? (P.U., B.A., '36)
3. Write a note on Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse and discuss the cases in which it was applied. (P.U., B.A., '37 Sept.)
4. Discuss the main objective of the policy of Lord Dalhousie. How far, in your opinion, was it responsible for the Mutiny of 1857 ? (P.U., B.A., '38)
5. Estimate the work of Lord Dalhousie as an Empire-builder. What were the short-comings, if any, of his Imperial policy ? (P.U., B.A., 1940)
6. What do you know of the policy of British government towards Oudh, and what causes led to its extinction ? (P.U., B.A., 1940, Suppl.,)



7. Carefully trace the course of events in the Punjab which resulted in its annexation to British India. (P.U., B.A., 1941)
8. "The eight years' rule of Lord Dalhousie left more conspicuous results than that of any Governor-General since Wellesley." Explain.
9. It is said that "Lord Dalhousie made the India of to-day." Explain.
10. Compare the policy adopted by Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Dalhousie towards the Indian states.
11. Describe the causes of the Second Burmese War. Give its events and results.
12. Describe the circumstances that led to the annexation of Oudh to British India. How far is it correct to say that the annexation was an offence against good faith and public conscience?
13. Amplify the statement :—"Lord Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship, therefore, is not only the last important stage, it is also the culmination of the marvellous history of the East India Company."
14. Is it correct to describe Lord Dalhousie as one of the founders of the British Empire in India? Compare and contrast his character with that of Hardinge.
15. Explain and criticise :—"The distinctive features of Modern India have been far more deeply influenced by Dalhousie's work than by the Mutiny itself or by the constitutional adjustments which followed it."

Sir John Lawrence = only a military  
 Sir James Outram =  
 it was a full  
 Conspiracy to  
 overthrow British power  
 in India



## CHAPTER XXX

### LORD CANNING (1856—58)

**His Appointment.** Lord Canning\* was George Canning's third son. He was first offered the post of Foreign Secretary, which he declined. In 1858, he became a member of the Cabinet and was then appointed the Governor-General of India. He was the last of the Company's Governors-General and the first of the Viceroys of the Crown. His rule was the epoch of a great convulsion, i.e., Indian Mutiny.

**Q. 188. Give an account of the war with Persia.**

#### THE PERSIAN WAR OF 1856

**Its Causes.** (1) The Persians seized Herat, (2) threatened Northern Afghanistan, and (3) insulted British subjects living in Persia. War was consequently declared against them.

**Account.** The English won over Dost Mohammad, the Amir of Kabul, by an offer of money and arms in 1857. A British expedition was sent to the Persian Gulf under Sir James Outram and Havelock, who captured Bushire. Eventually Persia withdrew her pretensions as regards Herat and a treaty was signed in Persia by the representatives of the two nations.

**Results.** By this treaty, the Shah of Persia agreed to reorganise the independence of Herat, to abstain from interference in Afghanistan and to receive back the British envoy with all honour in his country.

**Q. 189. Give an account of the Indian Mutiny of 1857.**

**Q. 190. Show that the Indian Mutiny was reactionary in its causes and revolutionary in its nature.**

#### THE INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857

**Two Views as to the Origin and Meaning of the Indian Mutiny.** There were two opposite views about the Mutiny—(1) that it was only a military rising; (2) that it was an organized conspiracy for the overthrow of the British power in India. (Sir John Lawrence held the first view, and thought that only the cartridge affair was its cause and nothing else, although it is true that afterwards disaffected persons took advantage of it to gain their own ends. (Sir James Outram thought that it was a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy, and the cartridge affair hastened its occurrence before it had been fully organised. Lawrence's view is more near the truth. The Mutiny was military in its origin, but there was social and political discontent, and the mutineers were joined by interested political adventurers for their own ends. Fortunately for the British, there was no national cause to which the agitator could appeal. The Hindus could not like that the glories of the Mughal Empire should be revived, while the revival of Maratha Confederacy did not appeal to the Mohommadans.

\*At the farewell meeting arranged in his honour, he said, "I wish for a peaceful time of office, but I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst, and overwhelm us with ruin."

279  
1) Sir John Lawrence

2) Sir James Outram



**Critical Note.** The Anglo-Indian Historians put forth another view on the real causes of the Mutiny. They remark that (1) the Indian mutiny was not a national rising against British authority, (2) it was not a result of the virtues of English administration like education, railways, telegraphs, etc. (3) the cartridge affair was merely a means to an end. But the real cause of the mutiny may be expressed in two words only—bad faith.

### CAUSES OF THE MUTINY

Talkada's  
discontent

✓  
(a) **Political Causes.** (1) Dalhousie's annexation policy produced a wave of discontent not only among the dispossessed princes, but also among the people in general, many of whom preferred native rule with all its cruelty and corruption to the inflexible British system of government. (2) The annexation of Oudh adversely affected the interests of the Bengal sepoys. (3) The new settlement introduced by the English into Oudh was administered in a spirit quite the reverse of a conciliatory policy. (4) The Mohammadan sentiment all over India was shocked at the news that Bahadur Shah II, the last representative of the Mughals, had been informed that his successors would not be allowed to retain the titular dignities and shadowy sovereignty in Delhi.

(b) **Military Causes.** (1) Lord Canning passed an Act under which all recruits in the Bengal army would in future be liable for service abroad. (2) The increase of native soldiers necessitated by the annexations and the reduction of white soldiers for service in the Crimean War weakened the British position in the eyes of the people. (3) The new rifles and cartridges given to the troops fanned into flame all this smouldering discontent. They were said to be greased with the fat of pigs and cows, the former being unclean to the Mohammadans and the latter to the Hindus. (4) The powers of the commanding officers in the army had been gradually reduced and their prestige considerably lowered.

(c) **Religious Causes.** (1) There was a general belief that the British Government wished to convert the people of India to Christianity. (2) The feelings of orthodox Hindus and Brahmins were aroused by the prohibition of Suttee, infanticide and the allowing of widow re-marriage. (3) A law was passed that a change of religion would not debar the convert from inheriting his ancestral property. (4) The extension of railways, the introduction of telegraphs, and the numerous other improvements in the eyes of large classes of natives, were looked upon with suspicion. (5) There was a wide-spread superstitious belief that the British rule would last only a hundred years after the Battle of Plassey. (6) Macaulay had disparaged Hindu Literature and mythology as a result of which, a good deal of disaffection had spread among the Hindus.

(d) **Social Causes.** (1) The annexation of a native state meant that able Indians had no field left for displaying their political and administrative talents. (2) In the land settlements that were carried out, the claims of aristocratic landowners were severely scrutinized, and the ryots protested against undue exactions. This displeased the landlords. (3) Many landlords, whose rent free lands were resumed, were reduced to poverty. (4) A strict enquiry was made into the title of 'Talukdars of Oudh' who were hereditary revenue collectors. This drove some of them to desperation. (5) The native royal army was disbanded and the soldiers were discontented because they had lost their livelihood.



**The Progress of the Mutiny.** On May 10, 1857, a mutiny broke out at Meerut, owing to the foolish imprisonment of 85 sepoy for refusal to use greased cartridges. Having murdered many Europeans, the mutineers marched to Delhi where the regiments at once mutinied and proclaimed Bahadur Shah II as the sovereign, making it a semi-national rising. In the same year, the sepoy mutinied at Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh died after a heroic struggle of 87 days. The place was relieved by Generals Havelock and Outram. The town was completely in the hands of the mutineers. In June, 1857, the Cawnpore sepoy mutinied under Nana Sahib and many Englishmen were killed in cold blood. Even at Jhansi, the sepoy instigated by the ex-Rani shot down their officers. Similar excesses were committed at several military stations in Bengal and the North Western Provinces.

**How the Mutiny was checked.** General Havelock set out from Allahabad in July and captured Cawnpore. After defeating Nana Sahib he set out for Lucknow. The mutineers recaptured the town immediately after his departure. General Nicholson relieved Delhi. Generals Havelock and Outram entered Lucknow, but were themselves besieged in the Residency which was finally relieved by Campbell. A kind of guerilla warfare continued for two years before the province returned to loyalty. On December 6, 1857, Campbell defeated the Gwalior sepoy under Nana Sahib and captured Gwalior. Tantia Topee, Nana's minister, fought gallantly, but was forced to retreat. He was betrayed, caught and hanged. With his fall the mutiny came to a close. Nana Sahib is supposed to have perished in the Nepal jungles.

**The Results of the Indian Mutiny.** (1) The suppression of the mutiny tended to restore the prestige which Great Britain had lost in the Crimean War. (2) The East India Company was abolished in deference to strong public opinion. (3) By the Charter Act of 1858, the Crown assumed the powers and dominions of the Company, and the affairs of India were henceforth to be managed by a Secretary of State for India, assisted by a Council of 15 members experienced in Indian affairs. The Viceroy of India was to act under the instructions of the Secretary of State for India, and to be assisted in India, by an Executive and Legislative Council. (4) The Queen issued a proclamation promising religious toleration, equal justice, equal treatment and an amnesty to all except murderers. (5) The British policy underwent a change in three respects; (i) The Doctrine of Lapse was given up. (ii) The Taluqdars of Oudh were restored to their rights to land. (iii) The military arrangements were remodelled so as to increase the number of European troops to one-third of the military force in India.

**Critical Note.** **Objections by the East India Company for the Transference of Power to the Crown:**—The Company protested that (a) they had built up the Indian Empire at a time when the Parliament had lost an Empire in America. (b) The Government of the Crown having the deciding voice in Indian affairs were as much responsible as the Company. (c) The Company claimed that they had governed India with the purest of intentions and in the most beneficent manner. (d) The Company pointed out that the government of colonies by a minister under the control of Parliament had lost the United States and several other important colonies, and the experiment had proved a failure.

The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny slowed down the pace of the reformers to westernise India. It embittered the relations and thus a temporary setback was given to the development of the country. These were the evil results.

**Reasons for the English Victory.** (1) The Mutiny was limited to Bengal, Central Provinces, Oudh and Rohilkhand. The Madras and

*London (Secretary of State for India)*



Bombay troops were loyal in their devotion. The Maratha chiefs, Holkar Sindhia and Gaekwar remained loyal to their suzerain and tranquillity was maintained in Hyderabad Deccan by Sir Salar Jang, the able minister of the Nizam. The fidelity of the Sikhs, the valuable aid given by the Rajput chieftains and the Gorkhas greatly prevented the spread of Mutiny. Dost Mohammad, the Amir of Afghanistan, also remained friendly. (2) The pacifying policy of Lord Canning, who checked the outcry in England for ruthless vengeance proved useful to the English. He was, however, nicknamed (Clemency Canning) but his clemency was morally splendid and politically expedient. (3) The British leaders of the Indian Mutiny such as, Lawrence, Outram, Havelock, Nicholson, Neil and Edward were men of extraordinary ability. (4) The rebels fought without a leader, and without an aim. There was no concerted action. The Hindus and the Mohammadans suspected each other.

The Mutiny was reactionary in its causes and revolutionary in its nature. The answer to this part is perfectly clear. The causes of the outbreak of Indian Mutiny referred to above are a sort of reaction against the old ideas, practices and manners. The effects are revolutionary because there was a change of rule from the Company to the Crown. The students are advised to expand the above idea in order to properly answer the question that the Indian Mutiny is reactionary in its causes and revolutionary in its nature.

**Q. 191. Explain :—“Perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the Mutiny of 1857, never occurred in India. It swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds”—Lepel Griffin.**

#### THE MUTINY—A FORTUNATE OCCURRENCE

(a) **The Clouds Explained.** The clouds were :—(1) That the Government of India was in the hands of a Trading Company and it was doomed to disastrous failure. (2) The bad distribution and lax discipline in the army. (3) The feeling of distrust in the hearts of the Princes as to their future. (4) The still greater fear of the people of India about the sanctity of their religions. (5) The disappointment of a few of the intelligentsia who were kept out of the administration. (6) The despondency of a still fewer of the blue-bloods, who had by now begun to aspire to a share in the administration of the country.

(b) **How these clouds were swept away.** (1) Trading Company Government.—By the Act of 1858, the administration of India was taken over by the Crown, and a Secretary of State with a Council of 15 was appointed. (2) The Army.—The abolition of the Company necessarily involved the dissolution of the Company's army. Under the East India Company the army consisted of two sections, the Native or Indian army, and the European forces which again comprised Queen's regiments and Company's regiments. The distinction was swept away and all troops became soldiers of the Queen. The number of European troops was enhanced to 87,000 and that of the Indian troops was decreased to 13,500. The artillery was taken in toto from the Indians. (3) Indian States.—The integrity of Indian States was guaranteed, and the coveted right of adoption conceded. But it was nevertheless emphatically laid down that the foreign policy of States was to pass through British mediation. The Chiefs were brought nearer to British confidence by the construction of railways and taking in hand the education of princes, etc. (4) Freedom of religion was granted by Queen's Proclamation,



"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose the convictions on any of our objects." (5) *Services*.—The right of Indians to a share in the administration was repeated, but it was materialized a few years later. (6) *Representatives*.—The Indian Councils Act of 1861, for the first time, introduced Indians into the Indian legislature.

## QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. How far was Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse responsible for the outbreak of Mutiny in 1857? (P.U., B.A., 1939)
2. Mention the important causes of the Sepoy Mutiny.
3. "The Mutiny had its origin in the army itself." Comment.
4. "The Mutiny was more a sepoy revolt than a national uprising." Comment.
5. Discuss: "The Mutiny was reactionary in its causes and revolutionary in its effects."
6. What were the effects of the Indian Mutiny and state why the English succeeded?
7. "The mutiny marked the triumph of the new order over the old" or it may be said to mark the beginning of Modern age."

Sindhia  
Holkar  
Gaekwar remained loyal  
Dost-Mohamed remained friendly  
Dewaney Caring

Queen



## SECTION III

### *The Viceroy*

Lord Canning, 1858-62  
 Lord Elgin I, 1862-63  
 Lord Lawrence, 1864-69  
 Lord Mayo, 1869-72  
 Lord Northbrook, 1872-76  
 Lord Lytton, 1876-80  
 Lord Ripon, 1880-84  
 Lord Dufferin, 1884-88  
 Lord Lansdowne, 1888-94  
 Lord Elgin II, 1894-99

Lord Curzon, 1899-1905  
 Lord Minto II, 1905-10  
 Lord Hardinge, 1910-16  
 Lord Chelmsford, 1916-21  
 Lord Reading, 1921-26  
 Lord Irwin, 1926-31  
 Lord Willingdon, 1931-36  
 Lord Linlithgow, 1936-44  
 Lord Wavell, 1944-47  
 Lord Mountbatten, 1947-47

### **The Viceroy and an Analysis of their Viceroyalties**

*Lord Canning (1858-62).* Reforms—the work of reorganization after the Mutiny such as Legislative, Educational, Army and Financial—famine of 1861.

*Lord Elgin I (1862-63).* The Wahabis and the Ambelia pass, Died at Dharamsala.

*Sir John Lawrence (1864-69).* War with Bhutan—relations between the Crown and the protected states—Afghan policy—famine policy. The Tenancy Acts (Punjab and Oudh). Mysore affairs.

*Lord Mayo (1869-72).* Foreign policy. Financial reforms.

*Lord Northbrook (1872-76).* Afghan policy—Kuka movement.

*Lord Lytton (1876-80).* Famine in the Deccan—Vernacular Press Act—Second Afghan War begun.

*Lord Ripon (1880-84).* Afghan War concluded—Rendition of Mysore (1881)—first general census of India—Libert Bill controversy—Local Self-Government—Tariff reforms—Vernacular Press Act repealed—Hunter's commission.

*Lord Dufferin (1884-88).* The Punjab incident (1885)—Third Burmese War and annexation of Upper Burma. Indian National Congress started.

*Lord Lansdowne (1888-94).* Frontier defence—Manipur War—social legislation—Indian Councils Act of 1892—Exchange question.

*Lord Elgin II (1894-99).* Chitral and Tirah campaigns—plague and famine.

*Lord Curzon (1899-1905).* Famine of 1900—foreign affairs and frontier arrangements—internal administration—partition of Bengal—Curzon-Kitchener controversy—Raleigh's Commission.

*Lord Minto II (1905-10).* Political unrest—Indian Councils Act of 1909—foreign policy—split of the Congress into Moderates and Extremists.

*Lord Hardinge (1910-16).* Census of 1911—visit of Their Majesties, Durbar at Delhi—Partition of Bengal rescinded. Capital change from Calcutta to Delhi—the Great War begun.

*Lord Chelmsford (1916-21).* Jallianwala Bagh tragedy—non-co-operation movement—Third Afghan War—The Government of India Act (1919).

*Lord Reading (1921-26).* Visit of H. R. H. The Prince of Wales to India—political agitation—end of non-cooperation movement.

*Lord Irwin (1926-31).* Simon Commission—political unrest—non-cooperation movement revived—First Round Table Conference (1930)—Civil Disobedience Movement started by Gandhi. Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Second Round Table Conference (1931).

*Lord Willingdon (1931-36).* The visits of Lothian, Davidson and Percy Committees. The Communal Award (1932), the Poona Pact (1932), the Third Round Table Conference (1932). The issuing of White Paper (1933) and Joint Parliamentary



ary Committee Report (1934), the Constitution Act of 1935 and the elections according to the New Act. Congress Ministeries established in most of the Provinces.

*Lord Linlithgow (1936-1944).* The resignation of the Congress Ministries, the outbreak of a war with Germany. The abdication of Edward VII and the accession of George VI. The Forward Block in the Congress under Mr Bose, Satyagrah by the Arya Samaj in the Hyderabad, Deccan. Satyagrah by the Congress. The Pakistan Scheme launched by Mr. Jinnah, the *Akhind Bharat* Scheme started by Mr. Munshi, formerly a Minister in the Congress Ministry at Bombay.

*Lord Wavell (1944-47)* The Second World War came to an end. The new general elections of Central and Provincial Legislative Assemblies. The arrival of the Cabinet Mission.

*Lord Mountbatten (1947-48).* Partition of India and inauguration of freedom.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### LORD CANNING (1858-62)

**A New Chapter.** The suppression of the Mutiny, the annexation of the Indian Empire to the Crown of Great Britain, the appointment of Lord Canning as the first Viceroy and Governor-General of India and his work of pacification and settlement opened a new chapter in the history of India and introduced an era of continuous material, moral and intellectual progress, of improvements in communication, of commercial development, of legal reforms and constitutional advance. So normally rare a statesman as John Bright is reported to have made the statement 'that the history of Great Britain in India prior to 1862 was a hundred years of crime against the docile natives of our Indian Empire.'

**Three Periods.** (1) *The first period* (1858-76) extending to the close of Northbrook's administration. It has been characterized as the era of reconciliation. (2) *The second period* (1876-1905) from Lytton to the close of Curzon's viceroyalty called the era of imperialism. According to Morley, it was a period during which the Viceroys acted from excessive regard to 'efficiency'. (3) *The third period* (1905-46) begins with the administration of Lord Minto II. It is an era of internal reforms, Indianization, and democratization of the administration.

**Q. 192. Give an account of the work of settlement and pacification carried on by Lord Canning after the Mutiny.**

**Titles and Jagirs.** Canning's first care was the bestowal of the sovereign's favours upon the Princes and Chiefs, who had rendered distinguished services to the Government during the Mutiny. Honorary titles and gifts of money or lands were given. To the Nizam were restored some of the districts yielded up to British control in 1853, and his debts of £ 500,000 to the British Government were remitted. Some tracts of forest-clad land on the frontiers of Oudh were given up to Nepal; Sindbia, the Begum of Bhopal, the Gaekwar of Baroda, and many of the Rajput princes were rewarded by territorial concessions or reductions of tribute, and in 1861 knighthoods in the newly instituted order of the Star of India were conferred upon many Indian Princes and statesmen.

**The Native States.** The Doctrine of Lapse was established and the right of ruling chiefs to transmit their thrones as well as their personal possessions to adopted sons was acknowledged. This relation was strengthened by the visits paid by the royal family. It created confidence and mutual esteem in place of jealousy and suspicion. Governor's interference is to be made only in case of maladministration. Even then before taking any drastic measures, the administration is temporarily entrusted to a British Resident, or a Regency Council or the ruling chief is deposed and another member of the dynasty placed upon the throne.



**Financial Troubles** The first problem which faced the British Government was that of finance. The deficit which amounted to 36 millions—a sum equal to the normal annual revenue—was due (1) to the mutiny, and its suppression, (2) to the disorganization of society and of administration. The direct need, then, was to check the expenditure and increase the income. The first was achieved by the policy of retrenchment and the disbanding of troops raised for the occasion. With regard to the second, there was some difficulty because the credit of the Government, then, was low and new loans could not be easily raised. To reorganize the finances, *James Wilson*, one of the leading economists of the day, who had wide theoretical knowledge coupled with great practical and administrative ability, came to India in 1859 and unfortunately died after eight months' stay in India, but his work was carried on by his successor, *Samuel Laing*. Wilson had proposed three new taxes, an income tax, a licence duty on trades and professions, and an excise duty on home-grown tobacco. After a heated controversy, the first of these was adopted and it was 5% for five years on incomes of Rs. 500 a year as an experiment. Wilson established a uniform import tariff of 10%, worked out a plan of paper currency, and outlined drastic economies in both civil and military expenditure—reforms which were carried to completion by his successor. The salt duties were also raised. By the above-mentioned means, Wilson and Laing were able to bring about an equilibrium in the finance by 1862.

**The Legislative Changes.** In 1861, the Indian Councils Act was passed, which marked a stage in the development of the modern Indian Legislature. With a view to relieve the congestion of business in the Governor-General's Executive Council, legislative power was restored to the Bombay and Madras Councils and provision was made for the establishment of new legislatures in other provinces. In order to secure uniformity, the previous sanction of the Governor-General for certain types of legislation and his subsequent consent to all Acts passed by the Provincial Councils was essential. The Indians were, for the first time admitted to the Central Legislature, the earliest being, the Raja of Patiala, Raja Dinkar Rao and the Raja of Benares. The Legislative Council of the Governor-General was reinforced with additional members—not less than six and not more than twelve, of whom at least one-half were to be non-officials. In the Executive Council, the departments were separated and put under separate men, who acted on their own initiative. A fifth member, known as the Finance Member, was added to the Executive Council. This is called *decentralization* and it resulted in efficiency and quick dispatch of business.

### AGRICULTURAL REFORMS

**The Bengal Rent Act, 1859.** The Permanent Settlement of Bengal carried out by Lord Cornwallis was found to have insufficiently safeguarded the rights of the peasant cultivators. With a view to protect them, the Government passed the Bengal Rent Act of 1859, applicable also to Bihar, Agra and the Central Provinces. It decreed two things. (1) Every ryot who had held his land at the same rent for 20 years should be treated thenceforth as if he had held it ever since 1793. (2) Tenants who had held the land for 12 years were endowed with full rights of occupancy and their rents could only be enhanced for certain reasons after due inquiry by a court of law. The Act unfortunately resulted in litigation.

**Permanent Settlement of Bengal and India.** In 1861, Colonel Baird Smith suggested that the principles of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal should be



extended throughout the whole of India. This proposal was accepted by a majority of the Indian statesmen of the day. In England the proposed change was earnestly supported by Sir John Lawrence. In 1862, Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, made the momentous announcement that the Cabinet had resolved to sanction a permanent settlement of the land revenues in all the provinces of British India. Five years later in 1867, this decision was reaffirmed by another Secretary of State. Lord Mayo opposed it tooth and nail and in 1883 the resolution was definitely and finally abandoned.

**Internal Reforms.** (1) **Army.** Warned by the experience of the Mutiny, the strength of the British army was reduced as well as that of the native army. British army in 1861 was 76,000 and the native army 120,000. Rules were laid down for definite proportions between European and Indian soldiers in each of the three Presidency armies. The British Officers of the Indian regiments were organized into three staff corps for the forces of the three Presidencies. This system was, a few years later, abandoned in favour of the present system of a united Indian army. The Company's European regiments were also amalgamated with the Queen's forces.

(2) **Educational Progress.** In accordance with the Wood's Despatch of 1854, three Universities were established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 on the model of the University of London. To these were later on added the Universities of the Punjab (1882) and Allahabad (1889).

(3) **Other Changes.** (i) The provinces of British Burma, such as Tenasserim, Pegu and Arakan were consolidated under one Chief Commissioner. (ii) The Nagpur province, the Sagar and Narbada districts were formed into *Central Provinces* and placed under a Chief Commissioner. (iii) Sikkim, a state between Bhutan and Nepal, was annexed for the foolish contumacy of the Raja. (iv) In 1861, the East Indian Railway was opened between Calcutta and Allahabad. (v) The old Supreme Court of the Crown and the Sadar Court of the Company were abolished by the establishment of a High Court in each of the three Presidencies. (vi) Macaulay's Penal Code drafted in 1837 and revised by Sir Barnes Peacock, was enacted in 1860. (vii) Of the new Judges one-third were to be Barristers from England, one-third I. C. S., one-third to be selected from the Ranks of the Indian lawyers. (viii) The Legislative Council passed an admirable Code of Civil and Criminal procedure, which substituted simplicity and expedition for the complicated and tardy forms of pleading, which had previously impeded the course of justice.

**Famine of 1861.** A grievous famine spread over the N. W. Provinces of Agra, Oudh and a part of the Punjab and Rajputana. The mortality in the most effected districts was estimated at  $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ . It was due to (1) the after-effects of the disorder of Mutiny, (2) the two seasons of deficient rainfall and the consequent failure of crops, (3) an untimely hitch in the working of Ganges Canal. The Government spent considerable sums on relief measures. Heavy rains came later on which brought cholera and plague.

**The Waste Land Rules.** About 1850, it was found that Assam and the slopes of the Himalayas were suitable for the cultivation of tea and the Nilgiri Hills for producing coffee. The result was an immigration into India of European planters, and the raising of the question as to the tenure of land in these regions. The land required by the planters was technically waste and belonged to the state. The Waste Land Rules were issued, which legalized the grant to Europeans and others of tracts of land upto 3,000 acres as free-hold property exempt from land tax on the payment of fixed sums.



**Indigo Disputes.** In 1859, and 1860 disputes between the European indigo planters and the Bengal peasantry became acute and in some districts serious disturbances occurred. The planters endeavoured to enforce the cultivation of indigo against the will and interests of the peasantry. A commission was appointed to investigate into the complaints and it was eventually settled by the Secretary of State that a tenant should not be liable to criminal prosecution for refusal to fulfil a civil contract to grow indigo.

**Q. 193. Write an estimate of the achievements of Canning.**

**Estimate of Canning's Policy and Work.** Lord Canning, whose health had completely broken down owing to his immense exertions during the Mutiny and grief at the death of his wife, resigned office in 1862. He returned to England to die there some months later. In pure intellectual qualities few other rulers of British India have surpassed him. He made a few mistakes. He had literally worked himself to death. In his absorbing devotion to his task, he denied himself both physical exercise and mental relaxation. When asked for dinner, he used to say, 'I was always so tired by dinner time that I could not speak.' Though cold and reserved in manners, he was just true to duty, generous and noble. In the suppression of the Mutiny, he showed patience and courage and evinced noble and magnificent spirit. Even the European business community of Calcutta which pursued him with rabid hostility and had alleged that the calamities of the country were 'directly attributable to the blindness, weakness, and incapacity of the government of Canning' was constrained to accept the view towards the end of his reign that Lord Canning was 'a noble man who never, in the midst of greatest peril, allowed his judgement to be swayed by passion, or his fine sense of honour and justice to be tarnished by even a passing feeling of revenge.' *His policy was to temper stern punishment with mercy and to restrain within reasonable limits the bloodthirsty proposals of panic-stricken people.* To inspire enthusiasm was neither his fate nor his fortune. He was slow to learn and slow to unlearn. This just appreciation is not weakened by the admission that the Viceroy was human and made some mistake as in the case of Oudh. Trotter writes, "After all deductions, his name will stand fair in English memories as that of a fearless, true-hearted Englishman, who encountered on the whole with credit the two-fold misfortune of a Great Sepoy Revolt and a predecessor unmatched in Indian history."

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give an account of the work of re-organization done by Canning after the Mutiny.
2. Sketch the Indian career of Lord Canning and describe his work of settlement and pacification after the Mutiny. (P. U. 1924)
3. Critically examine the political and administrative policy of 'Clemency' Canning. (P. U., B. A. 1938 Sept.)
4. What policy was adopted by Lord Canning towards the native states?
5. What do you know of the Indian Council Act of 1861? Why was it passed and how did it differ from the Charter Act of 1833?
6. Write notes on :—The Bengal Rent Act 1859. Waste-land Rules and the Indigo Disputes.



## CHAPTER XXXII

### LORD ELGIN I (1862-63)

**Elgin's Career.** Lord Elgin I, the son-in-law of Lord Durham, had been a contemporary and friend of both Dalhousie and Canning. He had enjoyed wide experience of Colonial administration as Governor of Jamaica, from 1842-46 and of Canada from 1846-54. While on his way to China with British troops in 1857, he heard of Indian Mutiny and had promptly diverted the Chinese expedition to the aid of Canning. He succeeded, in his own words 'to a great man and a great war, and with a humble task to be humbly discharged.' In fact, his previous services as Governor of Jamaica, Canada and special envoy to China seemed to mark him as a person well qualified to conduct the Government of India. Time failed him to display his undoubted abilities in the field of Indian administration, for he died of heart disease at the hill station of Dharamsala in the Punjab after 18 months.

**His Policy.** The principles which he laid down as the guiding points of his Indian policy were—(1) to keep faithfully within the lines of Lord Canning's later policy so far as he could trace them out, (2) to foster all forms of peaceful industry and productive enterprise, (3) to avoid all occasions for levying new or maintaining old taxes that bore heavily upon the people, (4) to afford equal protection to all classes and interests, (5) to keep down the military expenses, and (6) to suppress with prompt severity any attempt at disturbance which might be made in any part of India.

**The Wahabis and the Ambela Pass.** At Sitana, on the spurs of the Hindukush Range, there had existed since the early part of the 19th century, a curious colony of Mohammadan fanatics known as the Wahabis with a recruiting agency at Patna. They were the resort of all fugitives from justice and every wild spirit with a grudge against the British rule. The two punitive expeditions in 1853 and 1858 drove them from Sitana, but the Wahabis re-established themselves at Malka in 1861, and again menaced the Punjab in 1863. Chamberlain met them at *Ambela Pass*, but had to retire wounded after three weeks. About the close of the year, the Wahabis were defeated and their stronghold Malka was destroyed. Four years later, there was another outbreak of these turbulent barbarians, but it was at once suppressed by the timely march of a brigade. This Mohammadan outburst and the risk associated with it led to the appointment of John Lawrence as Viceroy, to whom the salvation of the Empire during the Mutiny was mainly due and who was personally acquainted with the condition of that turbulent frontier.

**His Tour.** In 1863, Lord Elgin I set out on tour. He held a number of Durbars such as at Benares, Cawnpore, Agra and Ambala which found a salient feature in his official programme. At these Durbars, he emphasized the promotion of good feelings between the British Government and the States. He exhorted them to found schools, to make roads, and to put down all barbarous usages and crimes. He then proceeded to pass the hot season upon the green and breezy heights of Simla. In November he died at Dharamsala. After him the Government was carried on by two acting officers—Robert Napier and William Denison—until the appointment of a permanent successor in the person of Sir John Lawrence could be arranged.

#### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Write a note on the Wahabis Movement. How was it suppressed? What were the results of this campaign?
2. Summarize the chief events of the viceroyalty of Lord Elgin I.
3. What were the principles of the policy which Lord Elgin I had laid down for his own guidance?



## CHAPTER XXXIII

### LORD LAWRENCE (1864-69)

**Lawrence's Career and Character.** Since his retirement from the Punjab in 1859, Lawrence acted as member of the Secretary of State's Council in the India Office. He was generally called 'the saviour of India' and the 'organizer of victory'. In 1850, he declined the Governorship of Bombay. He had risen from a low grade and in his case a notable break was made in the tradition observed since the time of Sir George Barlow, *that an Indian civilian should not be appointed to the highest post at all*. He had not sufficiently learnt the art of delegating work to his subordinates. He was always fond of details and thus the general supervision of the administration suffered. He used to work from 10 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. with only half-an-hour for breakfast. He did not appreciate the independence of character and originality of mind in subordinates. He possessed less genius, culture, personal charm and distinction than his elder brother *Henry Lawrence*. His greatest success as Governor-General was won in the field of diplomacy and foreign policy where he was expected to fall short of the foresight of a statesman.

**The History of Bhutan.** British relations with the Bhutanese dated back to 1772 when they were driven back from Cooch Behar, where they had come to aid the ruler. Bhutan was a dependency of Tibet and at the intercession of the Teshu Lama, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1774. The opportunity seemed favourable for establishing a friendly relation and George Bogle was despatched by Warren Hastings to Lhasa to try to open up commercial intercourse. He failed because of the untimely death of Teshu Lama. In 1783, a commercial mission under *Captain Turner* proved a failure. In 1826, when Assam was occupied, the Bhutanese took possession of the Duars or passes leading into Assam. Unsuccessful negotiations followed. At one time it was arranged that they should retain the passes and pay us the tribute, while later on we acquired the passes and paid them annual subsidy. This agreement did not prove satisfactory. In 1838, another attempt was made for good relations by Pemberton's mission but the Bhutan Government rejected the proposed treaty. The Bhutanese continued to raid the districts of Bengal and Assam. All protests on the part of the English proved futile in 1863-64. Lord Elgin I sent an envoy, the Hon. Ashley Eden, whom they grossly insulted and forced him to sign a humiliating treaty which surrendered to their control the Duars leading into Assam. The Indian Government repudiated the treaty and demanded the release of all British subjects kidnapped during the last five years. In the absence of any reply, the Western Duars were annexed and the allowance hitherto paid was stopped. In 1865, the Bhutanese drove away a British garrison from *Dewangiri* with the loss of two guns. But General Tombs quickly retrieved the position and peace was made in November. By its terms, the Bhutanese surrendered 18 Duars in return for a yearly subsidy of £ 5,000 on condition of their future friendly conduct. Lawrence was criticized for granting such favourable terms but this generosity proved beneficial and since then our relations with them have remained peaceful and cordial. The territory yielded by them has proved a valuable acquisition and is now dotted over with productive tea-gardens.

**Its Criticism.** Much hostile criticism was expended on the treaty at the time. The Europeans condemned Lawrence for granting the Bhutanese easy terms. Lawrence fought for peace, and not for prestige. He thought it to be fit during the commercial and financial trouble of India. The best proof that the terms were just lies in the fact that our relations with Bhutan have ever since been better than they were before. They remained faithful during our recent trouble with Tibet.

**The Punjab and Oudh Tenancy Act (1868).** John Lawrence always supported the cause of Indian peasantry unlike his brother, Henry Lawrence, whose sympathies were rather with the aristocracy. In these measures, he championed the cause of the ryots against a formidable coalition of the Indian landowners and



European planters. By the first Act, the occupancy rights in the case of all tenants who had held their land for a certain time were recognized. This measure is known as the 'bulwark and a charter of a contented peasantry.' By the second Act, it was enacted that about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the total number of ryots should be granted occupancy rights in the soil at fair rents, that cultivators whose rents were raised should be compensated for unexhausted improvements and that the rent itself should only be increased after application to a court of law and equity. This law was passed in the teeth of great opposition.

**The Affairs of Mysore.** The affairs of Mysore were brought to an issue during the administration of Lawrence. Its history dates as far back as Lord William Bentick who constrained by the insufferable misrule of the Raja to assume the government of the country and grant the Raja a suitable pension. The administration was placed in the hands of *General Cubbon*, one of the Company's great statesmen, under whom Mysore reached a state of unexampled prosperity. The Raja petitioned to Lord Hardinge to restore the government to him but it was refused. Applications were made in later times to Dalhousie, Canning, Elgin and Lawrence, but were emphatically refused. The Raja, then, requested that he should be allowed to adopt a son who should be acknowledged heir to the throne. Lord Wellesley's decision of 1801 which had expressly excluded all reference to heirs and successors and limited the enjoyment of the Crown to the Raja, stood in the way of this request. But in 1867, the decision was reversed and the Raja's adopted son was recognized as the future heir to the throne, to whom the administration of the country was consigned in 1881 when he attained majority.

**The Two Famines.** Two severe famines visited India during Lawrence's period of office. The first in 1866 visited Orissa and the loss was heavy. The famine was followed by devastating floods. Lawrence wrote that what drought spared, the floods drowned. In the second famine of 1868-69 which affected Bundelkhand and Rajputana, remedial measures were taken earlier and the principle was definitely laid down for the first time that the officers of the Government were bound to take every available means to prevent deaths by starvation.

**Progress under Lawrence.** In internal affairs great progress was made with all those material improvements such as railways, canals, and public works, started by Dalhousie and interrupted by the Mutiny. He also spent large sums of money on public works, irrigation schemes and modern barracks for European troops. He also introduced into Indian finance the principle of raising money for *reproductive works* by loans instead of paying for them out of the ordinary revenue. His scheme for the complete canalization of India was postponed to a more auspicious period because of heavy expense. Richard Temple assessed the revenue settlements in the Central Provinces for a term of 30 years in 1862-66.

**The Two Durbars.** Two Durbars were held one at Agra and the other at Lahore. At both these places, Lawrence addressed the Rajas in their own vernaculars.

**A Commercial Crisis.** The Civil War in America (1861-65) between the north and the south of the United States of America interrupted the supply of cotton with which the looms of England had been fed and it became necessary to look to India for a substitute. The price of cotton rose to a rare amount and undreamt of wealth began to pour into the pockets of the cultivators. This influx of wealth was poetically described by the metaphor that the ryots made the tyres of their cart-wheels of silver. It also led to speculation. After the close of Civil War, the prices fell and there was a great panic. Several firms failed and the Banks of Agra and Bombay stopped payment. The panic became all the more severe when the financial position was weakened by lavish outlay on public works and irrigation schemes.

Q. 194. What do you understand by the Buffer State policy and the Forward policy? Give specific historical instances as illustrations.



## BUFFER STATE POLICY AND FORWARD POLICY

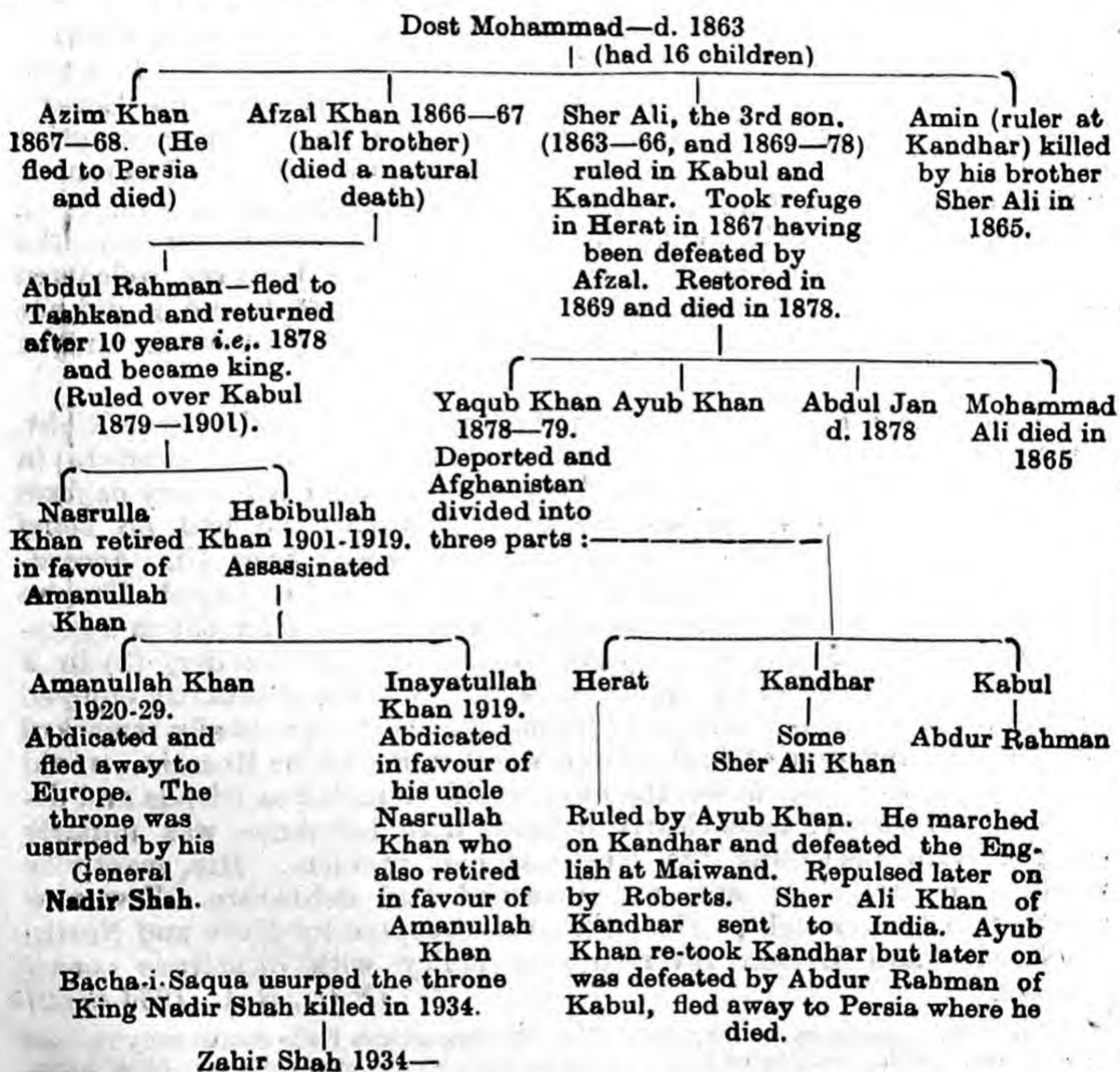
**Buffer State Policy Explained.** A Buffer State is a small state between two big states, which is preserved for diminishing hostilities. Warren Hastings entered into a treaty with the State of Oudh on the plea that Oudh would serve as a Buffer State and would prevent the approach of the Marathas and other hostile powers to Bengal. Since the extension of the British territories up to Peshawar, after the annexation of the Punjab, Afghanistan is being treated as a Buffer State against Russia. Auckland wanted to place on the throne of Afghanistan a friendly ruler. He committed a blunder in supporting a wrong man. It has been the policy of the Government of India to maintain the integrity of Afghanistan. Lord Lytton made another blunder by trying to force a British Resident on Kabul. Subsequently a subsidy is paid to maintain friendly relations.

**Forward Policy Explained.** The Forward policy required an extension of the British influence over the border States. The spirit of the policy is to be always on the alert, and not to let anything weaken the frontier. It was on account of the Forward Policy of Lord Hastings that he undertook war against the Pindaris in Maratha territories. The more important illustration is the policy followed by the British Government with regard to the tribal zone of 25,000 square miles between the British frontier and the Afghan boundry. The tribes used to come into the British territory and carry on raids. These tribes owed nominal allegiance to the Amir of Kabul, who was not in a position to keep them under control. To maintain the British frontier intact, it was suggested by one school that the British should make the Indus the boundry and for the country beyond that the Amir should be held responsible. But the Forward School held that the policy of non-intervention with the tribes would be unworthy of a great civilizing power. They wanted the extension of strategic railways, the delimitation of an Afghan British frontier and reduction to order of the whole tribal territory. This policy required heavy expenditure, so the Indian Government did not like to incur the displeasure of the Amir by pressing these claims. The relations between India and Afghanistan were strained by the tribe risings, when the British Government promoted the forward policy. Lord Curzon modified it by withdrawing the British troops within the British frontier, and entrusting the maintenance of peace to the tribal levies. The relations between the two Governments were smoothed by Sir Louis Dane's mission.

**Anglo-Afghan Relations Explained, (B.A., P.U. 1940).** Between the Punjab and Afghanistan, there is a zone of territory which is occupied by Pathan tribes who, though nominally under the Amir of Afghanistan, were in reality out of his control. They were a source of embarrassment to the Punjab Government, and owing to the mountainous nature of the country, it had not been found possible to deal effectively with them. The unsatisfactory condition of the border caused much difference of opinion. In fact there were *two schools of opinion*. The most extreme known as the Backward School, advocated a retirement to the line of the Indus. The other known as the Forward School, favoured the subjugation of the tribal zone and thus securing for British India a scientific frontier conterminous with the Afghan boundry line.



They even advocated the partition of Afghanistan or even its complete conquest. Lawrence's policy in the matter was to leave the tribes their independence and win their esteem; in relation to Afghanistan he advocated "friendship towards the actual rulers combined with rigid abstention from interference in domestic feuds." On the whole this policy was wise and prudent and has stood the test of time, though his critics might call it 'his masterly inactivity.' Lord Lytton's reversal of it proved disastrous. It was changed in 1881 and strictly adhered to till amicable relations were permanently established between the two countries by a treaty concluded in 1921.



**Affairs in Afghanistan.** Dost Mohammad, the strong and able ruler of Afghanistan and a faithful ally of the British during Mutiny, died in 1863, and a fierce struggle for the Crown immediately commenced between the most prominent of his sixteen sons. Sher Ali, his favourite son, occupied the throne for three years and was then driven away by his half-brother Afzal who died in 1867, and his eldest son Abdur Rahman, waiving his claims, was succeeded by his brother Azim. In 1868, Yaqub Khan, Sher Ali's son captured Kandhar and Sher Ali re-occupied Kabul. Abdur Rahman and Azim, having been defeated, were driven out of Afghanistan. Azim fled for refuge to Persia where



he died soon afterwards; Abdul Rahman escaped to Tashkand and returned from there after ten years. Lawrence decided not to embroil himself in the dynastic wars of Afghan Princes, and in 1858, recognized Sher Ali as Amir of Afghanistan and made him a present of arms and £60,000. Lawrence adopted this course not only from prudential motives and his own reasoned conviction, but also from gratitude to the memory of Dost Mohammad, who in spite of many temptations had loyally refrained from embarrassing the Government of India during the Mutiny, and had once in conversation with Lawrence himself expressed an earnest wish that after his death his sons should be allowed to fight out the succession question for themselves.

**Russain Influence.** Meanwhile Russia was spreading southward and converging on the northern frontiers of Afghanistan. She had conquered and absorbed Tashkand, Bokhara and Samarkand, and General Kaufmann was appointed Governor-General in 1867. The absorption of these weak and disorderly states towards the end of Lawrence's period of office led him to urge the Home Government to come to an agreement with Russia about the line of demarcation between the spheres of influence of the two countries. Lawrence, however, welcomed Russian civilizing influence on the Central Asian people and he did not raise any objection to the subjugation of the three above-mentioned provinces.

#### Lawrence's Policy of "Masterly Inactivity" in Afghanistan Right.

Lawrence was convinced that the best policy was not to interfere in Afghanistan affairs and avoid all rupture with Sher Ali or any *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan whosoever may be, and further he had no belief in the policy of checking Russia by quarrelling with Sher Ali. According to him, in the words of Roberts, the security of the British Empire lay (1) in abstinence from entanglements in Afghanistan, (2) in a compact and highly disciplined army stationed on our own border, (3) in a careful management of our finances, (4) in the sense of security enjoyed by the peoples and the princes of India. He also prophetically remarked that the first invaders of Afghanistan whether British or Russain, would be received as foes, while the next would be hailed as friends and deliverers. The above facts clearly indicate that Lawrence was unfairly charged with neglecting the Russo-Afghan problem. His inactivity whether 'masterly' or not, was reasoned and deliberate. Few now doubt that he was right. His policy was accepted by Mayo and Northbrook but Lord Lytton reversed this policy with disastrous consequences. (P.U., B.A., 1934 Sept.)

**Sir John Lawrence as Viceroy.** The following lines from Smith may be read with profit: "The validity of the agreements against the appointment of a member of the Civil Service of India to the office of the Governor-General was confirmed rather than discredited by the history of Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence. He was never able to shake off the habits of the Punjab official of old days, and admittedly was too indifferent to the ordinary daily maintenance of the dignity of his great office. His reputation rests upon his administration of the Punjab after the annexation and on the invaluable services rendered by him at the time of the Mutiny, not on his work as Viceroy, which could have been done as well or better by a worse man."

**His Retirement.** On the 19th January, 1869, Lawrence left India for good. Further honours awaited him in his native country. He was created a Baron with £ 200 a year as his annuity. He then filled up his time by working in different



societies and died in 1879. His memory was fully honoured by burial in the Westminster Abbey and the erection of statues in Lahore, Calcutta and London.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. "Sir John Lawrence's reputation rests upon the invaluable services rendered by him at the time of Mutiny, not on his work as Viceroy, which could have been done as well or better by a worse man." Is this estimate correct? Discuss.
2. What do you understand by the policy of "Masterly inactivity"? When and with what success has it been tried in the N.W. Frontier of India?
3. Lord Lawrence maintained a policy of masterly inactivity with regard to Afghanistan. Explain this policy and state when and why it was reversed.  
(P.U., B.A., '34 Sept.)
4. Discuss Anglo-Afghan relations during the period (1842-76) and make out a case for or against Lord Lawrence's policy of 'Masterly inactivity'.  
(P.U., B. A., '40)
5. Estimate the services rendered by Lawrence during the Mutiny. Review the policy during his Viceroyalty both with regard to foreign and revenue matters.
6. Give the history of Bhutan War and comment on the treaty concluded with the Bhutanese.
7. What do you know of the Punjab and Oudh Tenancy Act of 1868?
8. Describe the Career and Character of John Lawrence.
9. What progress was made by India during his Viceroyalty?
10. Write a note on the affairs of Mysore.

*Imp masterly inactivity  
Anglo Afghan relation*

Keep your self ready watch and  
do not interfere

*recognition of  
British  
(1) in abstinence from entanglements in  
(2) in a compact and high discipline  
army stationed on our own  
border  
(3) in a peaceful manage-  
ment of our financial  
(4) security of the source of  
the people's  
and the  
success*



## CHAPTER XXXIV

### LORD MAYO (1869-72)

Page 143  
New note

**Lord Mayo's Appointment.** In January 1869, Sir John Lawrence made over charge to a man of a very different type, Earl of Mayo, an Irish nobleman, then almost 47 years of age, who had served his native country as Chief Secretary with distinction. His selection as Viceroy by Disraeli, although sharply criticized, was not disturbed by Gladstone, who came into power. He justified the choice of Disraeli and the magnanimity of Gladstone. Lord Mayo rendered himself popular with the native chiefs by his graciousness and with the European community by his princely hospitality.

**Lord Mayo's Relations with Afghanistan.** Lord Lawrence had invited the Amir of Afghanistan, Sher Ali, to meet him in conference to discuss the mutual relations of the two governments. Sher Ali came to Ambala in March 1869, but Lawrence had left India by that time and thus he met his successor, Lord Mayo, who adopted his predecessor's policy of non-interference. At the meeting Sher Ali asked for a definite treaty such as (i) a fixed annual subsidy, (ii) assistance in arms and men whenever he should think needful, (iii) an obligation on the part of the British to support his throne and dynasty, (iv) and the recognition of his favourite younger son, Abdulla Jan, as heir to the throne, instead of Yaqub Khan. But Lord Mayo or Home Government, consistent with the policy, found it impossible to agree to all the terms proposed by Sher Ali. Yet by means of his diplomatic management of the interview, personal charm, warm and hospitable manners, Lord Mayo sent away Sher Ali on the whole contented and friendly disposed towards the British Government. He told him that under no circumstances would a British soldier cross his frontier to assist him in coercing rebellious subjects, and that no treaty binding us to give him or his dynasty unconditional support could even be considered, but he gave him a written promise of moral support to be followed by gifts of money, arms and ammunition whenever the British Government deemed it desirable. Sher Ali was also informed that the British would view with displeasure any attempt to oust him from his throne.

**Relations with Russia.** Lawrence had desired a clear understanding with Russia and declared that a border line should be definitely fixed. Some tentative efforts were now made to reach such an understanding. Negotiations were entered into between the British Foreign Secretary and the Russian Government and an embassy was sent to St. Petersburg from Calcutta in 1869 to lay before the Russian authorities the view of the Government of India. Russia agreed to the proposal, accepted the British line in 1873, and recognized the integrity of Afghanistan and Sher Ali's sovereignty.

Q. 195. Write a critical note on the financial reforms of Lord Mayo. *WMP* (April, 1942)

Or

Q. 196. Describe the measures adopted by Lord Mayo to place the finance of the country upon a permanently sound basis. (P.U., B.A., 1936)



**His Financial Reforms** (P.U., B.A., 1936). His predecessor, Lawrence, had left a deficit of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions. With the support of Sir Richard Temple and the Strachey Brothers, Lord Mayo set to work as follows :—(i) Income tax was raised from 1 to 2½ and then to 3%. This measure for raising revenue was severely criticized as a direct taxation. (ii) Salt duty was slightly increased in those provinces where it had been so far levied lightly. (iii) Many economies were effected in the expenditure on the army and the public works. (iv) He introduced the system of state railways and set up a department of agriculture. (v) He also abolished some of the foreign export duties and tried to set the internal trade of India free from various restrictions. (vi) Mayo improved the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments. Previously grants, definitely ear-marked for special purposes, were made each year by the Governor-General in Council to the Provincial Governments and the balance saved through efficiency was to be returned. This system of centralization led to waste of public money. Lord Mayo changed it. In 1870, a *fixed yearly grant to be revised after five years* was made to the Provincial Governors and money saved in one department could be spent in another. The Provincial Governments were also given the following heads of expenditure ;—Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Medical, Services, Printing, Roads, Miscellaneous Public improvements and Civil Buildings. The Provincial Governments were further authorized to meet the deficit, if any, by local taxation or by reducing the expenditure. This whole arrangement is known as the system of Provincial Contracts. These reforms resulted in converting the deficit of Lord Lawrence into a surplus. In appreciation of his financial reforms, Roberts remarks, "He found serious deficit and left substantial surplus. He found estimates habitually untrustworthy, he left them thoroughly worthy of confidence. He found accounts in arrears and statistics incomplete, he left them punctual and full."

**Other Events.** (a) **The Visit of the Duke of Edinburgh.** In 1849, the Duke of Edinburgh, the 2nd son of Queen Victoria, paid a visit to India. It was the first visit made by the blood-royal. A Durbar was held at Calcutta and an outburst of loyalty was shown. This policy was continued in later years. (b) The Mohammadans were backward in Western education. He took certain steps to popularize this education among them. His efforts were seconded by George Campbell, the Governor of Bengal, in financially helping the Mohammadan schools and colleges. The Mohammadans had not been reconciled to the British rule on account of Wahabi fanatics at Patna. In 1871, the chief plotters were arrested and transported to Andamans, Lord Mayo's death in 1872 in Andamans was also due to this fact. (c) He made extensions in railways. Lahore was linked with Allahabad and Bombay. (d) Under him the first general Census of India was taken in 1871. (e) He organized a statistical survey of the country and created a department of agriculture and commerce. (f) He interfered in the affairs of the Alwar State whose Raja Seodan Singh was going from bad to worse. He took the reins from the Council of Regency. He appointed a Council of state composed of the leading nobles under the presidency of the British Resident. The Raja was assigned a seat in the council with a liberal stipend. (g) With a view to raising the standard of life and culture among the princes and nobles of Rajastan, Lord Mayo founded a Mayo Chief's College at Ajmer under Englishmen. Subsequently two other Colleges were opened, one at Kathiawar known as Rajkumar College and the other at Lahore, known as Aitchison Chief's College.

**Assassination of Lord Mayo.** In 1872, he went to inspect the convict settlement in the Andamans Islands. While he was walking back to the landing place of Port Blair, he was killed by a Pathan fanatic.

**Lord Mayo's Estimate.** Rushbrook Williams says : "With the Governor-Generalship of Lord Mayo, we may trace the beginning of that steady development of India along lines leading inevitably to the direction of responsible government within the British Commonwealth." "Enthusiasm," says Sir Richard Temple, "pervaded his whole existence and was his distinguished mark." Roberts remarks, "His winning manners and universal popularity were more than engaging personal attributes—they became imperial assets of great value. They won for him the real regard and willing co-operation of the protected chiefs and enabled the complicated mechanism of Indian bureaucracy during his Viceroyalty, to work with a minimum of friction and a maximum of efficiency." Smith writes, "Lord Mayo during his three years of office justified the hopes of the statesman who had appointed him, and proved himself to be a thoroughly efficient Governor-General and Viceroy. His exceptional personal charm endeared him especially to the rulers of the Protected



States, who regarded him as the ideal representative of the Sovereign. He worked hard at all the problems of administration, and lost his life owing to his zealous efforts to improve the defective system of government in the convict settlements of the Andamans Islands."

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. What was the political significance of the Ambala Durbar of 1869? Why was it held by Lord Mayo?
2. Contrast the Afghanistan policy of Lord Auckland with that of Lord Mayo.
3. Summarize the chief events of Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty.
4. Write a brief note on the decentralization of provincial finances in the days of Mayo.
5. Describe the measures adopted by Lord Mayo to place the finances of the country upon a permanently sound basis. (P.U., B.A., 1936)
6. Write an estimate of Lord Mayo.

*decentralisation of finances  
from Centre to the provinces*



## CHAPTER XXIV

### LORD NORTHBROOK (1872-76)

**His Character and Policy.** After the assassination of Lord Mayo, Sir John Strachey and then Lord Napier from Madras acted as Governor-Generals till the arrival of Northbrook, a member of the wealthy banking house of Baring, and the Under-Secretary for War under Gladstone. He was a cautious and sound administrator, who knew his own mind and possessed considerable independence of judgement. He was neither an eloquent speaker nor a fluent writer. A man of high character and kindly instincts, he was outwardly undemonstrative and in appearance rather unsympathetic. He, in fact, brought to the discharge of his novel functions excellent business capacity and varied official experience, but his period of office presents few incidents worth of special notice. His policy deserves far more than that of Sir John Lawrence to be called a *masterly inactivity*. "My aim has been", he wrote in 1873, "to take off taxes, and stop unnecessary legislation"; and again eleven years later "the main object of my policy was to let things go quietly on—to give the land rest." India in his time passed through a period of peace and prosperity.

**His Acts and Measures.** One of his early acts, a very strong measure for a Governor-General recently arrived, was to veto a Bill which Sir George Campbell, the Governor of Bengal, had passed through the legislature of his province for the setting up of rural municipalities. In the domain of *finance*, Northbrook showed 'an admirable mastery of finance, economic facts and statistics such as I have never seen surpassed in India, not even by such economists and financiers as Wilson or Laing.' At his appointment, India was passing through material prosperity—(a) owing to Mayo's fiscal reforms, (b) the increase of sea-trade with the opening of trade through Suez Canal, and (c) free-trade in England. The Indian Tariff down to 1860 contained 10% duties on all imports and 3% on the majority of exports. In 1866, the import duties had been reduced to 7% and Northbrook in 1875, lowered the rate to 5%. At the same time he abolished all export duties except those on oil, rice, indigo and lac. The Conservative Government of Disraeli asked him to abolish even the 5% duty on Manchester cotton goods, but he refused to do so on the ground that the Indian Exchequer could not afford to surrender the revenue and that it was politically unwise to give any plausible ground for the insinuation that the interests of Lancashire were to over-ride those of India. He removed the income tax altogether on the ground of its unpopularity. He apposed any increase in taxation saying that the natives can be expected to be 'actively loyal to us if we govern them justly, and do not increase their taxes.'

**Famine in Bihar.** Famine in Bihar and a part of Bengal broke out in 1873-74. Northbrook under the supervision of Richard Temple took measures to avoid the record of Orissa famine of 1865. A lot of money was spent and his economy of finances met the whole charge.

**The Trial of the Gækwar of Baroda.** Mulhar Rao was tried by a Commission consisting of 2 Indian Princes of Gwalior and Jaipur, Sir Dinkar Rao, the Chief Minister of the Nizam and three British officers on the following charges. (i) Maltreatment of the relatives of his late brother, (ii) torture of women, (iii) spoliation of merchants and banks, (iv) attempt to poison the British Resident. Despite warnings, the Raja showed no improvement. The Commission tried him but the result was unfortunate. The officials declared him guilty and the non-officials not guilty. With the consent of the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, he was removed for mis-government and notorious misconduct. The deposed Raja was removed to Madras, and to allay popular discontent a child prince of the royal house was placed on the throne with Sir Madav Rao, a Maratha statesman, as Chief Minister showing that there was to be no return to Dalhousie's annexation policy. The Princess Jumna Bai acted as Regent.



**The Kuka Movement.** The Kuka movement had been started by Ram Singh, who aimed at rekindling the stern enthusiasm and reviving the pure practices of the old Sikh faith. These Kukas had inflicted murderous outrages upon the Mohammadans. Proper punishments were meted out to these murderers. These punishments only acted as an incentive. In 1878, a band of these Kukas made a sudden and successful rush into the fort of Malodh near Ludhiana, while another attempted to force its way into the town of Malerkotla. They were unsuccessful in seizing the treasury and turning the city into a centre of an organized revolt. The insurgents were speedily hunted down by the Deputy Commissioner. After a summary trial, fifty prisoners were blown away by guns under Cowan's orders. The pressing need of the moment did not justify it. It led to the dismissal of the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner.

**Tour of the Prince of Wales.** In 1875-76, the Prince of Wales, who later on became Edward VII, was welcomed by the people far and near at the Calcutta 'Maidan'. All the Princes were there and the Prince of Wales made a reciprocal visit in upper India. The tour was a very successful and interesting one and the Prince received many proofs of cordial loyalty.

**Northbrook's Afghan Policy.** During the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook, the Central Asian problem was growing more acute owing to the steady advance of Russia towards the northern frontiers of Afghanistan. The advance of Russia was not so much due to a desire for expansion as to remove the danger caused by the anarchy and dissolution of weak states. In June 1873, a conference was held between the Viceroy and an Afghan envoy at Simla, who declared that the rapid advances made by the Russians in Central Asia had greatly alarmed the Afghans and that the Amir pleaded for a closer alliance with Great Britain, but Lord Northbrook did not enter into any binding agreement with Sher Ali since Great Britain was at peace with Russia. The Amir was disappointed and disheartened by the conference, yet he accepted a present of 5,000 rifles. Later on he was censured for arresting and imprisoning his eldest son Yaqub Khan and proclaiming the younger, Abdullah Jan, as his heir.

**His Resignation.** In March 1874, Disraeli became the Prime Minister with the Marquis of Salisbury as Secretary of State for India. Both these persons desired that Sher Ali should be asked to admit a British Resident within his country. Lord Northbrook strongly opposed this plan and soon afterwards resigned his office due to private reasons and also to Tariff question and Afghan policy. Lord Northbrook on the eve of his departure warned Lord Salisbury that to force Sher Ali to receive an agent against his will was likely to subject the English to the risk of another unnecessary and costly war in Afghanistan as in the days of Lord Auckland.

Q. 197. "Lord Northbrook's policy deserves far more than that of Sir John Lawrence to be called 'Masterly inactivity'." Explain. (P.U. 1924)

**Two Schools of Thought.** The condition of Afghanistan has always been far from satisfactory, and this has caused a change in the British policy from time to time. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence different schools of frontier defence sprang up. "The most extreme in one direction known as the 'Backward School', advocated a retirement to the line of Indus. But the supporters of the opposite view, belonging to the 'Forward School', favoured the entire subjugation of the tribal zone and a scientific frontier conterminous with the Afghan boundary line."



**Lord Northbrook's Policy of 'Masterly Inactivity'.** As soon as Sher Ali had firmly established his power, Lawrence made him a present of arms and £60,000 in money. Sir Henry Rawlinson, then member of the Secretary of State's Council, suggested to the Governor-General to occupy Quetta so as to be in a position to command the Bolan Pass and to be in close alliance with the Amir of Afghanistan. To this suggestion Lawrence was altogether opposed, for he was convinced that any interference in Afghan affairs would lead to rupture. He firmly believed that the real security of his Government lay in complete abstinence and non-interference in the affairs of the frontier tribes. This was, as sometimes described by its admirers, the policy of 'masterly inactivity'—so reasoned and deliberate. But the policy pursued by Lord Northbrook deserves far more than that of Sir John Lawrence to be called 'masterly inactivity'. Like Lawrence, Lord Northbrook kept up the friendship with the Afghan Amir and even wrote to the Secretary of State for permission to help with money, arms and troops, if necessary, the Amir, if he acted upon their advice in external matters; but he was not given authority from home to commit himself to more than the reiteration of the relations already existing. The real circumstances that made Lord Northbrook's policy more masterly than that of Lawrence was the change of Ministry in England. In March, 1874, Disraeli became Prime Minister with the Marquis of Salisbury as Secretary of State of India. They pressed the Afghan Government to admit a British Resident at their capital. And rather than forsake the policy of *laissez faire* which he understood so well he offered to resign the office.

**Policies of Lawrence and Northbrook.** Before retiring Northbrook struck a note of warning that the reversal of the policy advocated by Lord Canning, renewed by Lord Lawrence, ratified by Lord Mayo, would inevitably involve the English into very unwholesome relations with the Afghans. This warning came out to be true; for not many days after, the new policy of Lord Lytton, the successor of Lord Northbrook, resulted in Afghan War which kept the relations between the two states embittered for a long time and caused a great amount of unnecessary loss of men and money. At the conclusion it may be mentioned that it was the right diagnosis of the situation by Lord Northbrook which makes his policy of inactivity more masterly than that of Lawrence. He could clearly read the consequences that were likely to ensue if (as Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State, opined) he regarded the existing relations between India and Afghanistan as unsatisfactory and suggested that Sher Ali should be asked to admit a British Resident within his country. Against this plan, therefore, Lord Northbrook earnestly protested. He understood the situation better than Lord Lawrence and knew for certain, that undue interference in Afghan affairs would lead to irreparable complications and difficulties. Lord Salisbury still desired that a mission should be sent for the purpose. The Viceroy, however, merely repeated his dissent and finally resigned his office: for he could not deliberately go against his conscience, which completely convinced him of the unwisdom of the new Afghan policy. Sir John Lawrence had resolutely decided to abstain from interference in any degree with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. His policy was to leave the tribes their independence and form a lasting



friendship with the actual rulers of Afghanistan. When the Amir Dost Mohammad died in 1863, the Governor-General deliberately allowed the relatives to fight out their claims to the succession for many years, and openly announced to recognize as Amir any ruler emerging victorious from the struggle. It also happened that after a keen struggle Sher Ali came out victorious and he was recognized without the slightest hesitation as the real ruler by the British Government who had done the same to one of his rivals at an earlier date.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Why did Northbrook interfere in the affairs of Gækwar of Baroda and with what results ?
2. What do you know of the Afghan policy of Northbrook ? In what ways was it more 'masterly inactivity' as compared with that of Lawrence ?
3. Write notes on :—The Kuka movement and the financial policy of Northbrook.
4. What circumstances necessitated his resignation ?



## CHAPTER XXXVI

### LORD LYTTON (1876-80)

**Lord Lytton.** The new Viceroy, Lord Lytton, was the son of Sir Edward Lytton, the novelist, dramatist and politician. He was a man of great ability, a poet, essayist and an eloquent speaker. He had served as a diplomatist at many European courts. He came to India commissioned to inaugurate a new Afghan policy, though he had already declined the Governorship of Madras on grounds of delicate health. Roberts: "A strictly unaggressive attitude, non-interference carried perhaps to an extreme, and marked consideration for Afghan susceptibilities were (by Lord Lytton) replaced by a spirited foreign policy, imperialistic aims and a subtle and provocative diplomacy." He died at Paris where he had gone as ambassador in 1891 at the age of sixty.

**Internal Administration.** (1) **Famine.** An appalling famine broke out in 1876-78, the most severe on record as regards loss of life, in Southern India, Madras, Bombay, Mysore, Hyderabad, some parts of Central India and the Punjab, followed by cholera and fever. Measures were taken to alleviate it with strict regard to economy. *It was henceforward decided that the Indian Government should not deal with each famine when it occurred but that preventive and anticipatory measures should be taken.* Two measures to accomplish this end were adopted. A *Famine Commission* under Secretary met in 1878 and it led an exhaustive enquiry and made regulations. The main principle was the finding of employment for the able-bodied on relief works at a wage sufficient to maintain health and the giving of gratuitous help only to the impotent poor. It was decided that budget for an annual surplus of £1,500,000 be raised over the ordinary revenue to be used in years of famine for the construction of railways and canals by means of taxes on trades, professions and cesses on land. Smith writes that "Lord Lytton deserves high credit for sound views on famine policy, thoroughly thought out and expressed with forceful lucidity. The whole existing system of famine administration rests on the foundation well and truly laid by him."

(2) **Fiscal Reforms.** The important items of his reign were the fiscal reforms carried by John Strachey, who, in 1876, left the Lieutenant-Governorship of N. W. Provinces, and became a finance member at the request of the Viceroy. He struck bargains with the Native States producing salt to surrender their right of manufacturing it in return for compensation. Salt duties were almost equalized in the different provinces. Before this, there was a good deal of smuggling because the rates were different. He abolished import duties on 29 commodities. In 1879, he removed the 5% duties on the coarse kind of cotton cloth, despite popular and official opposition. This free trade policy was followed by great expansion in oversea trade. In 1877, he continued the policy of decentralization in regard to the local administration. Lord Mayo's plan of giving Provincial Governments fixed yearly grants to be revised after five years from Imperial Treasury was extended into allowing them share of the revenues. This gave the local administrations a direct incentive to efficiency and economy, the effect of which was largely to improve the financial position of the Government as a whole.



(3) **The Vernacular Press Act.** He passed in 1876 the Vernacular Press Act by which he attempted to moderate the attacks levelled by the vernacular newspapers against British policy.

(4) **Indian Privy Council.** He planned the enrolment of an Indian peerage and suggested the formation of an Indian Privy Council of Ruling Chiefs to advise the Viceroy. The plan was later on introduced by the Government of India Act of 1919.

(5) **Abolition of Lenient Punishment on Europeans.** He also took stern action against the tendency of the courts to pass lenient sentences on Europeans found guilty of having assaulted Indians. In fact he foreshadowed the Ilbert Bill.

(6) **The Statutory Civil Services.** He founded the Statutory Civil Service in 1879, to fulfil the promise contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 that no native of India will be debarred, by reason of his nationality, from holding any office, by which he attempted to encourage the recruitment of Indians for positions of official responsibility. One-sixth of the posts, which had hitherto been reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service, together with some of the more important positions in the unconvenanted service, were combined to form the Statutory Civil Service which was entirely reserved for Indians. At the same time Indians retained the right to fill as many places in the Covenanted service as their abilities would enable them to win. It was on the whole not a success for it failed to attract the right class of men. The Statutory Civil Service was abolished eight years later. Nowadays, the competitive examination is held simultaneously in India and England, and this has proved of immense good to able Indians.

(7) **Queen as Kaiser-i-Hind.** Lord Beaconsfield's ministry invested the Queen of England with the formal title of the Empress of India, though the passing of this Bill in the Parliament was ridiculed by many. An assemblage of native chiefs and princes took place at Delhi on 1st January, 1877, when the new dignity was proclaimed by the Viceroy, amidst most enthusiastic demonstration of loyalty. The presence of so many native and British officials afforded an opportunity of holding a conference on the important legislative and fiscal matters which pressed hard at this time, while concessions were made, rewards for past services were granted and pensions augmented. One of the most important acts was the release of about 16,000 prisoners.

(8) **Aligarh College.** The Viceroy opened the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, now converted into the Muslim University. The pioneer in this direction was Sir Syed Ahmed.

(9) **Nepal.** Jung Bahadur, the virtual sovereign of Nepal, who had rendered meritorious service to the British in the Indian Mutiny, died in 1877. Although he strictly excluded Europeans from his territory, he invariably maintained an amicable policy towards the Indian Government and the loss of so steady a friend on the frontier was severely felt.

(10) He recommended that the North-West Frontier should be placed under the central government and not under the Punjab Government. This proposal was materialized by Lord Curzon.

(11) He advocated the introduction of gold standard in India in place of silver. This proposal also fell through.



**Q. 198.** Give the causes, events and results of the Second Afghan War.

**The Second Afghan War (1878-80).** Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, sent out Lord Lytton to carry out the new Afghan policy, i.e., the policy of non-interference towards Afghanistan was to be replaced by a more vigorous progressive policy with imperialistic aims. Unfortunately this war recalled strangely the disastrous campaign of 40 years before. In the opinion of a contemporary historian, this war proved the grave of Lord Lytton's reputation as a statesman and caused the downfall of the powerful Conservative Ministry at home.

**Causes of the War.** (1) Sher Ali's refusal to receive the British envoy at Kabul despite Lord Lytton's offering a fixed subsidy, recognizing Abdulla Jan, the younger son of the Amir, as the heir in place of Yaqub Khan, and promising British help in case of foreign aggression. (2) In the Simla Conference held with the object to creating better relations between both the countries, the Viceroy dubbed Afghanistan as "an eastern Pipkin between two iron pots." (3) The occupation of Quetta by the English in pursuance of a treaty with the Khan of Kalat (1876) was looked upon by the Amir with suspicion and could be used as the base of operations. (4) The failure of a Conference at Peshawar to persuade Sher Ali to enter into closer relations with the English by receiving an envoy as he had entered into closer relations with Russia, on two bases that the Amir could not give a guarantee as to the safety of the Person of the British Resident living at Kabul and that the keeping of a resident at Kabul would prejudice the Afghans against the Amir, who thus would not be acceptable as Amir by them. (5) The British were pushing their outposts nearer to Afghanistan which caused much alarm. (6) The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, irritated the Russians because England took the side of Turkey. The Russians were determined to trouble the Indian Government in return. (7) The crisis was brought on by the Amir's public and honourable reception of a Russian envoy and his refusal to receive a representative of the Viceroy of India. (8) The occupation of Gilgit by the English in 1877 towards the north of Afghanistan created fear in the minds of the Afghans. This deliberate affront necessarily led to war which began on 21st Nov., 1878.

**Events.** The British armies entered Afghanistan through the three great passes. Sir Samuel Browne entered the Khyber, captured Ali Masjid and advanced to Jalalabad. General Roberts went as far as the Kurram Valley and General Stewart from Quetta reached Kandhar through the Bolan Pass. Sher Ali being helpless, fled into Turkistan and released his eldest son, Yaqub Khan, from imprisonment and left him behind at Kabul to make peace on the best terms he could with the British.

**The Treaty of Gandamak (1879).** In 1879, a treaty was made at Gandamak with Yaqub Khan, the terms of which were :—(1) Yaqub Khan agreed to have no relations with foreign states without consulting the British Government (2) He agreed to have a British Resident at Kabul with agents at Herat and other Frontier places. (3) To assign the Kurram Valley to British control. (4) The British, in return, promised to support him against any foreign aggression and (5) To pay an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees. The British troops were to be



withdrawn from Kabul. This was the climax of Lord Lytton's Afghan Policy. But the triumph was only short-lived.

**Murder of the British Resident.** Sir Louis Cavagnari entered Kabul as British Resident on 24th July, 1879, but on 3rd September, the mutinous Afghan army rose, attacked the residency and murdered the envoy and the escort. With the happening of this catastrophe, the British armies again marched upon Kabul. Stewart defeated the Afghans at *Ahmad Khel* and occupied Kandhar and Roberts occupied Kabul. Yaqub Khan abdicated the throne, and was deported to India as a state prisoner. It led to anarchy in Afghanistan. Roberts was forced to abandon Kabul and was besieged at Sierpur. In 1880, Stewart defeated the rebels at Ahmad Khel. Abdur Rahman, an exile, came over to Kabul and took possession of Afghanistan and Lord Lytton recognized him as the Amir.

**The End of the War.** Abdur Rahman was formally recognized as Amir of Kabul on the condition that the Treaty of Gandamak was to remain in force with the exception of the clause regarding the stay of a British Resident at Kabul which was given up. The provinces of Herat and Kandhar were separated and placed under Ayub Khan and Sher Ali Khan respectively. After the withdrawal of the British troops the three independent rulers began to fight. Ayub Khan, the ruler of Herat, defeated the British at *Maiwand* and besieged Kandhar. Roberts was sent to relieve Sher Ali Khan and defeated Ayub Khan at the battle of Kandhar. Sher Ali Khan retired to India and Kandhar was given to Abdur Rahman by the British. After the withdrawal of the British troops, Ayub Khan re-occupied Kandhar. Abdur Rahman marched against him and won over him a complete victory. Ayub Khan fled to Persia where he died and Abdur Rahman ruled Afghanistan (1879-1901) with great ability and success.

**Other Events.** (1) A storm wave in 1876 burst upon the northern coast of the Bay of Bengal. It came all of a sudden in the dead of night. Within three hours, the wind and the water had done their ruinous work. More than 10,000 persons were swallowed up by the storm floods. It was followed by pestilence and cholera. Animals also died in large numbers. (2) The tribes on the north-west boundary always turbulent, now showed signs of aggression and it was evident that strong measures were required to repress them. One of them, the Jowahis, having within the short space of a week, made no less than four incursions into the British territory, killed and wounded some soldiers. A small field force was sent against them and quiet was soon restored along the border.

**Q. 199.** Show whether the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton was a success or a failure.

#### LYTTON'S VICEROYALTY A FAILURE

**Lord Lytton Criticized.** No Viceroy in modern times has been subjected to fiercer criticism than Lord Lytton. His Afghan policy was condemned by the greatest Indian authorities in England, by the leaders of the Liberal party and finally by a majority of the nation. The great loss of life in the famine of 1876-78, the measures taken to limit the freedom of the press, the miscalculation in the estimate of the war charges, all these things naturally gave ground for criticism. The following lines from Smith should be noted—"His reputation has been obscured by the lack of an adequate biography; by certain foreign peculiarities of manner and habits which offended conventional opinion; and above all, by reason of the bitter partisan controversies aroused by his Afghan policy, executed by him under the instruction of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury. The equally venomous criticism of the Vernacular Press Act further discredited him in popular opinion. These



causes have prevented Lytton from attaining the 'enduring fame' promised by the Prime Minister and perhaps may be said to have left a general impression that *he was a failure as a ruler of India*. If such an opinion exists it is based upon insufficient grounds. The best parts of his internal policy were of permanent value, and served as the basis of developments effected by his successors; while the most essential measures of his Afghan policy, by which I mean the occupation of Quetta and the securing of the Kurram Valley, either remained undisturbed, or if reversed for a time, had to be reaffirmed a few years later."

**Q. 200.** What were the causes that were responsible for non-intervention policy by the various Governors-General of India? Account for the failure of the policy on so many occasions.

**Causes of Non Intervention Policy.** The East India Company came to India as a trading body. Its chief object was the pursuit of trade and commerce. The Directors, therefore, from the very beginning set their faces against territorial acquisition which involved them in costly wars, and which thrust upon them heavy responsibility of maintenance. It was with a view to avoid the responsibility of undertaking financial and administrative obligations that Clive devised the Dual System. The Maratha War and the Mysore War in the time of *Warren Hastings*, increased the expenditure unnecessarily and the Directors once again announced their policy as one of non-intervention. *Lord Cornwallis* was an exponent of this policy. But he deviated from the principle when he found that Tipu Sultan was becoming a menace to the peace of India. His successor *Sir John Shore* remained faithful to the policy of non intervention. But *Lord Wellesley* once again developed a strong policy of annexation. His policy was dictated by the danger from France. He found that Napoleon was extending his influence far and wide, and some sympathy was shown towards him in India. It was with a view to crush this French influence that he drew up his subsidiary system. This change of policy was not approved of by the Directors, and his successors were warned not to deviate from the policy of non-intervention. *Sir George Barlow* compromised the British position in his dealings with the Maratha Chiefs, and endangered the position of the Rajput States thereby. *Lord Hastings* once again deviated from this principle when British territories, and the dominions of the feudatory states, were threatened by the raids of the Pindaris and the incursions of the Nepalese. *Lord Amherst* had to declare war against Burma on account of danger to the British dominion. *Bentinck* maintained the non-intervention policy except in the case of Coorg, where grave misrule forced his hands. *Auckland* involved the country in great danger by breaking the rule. There is no justification for *Ellenborough's* annexation of Sind, except the extension of the British territories. In spite of great provocation, *Hardinge* maintained the policy of non-intervention. But *Dalhousie* could not resist the temptation of acquisition of territories. He did not let slip a single opportunity of expansion. He threw the country in great turmoil by his annexations. The Mutiny was the result of this policy of aggression. In order to restore peace the Queen solemnly announced the abandonment of this policy. The vigorous activities of Dalhousie were also responsible for the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown. *Lytton* and *Dufferin* deviated from this policy. Lytton was guided by the Conservative Government at home to stem the march of the Russians and *Dufferin* undertook the Burmese War with a view to counteract the



growing influence of the French. Lord Curzon's Tibetan expedition was also due to the fear of the Russians.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Write an account of the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. (P.U. 1921)
2. Attempt a critical survey of Lord Lytton's administration with special reference to his Afghan Policy. (P.U. 1924)
3. Show whether the administration of Lord Lytton was a success or a failure.
4. Give a short account of Lord Lytton's financial reforms.
5. Critically examine the foreign and domestic policy of Lord Lytton. (P.U., B.A. 1939 Sept.)
6. Discuss Lord Lytton's Afghan policy, showing how it was a reiteration of Lord Auckland's Afghan policy as well as a repetition of the calamity which befell the British army in 1841. (P.U., B.A. 1941)
7. State how some of the Reforms of Lord Lytton were carried through later on and by whom?

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 district Govtment  
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 White's bill  
 no Indian funds  
 Queen's disbursements  
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Afghan whole impractical  
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## CHAPTER XXXVII

### LORD RIPON (1880-84)

**Lord Ripon.** Like Lord William Bentick, Lord Ripon's interest was primarily in political and social reforms. He made it the object of his term of office to liberalize, as far as he could, the machinery of the Indian Government and to break the boundaries which separated the bureaucracy from the people. *In his whole political outlook, he was the very antithesis of his immediate predecessor.* He was a true Liberal of the Gladstonian era with a strong belief in the virtues of peace, *laissez-faire* and self-government. His liberal policy was opposed because (a) it overlooked the fact that Western institutions, the growth of centuries, cannot be transplanted in a country where people lack the necessary experience to work them efficiently, (b) it benefitted a small educated class which had no sympathy with the masses. With the robust faith in democracy that was characteristic of him, Ripon wished that Indians should learn even in the hard school of experiment and disillusion the lessons of self-government and self-control.

**Lord Ripon's Policy.** (P.U., B.A. 1938). His policy may be studied under the following heads :

(1) **Tariff and Revenue.** Ripon's reign was a period of prosperity and rising revenue. There was a good deal of surplus. In view of this favourable season, the Free Trade policy begun by Lord Northbrook and developed by Lord Lytton was completed by removing from the tariff all the 5% import duties. Salt, wine, spirit and arms were subject to duty for political reasons. The salt tax was lowered throughout India. In the matter of revenue he was not able to carry out his policy. The extension of Permanent Settlement, as discussed under Canning, was dropped in 1883. Lord Ripon suggested an alternative that in the districts, which had once been surveyed and assessed, the Government should pledge itself to make no further enhancement except on the sole ground of a rise in prices. But it is to be regretted that it was not accepted by the Secretary of State for India.

(2) **Decentralization of Administrative and Financial Control.** Lord Ripon established a system of Local Boards or Corporations, beginning with the unit of revenue administration known as the *Tahsil* or *Taluka*. These Boards were given the power of management. Large bodies were given the charge of public works, education and similar public duties. Wherever possible, the election by rate-payers of representatives to the corporations rather than nomination by Government was to be introduced. This principle of popular election had already been introduced in Bombay and in Madras about 1872. Some of these corporations were allowed to elect their own Chairmen in place of the executive officers. Thus Local Self-government was introduced in India.

(3) **Lytton's Vernacular Press Act Repealed.** This Act was removed from the Statute book and newspapers written in oriental languages were again allowed equal freedom in dealing with social and political questions.

(4) **Education.** In respect of education a Commission of 20 members with Sir W.W. Hunter as Chairman was appointed to give



extension to the *Wood Despatch* of 1854. The result was that regulations were framed for the increase and improvement of Primary and Secondary schools which had hitherto been neglected. It also recommended University Education. Universities were established in Punjab and Allahabad in 1882 and 1887 respectively. The private bodies were encouraged to open schools and grants were given to them. The local bodies were also encouraged to spread primary education.

(5) **Social Reforms.** A moderate beginning was made in this direction. In 1881, the *First Factory Act* was passed to regulate and improve the condition of labour in Indian factories. This law restricted the hours of employment of children between 7 and 12 years of age to 9 hours a day, requiring that dangerous machinery should be properly fenced. Inspectors were appointed for inspection.

(6) **The Ilbert Bill Controversy.** (P.U., B.A. 1937 Sept.) The Criminal Procedure Code of 1873 had enacted that except in the Presidency towns no Magistrate or Sessions Judge could try a European British subject unless he was himself of European birth. Some of the Indian members of the Covenanted Civil Service had risen by seniority and it was invidious that they should not possess the same rights as their European colleagues in the service. The Indian Government determined to abolish this 'Judicial disqualification based on race distinction.' Mr. C.P. Ilbert, the then Law Member of the Council, prepared a bill for this purpose in 1883. The introduction of this measure roused a fierce and persistent opposition among the non-official European population in all parts of India, though it made Lord Ripon popular with the educated Indians. It led to a deplorable bad feeling and animosity between the contending parties. A compromise was made which practically amounted to a surrender of the principle for which they were contending. It was decided that every European subject brought before a Magistrate or Sessions Judge, whether an Indian or European, could claim to be tried by a jury, half of whom were to be Europeans or Americans. This Act, in fact, failed to remove race distinction.

(7) **Other Events.** (i) Another event of importance was the dispatch of a contingent from India to Egypt under the command of Sir H. McPherson, to take part in an expedition to Egypt against Arabi Pasha, who had revolted against the dual control of England and France. The troops, on their return to Bombay, were accorded a reception. (ii) In 1884, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught arrived in India as Divisional Commander at Meerut to be later on appointed to the post of Bombay Commander-in-Chief. (iii) In the Public Works Department, an important feature was the completion of the bridge over the Indus at Attock. (iv) In the year 1881, the first general Census of India, except Nepal and Kashmir, was taken. Since that date a fresh enumeration has been effected after every ten years.

(8) **The Protected States.** (a) *Mysore.* In 1881, the adopted son of the Raja of Mysore, as discussed already under Lord Lawrence, was placed on the throne with the following conditions. All laws in force at the time were to be maintained and efficiently administered. No material change in the system of government was to be made without the consent of the Governor-General-in-Council and the Raja was to conform to such advice as the Governor-General might give him on details of administration. (b) *Kolhapur.* During the year 1882, the declared insanity of the Raja of Kolhapur rendered it necessary to



place the government in the hands of a regent, under the supervision of the British authorities. On the death of the king, a son adopted by his widow was allowed to succeed him. (c) Hyderabad. In February, 1883, the native state of Hyderabad and the Imperial Government sustained a great loss by the death of Sir Salar Jung Nizam. He was replaced by a Council of Regency and in 1884, the young Nizam, having attained majority, was duly installed on the gaddi by the Viceroy.

**Affairs in Afghanistan.** The Second Afghan War led to the fall of the Conservative Ministry and Lord Lytton. Lord Ripon was sent out with a clear understanding that he should bring about a peaceful settlement and to revert, as far as possible, to the state of affairs before the war. He acknowledged Abdur Rahman as the king of Afghanistan.

**His Resignation.** Lord Ripon resigned office in December, 1884. Though he had forfeited his popularity among his own countrymen, he won a lasting place in the hearts of the nationalist party in India as the great champion of their cause. Hundreds of addresses were presented to him, and his journey from Simla to Bombay resembled a triumphal march such as India had never witnessed before. His case, like that of Lord Curzon among his successors and of Warren Hastings and Wellesley among his predecessors, conclusively bears out the truth of the statement that *East is a University in which the scholar never takes a degree.*

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. How far do you accept the verdict that in his whole political outlook Lord Ripon was the very antithesis of his immediate predecessor? (P.U. 1930)
2. What do you know of the Ilbert Bill Controversy? How far have the questions, then agitated, been settled? (P.U. 1925)
3. Give an account of the reforms inaugurated by the government of Lord Ripon. (P.U., B.A., '37 Sept.)
4. Give a short account of the vicaroyalty of Lord Ripon, with special reference to the internal reforms carried out in his administration. (P.U. 1927)
5. Why did Lord Ripon resign?
6. Estimate the services rendered to the Indian people by Ripon. (P.U. 1938)
7. Attempt a Critical survey of the administration of Lord Ripon. (P.U. 1919)

*India wild animal  
Ripon silly the elephant  
Indians no control  
Leaves*



## CAPTER XXXVIII

### LORD DUFFERIN (1884-88)

**His Career.** Lord Dufferin had been Under-Secretary of State for India for 20 years before (1846-1866) when John Lawrence was Viceroy; from 1872-78 he had been Governor-General of Canada; he had then become successively ambassador at St. Petersburg and Constantinople and Special British Commissioner in Egypt. This long public career in politics and diplomacy gave him the best possible preliminary training for this high office.

**His Character.** He was one of the foremost diplomatists of his time, an eloquent and graceful speaker and a man of great personal charm. He quieted down the exasperation and bitterness engendered by the controversy over the Ilbert Bill. Being old, he was not eager to tackle new problems or initiate new policies and he was content to keep a light hand on the reins of administration. Being tired of his work, he asked to be relieved of his duties before the full period of his appointment had expired. Questions of foreign policy, one on the North Western Frontier and another on the eastern boundary line became prominent. Mr. Lecky's well-phrased appreciation of Lord Dufferin's character deserves quotation. "He was a great diplomatist and a great statesman; a man who possessed to a degree what was hardly equalled by any of his contemporaries, the qualities of brilliancy and the qualities of charm; a man of unequalled tact and versatility, and who combined with these gifts rare sagacity of judgment and a singularly firm and tenacious will. His rare gift of carrying out great works with the minimum of friction was perhaps the distinctive feature of his great Indian career."

**His Foreign Policy.** (1) The Third Burmese War. (2) The affairs of Afghanistan. (3) the restoration of Gwalior Fort. (4) The question of Tibet.

**Q. 201. Give the causes, events and results of the Third Burmese War.**

Or

**Q 202. Describe the circumstances that led to the conquest of Burma under the Crown.** (P.U., B.A., 1935)

#### THE THIRD BURMESE WAR (1885-86)

**Causes.** The First Burmese War in 1826 had resulted in the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim, the second in 1852 in that of the province of Pegu. (1) Upper Burma was still independent and gave no facilities for British trade. (2) In 1878, Theebaw, a cruel despot, ascended the throne. He maltreated the British envoy who was recalled in 1879. The negotiations in 1882 for a new treaty failed and the British merchants in Rangoon and Lower Burma urged the annexation of Theebaw's dominions. (3) Theebaw began to make commercial treaties with Germany, Italy and especially with France whose colonies in Indo-China adjoined his eastern frontier. As a result of a Burmese mission to Paris in 1883, a French envoy proceeded to Mandalay in 1885. Later on he was recalled. (4) Theebaw, to bring matters to a crisis, imposed a heavy fine upon a British trading company. Lord Dufferin insisted on an inquiry. The king of Ava declined to re-open the case, where-upon an ultimatum was sent to him demanding that he should admit a British envoy at Mandalay, suspend proceedings against the Company till the envoy arrived, have no external relations with foreign



*countries except on the advice of the Indian Government, and grant the British the right to trade with the Chinese through his dominions.*

**Events.** The Burmese Government declined to accept these terms and troops under General Prendergast invaded Upper Burma. The Burmese were taken by surprise, and surrendered unconditionally.

**Results : Annexation of Upper Burma (1886).** On January 1st, 1886, Upper Burma was annexed by a curt proclamation, after the consideration and rejection of two alternative schemes, the first to set up a buffer state, the other to rule it through a British Resident. The king and his family, were immediately sent to Rangoon and thence to Madras.

Isolated bands of armed men continued a harassing guerrilla warfare for about two years and many British civil and military officers lost their lives ; but gradually, Upper Burma was subdued by establishing a system of small fortresses by Sir Charles Bernard as Chief Commissioner. Skilled civil servants set up the machinery of British administration, political divisions were formed, roads, bridges and railways were built, revenue assessments made and laws promulgated. In 1897, Upper and Lower Burma were united so as to form a single province administered by a Lieutenant-Governor. In 1922, the post was raised to a Governorship. By the Constitution Act of 1935, Burma has been separated from India.

**Criticism.** Lord Dufferin's action in annexing Upper Burma was criticized in England. (1) It may be admitted that *Theebaw* was a savage and cruel despot, and that he maltreated the British traders and that the Burmese have gained much under the civilized regime of the English, but these are not sufficient grounds to bring about the downfall of an independent ruler. (2) As independent sovereign he had every right to be friendly with whom he wished. (3) If the French had tried to forestall the English in Upper Burma, they had as much right to extend their influence from Indo-China as the English had to do so from India. (4) It was incompatible with the political safety of the British Indian possessions to have French influence in India. The fact is, as Smith says, that *weak eastern nations receive scant consideration at the hands of powerful western empires*. Robertson says "The ethics of the relations between powerful empires and weak eastern nations are admittedly difficult to disentangle, but it is to be feared that the abstract rights of semi-civilized countries receive scant recognition when great colonizing powers converge upon them." But the annexation of Upper Burma by the British is justified by the argument that the English had already under their possession  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Burmese territory, they therefore had a reversionary lien of annexation to the rest of the country.

**Q 203. Write what you know of the Panjdeh incident.**

**Afghanistan : The Panjdeh Incident (1884).** Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan, had reduced his country to a condition of obedience and order. The Russians had annexed Merv in 1884. This roused British fears against Russia. A Joint Commission was appointed to demarcate the northern boundary of Afghanistan. The chief dispute centred round *Panjdeh* which was then under the Afghan rule. The Russian General, a rough and hot-tempered man, promptly ordered the Afghans to evacuate the place and on their refusal attacked them and drove them out with heavy loss. To support their claims, the Russians were collecting their armies at Herat, while the English were assembling their troops at Quetta to march to the relief of Herat in case of war. The incident aroused a warlike passion in both India and England, but the danger was averted by the labours and tact of Lord Dufferin and



the commonsense of Abdur Rahman. The Amir was on his way to meet Lord Dufferin at Rawalpindi. The Amir declared that he was not sure whether Panjdeh really did belong to him, nor did he particularly covet its possession. He would be content to waive his claim to the place in exchange for Zulfikar. Lord Dufferin telegraphed home to leave the idea of war and ask the Afghan boundary commission to resume its work. After prolonged negotiations between Kabul, Simla, London and St. Petersburg, the line of demarcation was settled by a protocol signed at St. Petersburg, in July, 1887. By this agreement, the Amir did not lose a penny of revenue, a single subject or an acre of land and the settlement of the frontier put definite limits to the Russian advance in the direction of Herat.

**Results of the Incident.** The hurried military preparations laid an extra burden of two millions on the Indian exchequer and were followed by a permanent increase in the strength of the army both native and European. In 1884 when the crisis was most acute many native states offered their services to the Government and this led to the formation of the Imperial Service Troops, that is to say, forces available for wars waged by the supreme government, when placed at the disposal of the British Government by their rulers. They were recruited in the protected states, officered by Indians, and only inspected by British commanders. The Conference at Rawalpindi had also improved the relations between the Amir and the British.

### OTHER EVENTS OF LORD DUFFERIN'S VICEROYALTY

(1) **Restoration of Gwalior Fort.** A graceful concession to sentiment was made in 1886 when Lord Dufferin handed over to the Maharaja Sindhia the famous fort of Gwalior which the British had held since the Mutiny. Morar was given up in exchange for the town of Jhansi.

(2) **The Tibetan Question.** Disputes had long been in progress between the Imperial Government and the excluded country of Tibet, respecting the territory of Sikkim which lay partly in Tibet and partly in British India. The Tibetans laid claim to the sovereignty of the whole and took possession of the passes which belonged to the British. In March 1888, the English drove out the Tibetans. Negotiations to adjust the claims were entered into with China, the acknowledged suzerain of the Lamas of Tibet. The Tibetans refused to relinquish their claims upon Sikkim while the British Government resolved not to recognize their claims. The British troops began to occupy the country. A treaty was finally concluded with China in which the British supremacy was acknowledged.

✓(3) **The Indian National Congress.** It was an unofficial body of the advanced section of Indian politicians started in 1885 with the object of securing Home Rule for India. Its history has been discussed elsewhere in this book.

(4) **The Tenancy Acts.** Lord Dufferin's Government passed three important Rent or Tenancy Acts regulating the rural economy of large provinces. (a) *The Bengal Tenancy Act* of 1885, designed as an improvement on the Act of 1859, gave the ryots greater security of tenure at judicial rents. (b) *The Oudh Tenancy Act* of 1886, designed as an improvement on the Act of 1868, sought to strengthen the position of the numerous tenants-at-will by granting them a statutory holding for seven years, with a right to compensation for improvements. (c) *The Punjab Tenancy Act* of 1887, designed as an improvement on the Act of 1868, gave the protected tenants a limited guarantee against eviction and enhancement of rent.

✓(5) **Queen's Jubilee.** (a) The Silver Jubilee of Queen Victoria, making the completion of 50 years of sovereignty, was celebrated on the 16th February, 1887, and it called forth extraordinary manifestation of loyalty and devotion to the throne under the able guidance of Lord Dufferin. Several native princes afterwards visited England to be present at the celebration of the same event in June.



(6) **Lady Dufferin's Fund.** In his labours for the welfare of India the Viceroy was seconded by *Lady Dufferin*, who established a fund in 1885 to provide medical relief for the women of India, and to secure the services of qualified female doctors, specially for ladies of the upper classes, who were prevented by caste restrictions from seeking ordinary medical aid.

(7) **The Age of Consent Act.** Age of Consent Act raised the age limit within which protection was given to young girls from ten to twelve years. Previously the Hindus had adopted the practice of marrying their infant children with the consequence that there used to be a large number of child widows of unknown husbands.

## Q. 204. Trace the making of British India.

### THE MAKING OF BRITISH INDIA

**Early History.** The Company started with humble beginnings in the shape of a few factories such as at Surat. (It was in 1640 that the foundation of the Madras Presidency was laid by establishing the fortified trading centre of Madras on the site bought from the Raja of Chandragiri.) In 1666, the beginning of Bombay Presidency was made, when the island of Bombay was handed over to the Company by Charles II, who had received it as a part of his marriage dowry from the Portuguese. In 1690, Calcutta was founded by Job Charnock. In 1738, chaos and anarchy prevailed in the Deccan and the Company decided to take sides in the quarrels of Indian princes in furtherance of their own interests. In 1746, the Carnatic Wars began and the Company emerged out successful and with increased power, influence and territory consisting of Masulipatam and a piece of land, 80 miles long and 40 miles broad.

**Annexations (1757-93).** (The battle of Plassey (1757) brought the 24 Parganas to the Company.) Chinsura was acquired from the Dutch in 1760, Mir Kasim handed over the districts of Burdwan, Chittagong and Midnapur in 1764. The Diwani rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were acquired in 1765 after the battle of Baxar. (In the same year the Northern Circars were handed over to the Company by the Nizam.) In 1775, the district of Benares was acquired from the Nawab of Oudh, but was 'virtually annexed' by Warren Hastings in 1781. In 1790, Lord Cornwallis secured Guntur from the Nizam. As a result of the Third Mysore War Malabar, Baramahal, Salem and Dindigul were annexed. Sakette was the prize of the First Maratha War.

**1793 1813.** With Lord Wellesley began in 1798 an era of annexations, and the extension of British influence through the agency of the subsidiary alliances. The Fourth Mysore War brought Kanara, Coimbatore and some other territory. Carnatic (1795), Surat (1799) and Tanjore (1799) were annexed after the deaths of their rulers. In 1801, the Nawab of Oudh was compelled to cede Kora, Allahabad and Rohilkhand in lieu of the maintenance charges of the British contingent. The districts of Balari and Karapa were got from the Nizam for similar purposes. The Peshwa ceded some territory by the treaty of Bessein. Bundelkhand, Delhi, Agra and the Doab were taken over from the Sindhia while Cuttack and Balasore were acquired from the Bhonsla. During the regime of Lord Minto the territory between the Jumna and the Sutlej came under British protection.



**1813-46.** Lord Hastings is regarded as one of the makers of British India. He added Garhwal, Dehra Dun and Simla (1816), the territory of the Peshwa (1818), and Sambal and the Narbada territory (1818). The first Burmese War (1826) brought Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim under Lord Amherst. Lord William Bentinck annexed Kachhar (1832) and Coorg (1834). Lord Ellenborough annexed Sind in 1843.

**1846-58.** It was left to Lord Dalhousie to place the coping stone on the edifice of the British Empire in India. He made a very systematic and thorough use of the theory of 'annexation and intervention.' The Punjab and Pegu were the prizes of victories as a result of the Second Burmese War and the Second Sikh War respectively. Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi, Jaipur, Udaipur, C.P. and Sambhalpur were annexed by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse. Oudh was taken over from the king on the plea of chronic misgovernment, and Berar was secured from the Nizam in lieu of his debts and the maintenance charges of the Company's contingent force. Thus he extended the frontiers of the British Indian Empire to the geographical frontiers in India.

**Under the Crown (1858-1946).** Only a few additions were made to the British Indian Empire after the Mutiny. Lord Lawrence annexed some territory belonging to Bhutan. In 1876, a treaty with the Khan gave the British the right to occupy Quetta. Gilgit was occupied in 1877 in exchange from the Raja of Kashmir. In 1886, the whole of Burma was brought under the sway of the British.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Describe the circumstances that led to the conquest and annexation of Burma under the Crown. (P.U., B.A., 1935)
2. What do you know of the Panjdeh incident? How was the war averted? What were its definite results?
3. Describe the chief events of the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin.



## CHAPTER XXXIX

### LORD LANSDOWNE (1888-93)

**Lord Lansdowne.** The Marquess of Lansdowne, who succeeded Lord Dufferin as Viceroy, had gained official experience in his earlier days as Under-Secretary for War and also for India. Later he had served, like his predecessor, as Governor-General of Canada. He remained in office as Viceroy a little longer than the customary period of five years, and enjoyed a generally quiet time, notwithstanding two small frontier expeditions.

**The Outbreak in Manipur.** A disturbance which led to the gravest consequences arose in the small protected state of Manipur, on the borders of Assam and Burma. In 1890, the Maharaja of Manipur abdicated and was succeeded by one of his four brothers. The Imperial Government was dissatisfied with the conduct of the new ruler and determined to depose and banish him. Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, with a body of 500 men, was sent to make the necessary arrangements. The Raja not only refused to obey but also offered armed resistance. An interview with the Raja and Commissioner having been arranged, the British officers were treacherously murdered. Later on the British troops occupied the capital and the murderers and the Raja were executed. The administration of the state was placed in the hands of an English resident, who introduced many reforms. The young Raja was educated at the Mayo College, Ajmer, and was invested with powers in 1907.

**The Affairs of Kalat.** After the death of Sir Robert Sandeman, the father of modern Quetta and Baluchistan, in 1892, the Khan of Kalat committed many acts of violence including the murder of his Vazir, his father and son. He was summoned to Quetta, forced to resign and his son was acknowledged as his successor.

**Kashmir.** In April 1889, the mis-government of Partap Singh, the Maharaja of Kashmir, became so intolerable that he abdicated involuntarily. The functions of government were entrusted to a Council of Regency, headed by his brother, and controlled by the British Resident. He was restored to power in 1905.

**His Reforms.** (1) He passed the *Indian Council Act* of 1892, which has been discussed in detail at another place. By this Act, 10 non-official members were added to the Viceroy's Council, and the Provincial legislatures were enlarged. (2) The *Statutory Civil Service* started by Lord Lytton was abolished in 1891. (3) In 1891, the *Imperial Census* was taken and it showed that the population of the British dominions in India had increased by 22 millions.

**The Forward Policy and the Mission of Sir Mortimer Durand, (1892).** Between the British frontier and the Afghan boundary line, there is an area known as the belt of the tribal territory. The British desired to conquer it as the various tribes living over there made frequent raids on British territory. It was an uphill task. This is known as the 'Forward Policy'. It affected the relations between the Amir and the English. A few more events happened which brought both the countries on the verge of war. (i) Railway was completed up to the Bolan Pass and there was a great military activity there. (ii) Lord Roberts, the Commander-in-chief, behaved in an aggressive way



**The Opium Commission, 1893.** The Opium Commission of 1893 was appointed to inquire into the use of opium, its effect on the physique of the people and prohibition of its sale except for medicinal purposes. The preparation of opium in British India was a state monopoly and a good deal of it was exported to China. It was a source of considerable revenue. A party in England strongly objected to this state production as immoral, on ethical grounds, irrespective of the economic loss. They believed that the Chinese had been unrighteously forced to import it. The defenders of the Government argued that the Chinese disallow the importation of opium, not by any motive of preserving their countrymen from a degrading habit, but by a hatred of foreign trade and the erroneous economic belief that China was being drained of bullion to pay for an excess of imports over exports. This argument is not very convincing. The Commission reported (i) that the evil effects of opium were exaggerated, (ii) that the Government could not afford to surrender the revenue from this source, (iii) that if the importation of opium is stopped, the Chinese will use their home-grown supply of a very inferior quality. The promoters of anti-opium were not satisfied with this report. Later on by arguments with China, a gradual decrease in the export of opium on a progressive scale has been guaranteed from January, 1908.

**His Reforms.** (1) In the *military department*, a change was effected. Instead of the three armies under three Commanders-in-Chief in the three Presidencies, there was to be one Commander-in-Chief of the whole Indian Army and under him were appointed four Lieutenant Generals in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, U. P. and the Punjab. (2) In matters of *finance*, there was a huge deficit caused by the free-coinage of silver. To meet this the 5% import duties which had been abolished, were re-imposed, except on cotton goods which were also included later on. To please the Lancashire manufacturers, an excise duty was imposed on the products of the Indian Mills. After some controversy both these duties were reduced to 3½%.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give an account of the difficulties which the administration of Lord Elgin II had to face.

2. Name some of the reforms introduced during the period of Lord Elgin II.

Masterly inactivity  
forward policy  
via media. Successful penetration - Curzon  
opposition forward School policy  
with draw all his troops



*admission*  
*whole of the*

## CHAPTER XLĪ

### LORD CURZON (1899-1905)

**His Career.** In January 1899, Lord Elgin II, was succeeded by Curzon, who was then in his fortieth year and had served in Lord Salisbury's Government as Under-Secretary both for India and for Foreign Affairs. With the exception of Lord Dalhousie, he was the youngest Governor-General that ever came to India. It had been for long the dream of his life, and he had trained and prepared himself for it by wide and frequent travels in both the nearer and the further East. He had already sailed four times to India, and had visited Ceylon, Afghanistan, China, Persia, Turkistan, Japan and Korea. He was personally acquainted with most of the rulers of Asia and spared no pains to acquaint himself with the problems of the East. He was especially conversant with the frontier problems, and if an American writer is to be believed, the Russo-Japanese War was of his making.

**His Character.** A most capable man, possessed of the highest talents, Curzon was, without doubt, the most brilliant Viceroy that India ever had. His Viceroyalty stands out with special prominence. For good or ill no Governor-General since Dalhousie so deeply impressed his personal mark upon the whole frame-work of Indian administration, or so widely attracted to himself and to Indian questions the attention of his fellow countrymen. Even Lord Morley, who was opposed to Lord Curzon, has admitted that "the old system of Indian Government had never been worked with loftier and more benevolent purpose or with a more powerful arm than by the genius and indomitable labour of Lord Curzon." Like all strong men Lord Curzon sometimes came into sharp collision with the wills of others. He challenged criticism and invited enmities. He was too outspoken and too honourably careless of consequences to be popular. He had superhuman power of work and exacted toil in proportionate measure from his colleagues and subordinates. A conservative of the ultra-imperialistic type, he had a great contempt for all who did not come up to his level. He lacked humour and constructive ability. One of his biographers puts it: "He was masterly in his analysis, but when it came to putting forth constructive suggestions, he failed grievously." In the words of Roberts, it may be said: "But when all the facts are reviewed, and when all possible deductions are made, Lord Curzon's viceroyalty must surely stand out as great and notable, great in the roll of the tasks actually achieved, great in the lofty sense of duty invariably displayed, in the exacting labours unremittingly fulfilled, and great in the stately and impressive eloquence which defended his policy before the bar of public opinion."

**Q. 205. Analyse Lord Curzon's N.W.F. Policy. How far has it been a success?**  
(P. U. 1941 Sept.)

**His Foreign Policy.** Lord Curzon's external policy was mainly concerned with the North-West Frontier tribes, with Afghanistan, with Persia, and with Tibet.

Lord Curzon had fully realized that the two schools of thought regarding the N.W.F. Policy were not sound entirely. He was, therefore, neither an advocate of the policy of 'masterly inactivity' nor an advocate of 'Forward Policy.' He began to follow a policy of via media that is a policy of peaceful penetration. Due to his opposition to the Forward School Policy, all troops from the advanced outposts such as the Khyber, Kurram and Waziristan were withdrawn. He also did not like to retire either to Peshawar or to the Indus. His policy of peaceful penetration included the following points:—(1) He stopped the costly punitive expeditions by withdrawing British troops



from the advanced frontier posts and replaced them by levees raised from local tribesmen. (2) He next created a new province called the N.W.F. Province out of the territories to the west of the river Indus and placed it under a Chief Commissioner directly responsible to the Government of India. This proposal had originally been made by Lord Lytton, but had remained in abeyance till 1901 when Lord Curzon carried it through. In order to avoid confusion, the North Western Provinces were re-named as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Moreover strategic railways were built right up to the gates of the Khyber Pass and the Kurram Valley, and the importation of arms was limited for the tribesmen. He kept the outposts of Gilgit and Quetta, secured under Lord Lytton, under British control. (3) Troops were kept over the borders such as Malakand and Dargai. (4) The tribesmen were warned that in case they made inroads upon the British territory, they would be heavily punished, though at the same time he promised complete non-interference on the part of the British. This policy proved a grand success. Excepting a minor revolt in 1901 no other untoward event took place of which one could accuse the Waziris.

**Q. 206. Give an account of the British North-West Frontier Policy. What is its political significance? (P.U., B.A. 1936, 1938)**

**The North-West Frontier Policy is a very complex problem.** It can be discussed under two separate heads: (1) Relations with Afghanistan; and (2) Relations with independent tribes.

**Object of N. W. F. Policy.** The independent tribes occupy the territories between India and Afghanistan and command the six passes, Khyber, Kurram, Gomall, Tokhi, Harmand and Bolan. Invaders in previous times have poured into India through these passes. The North-West Frontier policy aims at preventing these tribes from indulging in plunder and to prevent future invasions. The British Government in India came face to face with this problem of Frontier policy on account of the annexation of Sind and the Punjab.

**Division of N. W. F.** North-West Frontier proper is situated between the settled districts and the Durand Line. This is sub-divided into two parts. In the northern portion there are the Mehtars (=Sardars) of Chitral, the Wali of Swat, the Nawab of Dir with some definite territory over which they have control. The southern portion is occupied by the Baloch tribes.

**(a) Relations with Baluchistan.** The problem of the Baloch tribe was easily handled. The Baloch tribe is under the sovereignty of the Khan of Kalat. Lord Dalhousie granted subsidy to the Khan. Robert Sandeman reduced these frontier tribes by peaceful measures and force if necessary. He succeeded in bringing the boundaries of the British Empire in India right up to the Afghan territories. The essence of Sandeman's system was friendship with, and support of, the tribal chiefs if they behaved well, the provision of employment for the tribesmen in levies, police and other forms of services. In 1880 Sibi, Kurram and Pishin Valley were annexed as a result of the Second Afghan War. A railway line was built in these districts and thus the problem was solved and there has not been much trouble on that part of our frontier since then.



**The Two Schools of Frontier Policy.** There are two opposing schools of Frontier policy. The *Forward School* or the advocates of scientific frontier declared that the best course was to advance up to the Durand Line, and thus Sandemanise the N. W. Frontier. In other words (i) the British should advance garrisons in the tribal territory, (ii) build motor roads if not railways; (iii) introduce employment of local labour; and (iv) use of local supplies for that purpose. It is considered that this policy in the long run would prove more useful and less costly. The policy of non-interference or of going back to the Indus was advocated by the *Backward School*. This policy is impossible because to leave the people of the Trans-Indus Valley at the mercy of Pathans would mean the lowering of the British prestige and a moral sin on the part of the English. From 1894-97, the N.W. Frontier policy oscillated between the forward school and the backward school.

**Rebellions on the Frontier.** The first fruit of advance on the Durand Line was a wholesale rising on the frontier. It led to risings in Gilgit, Chitral and Waziristan which were put down with difficulty. A Protectorate over Gilgit and Chitral was established in 1893, but the problem was not solved till 1897. From 1897 the policy pursued has been to remain stationary when possible and to move forward if necessary.

**Curzon's Policy.** Lord Curzon refused to <sup>forward policy</sup> Sandemanise the Frontier. He wanted to avoid extension of control over that area. But he wanted to follow a swifter and speedier policy. He separated the Trans-Indus settled districts from the Punjab, and made them over to a Chief Commissioner under the control of the Governor-General. It was named the N. W. Frontier Province (1901). He withdrew regular troops from advanced position in tribal territory and substituted tribal levies for them. Young men from amongst them were appointed to look after roads to maintain peace in the country. This policy proved successful till the outbreak of the Great War when the system broke down. Waziristan was steadily being opened to civilizing influence and the tribesmen given a share in the administration of law and order.

**N. W. Frontier constituted into a New Province (1932).** The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme recommended that the N. W. Frontier Province should have its own legislature containing elected representatives. The sub-committee of the Indian Round Table Conference (1930) unanimously urged the importance of Reform in the N. W. Frontier Province under a Governor. In January 1932, it was created a province under Sir Ralph Griffith as Governor with effect from April, 1932.

**(b) Relations with Afghanistan.** Friendly relations were established with Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan, the successor of Abdur Rahman. On his demand the title of the king, '*His Majesty*,' was used in official correspondence. In 1904 Sir Louis Dane was sent on a mission to Kabul. He succeeded in establishing good relations with the Amir, who consented to draw the arrears of his subsidy, refused already.

**Q 207.** Give an account of British Relations with Tibet. What were the results of the treaty of Lhasa ?



**Tibet before Curzon.** British relations with Tibet began from the time of Warren Hastings who twice sent envoys to open trade with India. These attempts failed for the Tibetans disliked the presence of foreigners in their country. For about a century, the country remained unknown. The extension of British protectorate over Sikkim raised the interest of the British Government in Tibetan affairs. In 1885-86, with the reluctant consent of the Chinese, a British commercial mission was sent to Lhasa but the entry was opposed. This awkward situation was compromised when the Chinese abandoned their claims to sovereignty over Burma and offered no objection to its annexation by Great Britain. In 1887, the Tibetans invaded Sikkim over the boundary question but they were defeated. A convention was made in 1890 with China under whose normal sovereignty Tibet lay at that time. Sikkim Tibet boundary was settled but a joint commission to discuss the possibility of frontier trade failed.

**Under Curzon.** Under Lord Curzon the situation changed. The Tibetans desired to make themselves free from China and the Dalai Lama desired to make himself free from the aristocracy. For this he sought the help of Russia. Lord Curzon was afraid. He pressed the Home Government to adopt a forward policy and to allow a mission to be sent to Tibet. Russia declared that she had no designs upon Tibet. On flimsy grounds of complaint, a mission was despatched under Colonel Younghusband in 1903. The Tibetans refused to admit him. War was declared and the Tibetans were defeated. Treaty of Lhasa (1904) was concluded with the Regent to whom the Dalai Lama had delegated his powers before his flight.

**The Treaty of Lhasa (1904).** (i) Trade marts at three stations and the appointment of British Commercial Agent were agreed upon. (ii) The Tibetans were to pay 75 lakhs as indemnity and the British were to occupy the Chumbi Valley till the whole sum was paid. (iii) The British Government were to have control over the foreign policy of Tibet. This treaty was objected to on two grounds :—

**Its Effects.** (i) That Colonel Younghusband had exceeded his powers. (ii) The British pledged to the Russians that Great Britain would not seek to annex Tibetan territory so long as other powers refrained from interfering in the affairs of Tibet. This treaty was altered by the Secretary of State for India. The Tibetans were to pay 25 lakhs instead of 75. The occupation of the Chumbi Valley was limited to 3 years only. The control over the foreign policy was abandoned.

**Lord Minto II.** Under Lord Minto, the Chinese entered into a treaty with the British. The Treaty of Lhasa was confirmed and it was agreed that Great Britain would not annex Tibet. It will not interfere in its internal administration. The Chinese were to impose similar restrictions on other powers. Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 settled the integrity of Tibet. The control of the country passed into the hands of China but the danger of Russian intervention was averted.

**Q. 208. Describe the foreign relations of India with Persia under the Crown.** (P. U., B.A., 1934)



Relations with Persia after 1858. For commercial as well as political reasons, the English fully realized the strategic value of the Persian Gulf with reference to their possessions in India and they desired to maintain a general control over all coast lines eastwards from Aden to Baluchistan to keep open and safe the trade route to India over the sea and to prevent other powers from interfering. But this attitude of England provoked the resentment of other continental powers, France, Russia, Germany and Turkey towards the end of the 19th century, and led them to challenge British paramount influence in the Persian Gulf. A French statesman declared in the Chamber of Deputies that Great Britain's claim to keep order by herself in the Persian Gulf, and to be sovereign arbiter of all disputes between Arabian, Persian and Turkish chiefs was exercised in a form European diplomacy had never recognized. 'In 1898, the Sultan of Oman, in violation of a secret agreement with Great Britain of 1891 debarring him from alienating any part of his dominions to a European power, granted to the French a coaling station at Bunder Jisseh, 5 miles south-east of Muscat, with the right to fortify it. Under Curzon in 1899 when this transaction became known, a small naval squadron was sent by Lord Curzon from Calcutta and, under threat of bombardment of the Sultan's palace, the concession was revoked. In 1900, a similar attempt of Russia to obtain a coaling station on the northern shore of the entrance to the Gulf was quietly frustrated. England supported the ruler of Koweit (whose title is the 'Sheikh Mubarak') a town having a fine harbour at the head of the Gulf, against the attempt of Turkey to undermine his independence and in 1899 the former entered into an agreement with the British Government that he should grant no concessions to any other foreign power with the result that in 1900 a German mission under Herr Stewrich to obtain a site for the terminus of the Berlin to Baghdad railway at the Koweit harbour met with refusal. These attempts of the European powers to undermine the influence of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf led her to formulate her claims explicitly. "In May, 1903, Lords Lansdowne, the British foreign Secretary, announced to the world that we should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests which we should certainly resist with all the means at our disposal." Britain thus asserted her "Monroe doctrine in the Middle East," and has tried to maintain it ever since.

**Persians under Russian Influence.** The aforesaid declaration was rendered necessary not only by incidence which we have described above but by a far greater world movement, the disintegration and dissolution of the Persian Empire. Though Great Britain still held in her hands the greater part of the trade with Southern Persia, her influence in the country as a whole had in recent years steadily and inevitably declined. The appointment of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff as minister to Teheran in 1887 did a good deal to restore our waning prestige, but in the northern province of the Persian empire the English naturally did not, and could not, compete with Russia. Since the downfall of the Turcomans of Khiva and Bokhara, the Russian frontier about a thousand miles has marched with that of Persia. The construction of the Trans-Caspian Railway, and the development of navigation on the Volga had, up to the outbreak of the European War of 1914, directed most of the commerce of Northern and Central Persia into Russian hands. But Russian policy at this time was still dominated by ideas of monopoly and restriction. The construction of railway in Persian territory was forbidden, and other measures for the improvement of the country were discouraged. Politically, as well as commercially Northern Persia tended to pass more and more under Russian control. The northern frontier was ill-defined and encroachment upon it in one form or another was easy, Teheran the capital was within a hundred miles of the Russia frontier, and the most formidable—perhaps the only formidable—force in the Persian army consisted of Persian Cossacks trained and commanded by Russian officers.

**How Russian influence was checked.** There could have been little doubt at the time that but for British influence in Southern Persia, the whole empire of the Shah would soon have been absorbed into the colossal dominions of the Czar. Lord Curzon had for many years urged that attempts should be made to extend and develop that influence. As Viceroy, he visited the Persian Gulf in 1903 and enforced his policy by several other measures, such as the Seistan Mission of 1903—1905 under Sir Henry McMahon, the establishment of consulates in the ports and the internal trading centres, the projection of a railway from Quetta westwards to Nushki to the Frontier post at Robit Kila, a distance of 327 miles and the opening

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of a postal service along the route with frequent telegraph offices and stores and recognition of the Indo-Persian customs and tariff.

**Effects of Lord Curzon's Policy.** Lord Curzon's policy which was also that of the Cabinet at home, has been attacked as too provocative, but his prompt action, however, saved the prestige of England as a paramount power in the Persian Gulf, and repelled the attempts of other powers to assert their claims. Thus Lord Curzon was very successful in his Persian policy.

**The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.** From 1905-1910, Persia passed through internal disorders and troubles as an attempt was made to set up democratic institutions in place of despotic government. The Shah Muzzaffar-ud-Din accepted the popular demands for representative institutions and in 1906, therefore, held a National Council or Mejlis. Under his successors, the new constitution failed. Both England and Russia safeguarded their respective interests in Persia by a treaty known as the Anglo-Russian Convention, 1907. Under it the contracting parties bound themselves to respect the integrity and political independence of Persia, which was divided into three spheres of influence. (1) Great Britain obtained the south-east corner, including all the territory within a line drawn from the Afghan frontier through Gazite, Birjand, and Kerman to the sea at Bunder Abbas. (2) Russia secured the whole of Northern Persia. (3) The intervening regions, including the greater part of Southern Persia and the whole of the Gulf Coast on part of Persian side, constituted the third and neutral sphere. (4) Moreover, the Persian Gulf was exclusively put under the British. (5) Each country declared that she would not "seek for herself or her own subjects or those of any other country any political or commercial concessions such as railway, banking, telegraph, road, transport, or insurance" within the other's sphere, or to prevent the other party to the agreement from acquiring such concessions there.

**Its Effects.** The Anglo-Russian Convention restored goodwill between the English and the Russians with regard to Persia and removed the fear of Russian advance towards India. But it aroused a good deal of criticism. It gave offence to the Persians who were not at all consulted about this new arrangement. The partition looked amazingly cynical. Lord Curzon was opposed to it. Many politicians were of opinion that the British gains were meagre as compared with those of Russia, as the Russian sphere of influence included almost half the country while that of England was too small.

**Persia after 1907.** After the Convention, Persia remained in a miserable plight and continued as such before the Great War, and during it. During the Great War, she observed strict neutrality. The central powers in order to embarrass Great Britain and Russia created disturbances in Persia, in Afghanistan and on the frontiers of India, and to force Persia into the World War on their side. In 1917, the new Ministry under Alu-u-Saltana abandoned the policy of 'benevolent neutrality' towards Great Britain and became hostile to her. After the fall of the Czar of Russia due to the revolution of 1917, the Russian influence had also begun to decline. The collapse of British and Russian influence in Persia appeared as a serious menace to the British Indian Empire by its frontier to the European enemies of England. In 1918, the British Government sent a note to Teheran asking for "friendly action and the guarding of the frontiers of Persia against the return of enemy agents." The British also despatched troops to give effect to the aforesaid note, but the Persian asked the British Government to leave Persia alone and permit her to commence reforms. This encouraged the enemies of Great Britain all the more. In 1919, the relations were improved by a new treaty called the Anglo-Persian agreement by which England promised to "respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia" and further agreed to help her in the preservation of order in the country and on its frontiers, in the improvement of her communications and in a fair revision of the customs tariff." The agreement was, however, cancelled by the Persian Government in 1921; because between the years 1919-1921, there was a national awakening in the country. Like Turkey and Afghanistan, Persia was also trying to 'westernize her subjects.'

**Lord Curzon's Period, a Period of Commissions.** Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty was full of Commissions. The names of the various Commissions appointed during his period were :—Irrigation Commission, Plague Research Commission, Famine Commission, Education



Commission and Police Commission. The last mentioned Commission in 1902 was appointed under Sir Andrew Fraser. The Police administration was condemned by the Commission. It reported that "the police force is far from efficient, is defective in training and organization, is inadequately supervised, is generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive and had utterly failed to secure the confidence of the people." The Commission recommended an increase in the force, the creation of a Provincial Police Service, recruitment from among the socially better classes of the people, establishment of training schools for officers and development of village police.

**Miscellaneous Reforms.** (1) The railway lines were extended and about 6000 miles of new lines were constructed. (2) The army of India was reorganized in matters of artillery and transport. (3) The Imperial Cadet Corps was founded in 1901 to give training to the sons of Princes.

**His Relations with Native States.** The Nizam was persuaded to hand over Berar to the British Government under the fiction of a perpetual lease. It has now been restored to the Nizam. He organized the Imperial Cadet Corps to give military training to the sons of ruling chiefs. He also compelled the Native Princes to maintain a contingent of troops at their own expense to enable them to help the Government in times of need.

**Q. 209.** What were the chief measures of Lord Curzon's internal administration? Carefully estimate their value. (P.U., B.A., 1937)

Lord Curzon, a worshipper of efficiency, practically overhauled the whole administrative machinery of the country. He appointed a number of Commissions with the object of making an inquiry into every Department of the Government and the suggestions of these Commissions were later on put into action. His viceroyalty has been therefore, called the period of Commissions. His reforms can be discussed as follows :—

(1) **Agrarian and Economic Reforms.** (i) He started the Agricultural Department for research at Pusa and for the application of scientific methods to Indian agriculture. The quality of seeds and cattle were considerably improved. (ii) A new department of Commerce and Industry was established and placed under a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, known as the sixth member. (iii) The Punjab Land Alienation Act (1900) was passed to prevent the lands of the cultivators from being transferred by sale or mortgage to the money-lenders. (iv) By a Resolution on Land Revenue (1902) Lord Curzon defined the policy of the Government in the matter of Revenue administration and lessened the hardship of heavy assessment. The Government also did away with short term settlements and extended it for 30 years. (v) By the suspension and remission in 1905 it was laid down that the demand of the Government should be in accordance with the character of the season. (vi) Co-operative rural Banks and Societies were founded to help the cultivators and to lessen their burden of debt. In matters of irrigation, he brought large tracts of uncultivated lands under cultivation by systematizing irrigation in the Punjab.

for the sake of efficiency all other considerations should be sacrificed



(2) **Financial Reforms.** (i) Gold was made the legal tender and the price of a sovereign was fixed at Rs. 15. (ii) The salt tax was reduced. (iii) Lord Ripon's scheme of financial decentralization, started by Lord Mayo, which was subject to revision after every 5 years, was made quasi-permanent. (iv) Remission in taxes was allowed due to the outbreak of the terrible famine of 1899-1900.

(3) **Educational Reforms.** See further.

(4) **Administrative Reforms.** (i) The Police administration was inefficient and corrupt and it was thoroughly overhauled at the suggestion of a Commission that had been appointed to make an inquiry under an Inspector General of Agriculture. (ii) He separated the N. W. F. Province from the Punjab with its headquarters at Peshawar and it was placed under a Chief Commissioner responsible to the Government of India. (iii) Partition of Bengal was made

**Q. 210. Describe the circumstances that led to the Partition of Bengal, and account for the agitation that followed it.**

(P.U., B.A., 1935)

**Circumstances leading to the Partition of Bengal.** (1) In 1874, the Bengali-speaking districts of Sylhet, Cachar, and Goalpara were separated from Bengal, combined with Assam and placed under a separate Chief Commissioner. This new province was too small to have all the facilities of a full-fledged province, and consequently attempts were made for making this new province a self-contained one.

(2) Moreover, consideration of frontier defence also made it necessary to enlarge the boundaries of Assam. This necessitated the holding of a conference in 1891 which recommended that Lushai Hills and the Chittagong Division be also annexed to the Province of Assam.

(3) In 1896, it was further suggested that in addition to the above, the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh be also added to Assam. This scheme was opposed as a result of which only Lushai Hills were annexed with Assam and not the Chittagong Division, nor the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh.

(4) Lord Curzon in 1902 wrote to the Secretary of State for India that he intended to examine the whole question of rearranging provincial boundaries particularly that of Bengal, which was "unquestionably too large a charge for any one man." He regarded the boundaries of some provinces including Bengal as "antiquated, illogical and productive of inefficiency."

(5) Moreover Lord Curzon was of opinion that the police administration in Bengal was most inefficient due to the difficulties of internal communications.

(6) The trans-Gangetic districts due to the province being very unwieldy did not receive that amount of attention at the hands of the officers which they were entitled to.

(7) In 1903, when the question of the amalgamation of Berar with the Central Provinces was under discussion, it was again suggested that the Chittagong Division be transferred to Assam. Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, further suggested that not only the Chittagong Division, but also the districts of Dacca and



Mymensingh be incorporated with Assam. With the approval of Lord Curzon, it was put as an Act of the Government of India in 1903 and published for public opinion. This arrangement met with opposition. Even Lord Curzon failed to persuade the people to accept it. The proposal, therefore, had to be dropped.

(8) The fierce agitation which followed led Lord Curzon to change the scheme. He proposed that Bengal should be split up into two parts Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal and Assam be tacked on to Eastern Bengal. The proposal was secretly sent to the Secretary of State for India for approval, who with a few modifications accepted it. This scheme was passed in July 1905 and came into force in October 1905 in spite of the unprecedented opposition of the people from all over India.

**Reasons for Agitation.** The country-wide agitation against the Partition of Bengal was due to the fact that the Bengali-speaking people thought that the division was made on political grounds. It was to create a gulf between the communities, the Hindus and Mohammadans. It was a fact because the Government began to favour openly and deliberately the Mohammadans in order to win their sympathies for this measure. Mohammadans were given large proportion of Government posts. The then Lieutenant-Governor openly declared that of his two wives the Mohammadan wife was his favourite. Even Lord Curzon in a meeting of Mohammadans in Eastern Bengal while explaining the object of the Partition of Bengal said that one of the objects of the partition was to create a Mohammadan province where Islam could be predominant and its followers in the ascendancy. Moreover, to say that the agitation was engineered by a few self-interested persons is incorrect, because this measure was unanimously opposed by Indians, Anglo-Indians, Hindus and Mohammadans, professional classes, and landowners of urban and rural population. In short it is considered as the crowning act of the folly of Lord Curzon's regime in India. This Act was rescinded in 1911 on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar, held at Delhi by George V, the then Emperor of India.

**Results of this Policy.** As stated above, this measure caused stupendous agitation. Telegrams from the leaders of public opinion had no effect on the adamant Viceroy. Monstrous meetings were held at Calcutta and the Swadeshi pledges were taken and the Boycott resolution was passed. It strengthened the feelings of Indian Nationalism in the country. The Indian National Congress passed similar resolutions and confirmed them. This measure later on led to the anarchist movement in the country. The 16th of October was observed as a day of national mourning with four items: (1) Union between the sundered provinces shown inviolable by means of *rakhibandhan* (red thread round the wrist). (2) *Harfal* and fast. (3) Federation Hall to be erected with the statues of all the districts in Bengal, those of the sundered districts being shrouded until the day of the reunion. (4) National Fund to be raised for helping the weaving industry.

**Conclusion.** "The Partition struck both at the dignity of the Bengali nation and at the nationhood of the Indian Motherland, in whose honour the old invocation to the goddess Kali, *Bande Matram*



or "Hail to the Mother" acquired a new significance and came to be used as the political war cry of Indian Nationalism."

**Q. 211. Describe the educational reforms introduced by Lord Curzon.** (P.U., B.A., 1935 Sept.)

**Defects in the Education System.** Lord Curzon, the worshipper of efficiency, observed some grave defects in the system of education, then prevalent in the country. He was of opinion that "the system of education has taught the people of India the catchwords of western civilization without inspiring them with its spirit or inculcating its sobriety." He appointed a Commission under Sir Thomas Raleigh which recommended that the system of education should be overhauled. The Commission pointed out that education was still confined to the few and it did not filter down to the lower strata of the population. It has encouraged cramming without imparting true culture. In short, the system of education in the country was "mechanical, lifeless and perverted". These defects may be enumerated as follows:—(1) The standard of higher education given in the colleges was not very high and the Universities were mere examining bodies. (2) The Senates of some of the Universities in India were unwieldy and had members who were unsuited to this task. The education was producing a large number of discontented graduates and a crop of plucked candidates every year. (4) The education was mechanical, lifeless and perverted.

**Indian Universities Act (1904).** In order to remove the aforementioned defects, Lord Curzon desired that the graduates turned out from the Universities should be more efficient and the quality of the education given in the Universities should be improved. Moreover he wanted to assert the doctrine of state responsibility and control in the matter of University education. The Act, therefore, wanted to achieve the following: (1) The Universities should not only remain examining bodies, but they should also give impetus to research work by appointing University Professors and Lecturers. (2) The Universities and the colleges affiliated to them were to be brought much closer to each other than before. These colleges were also to remain open to inspection by University Inspectors. The powers of affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges were given to the Universities subject to the sanction of the Government. The size of University Senates and Syndicates was considerably reduced and new Senates, Syndicates, and Faculties were created. The Government was to nominate 80% of the members on the Senates. (4) This Act ordered the extension of residential life in schools and colleges. (5) In all the provinces, their respective vernaculars were to be the medium of instruction in the primary schools, while English was to be medium in the grades of higher education. (6) Training colleges were started in the various provinces for training the students as teachers.

**Criticism.** Sir Lovat Fraser remarks that a good deal of controversy was raised over this measure and it made the Viceroy unpopular with the educated classes in India. The very fact that the Universities in India were officialized on account of the majority of nominated members on the Senate is detrimental to the healthy growth of education. On account of the concentration of real power in his own hands or the Government of India, a conviction was growing that Lord



Curzon was restricting the opportunities for higher education open to young Indians. Lord Ronaldshay remarks: "Truth compels the admission that the changes actually brought about were small and out of proportion.....to the amount of time and thought which the Viceroy had devoted to them."

**Q 212. What was the Curzon-Kitchener Controversy and how did it end?**  
(P.U., B.A., 1936, Sept.)

In the Viceroy's Executive Council there were two members representing the Military Department—the Commander-in-Chief as the Extraordinary Member and an Ordinary Member in charge of the military affairs. The point involved in the controversy was important both from the constitutional and the administrative points of view, and the British Cabinet was in a terrible dilemma, the resignation of Lord Curzon on one side and that of Kitchener on the other.

**The History of the Case.** The position of the Commander-in-Chief in the Viceroy's Executive Council was certainly an anomalous one. There were two persons in the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of military affairs, (1) The Commander-in-Chief, the Executive head of the army and known as an Extraordinary Member in whom was vested the administrative control of the army. (2) An Ordinary Member of the Executive Council. The Military Member was a soldier, but was not allowed during his term of office to hold any army command. The Commander-in-Chief was second only to Viceroy both in his official and social capacity, but in all matters of military administration the Military Member had the last word and was supreme. Lord Kitchener objected to this position immediately after his arrival in India; and sent a draft to the Secretary of State for India for putting an end to this dual control of military affairs, but the matter was delayed till 1905.

**Defects.** The draft proposal sent by Lord Kitchener was discussed, and a good deal of correspondence passed between the Home Government and India. Lord Kitchener's point of view was (1) that the present system of Government was faulty, inefficient and incapable. (2) That divided authority and divided responsibility was harmful specially in war and therefore should be abolished. (3) The War Department in future should be placed in the hands of a single individual having the title of Commander-in-Chief and War Member of the Council, and that during the absence of the Commander-in-Chief in the field, an acting Commander-in-Chief should be appointed in the Viceroy's Council. The Home Government considered that the combination of the Executive and Administrative functions in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief was detrimental on account of two reasons:— (i) It will be physically impossible for any one man to discharge properly the combined duties. (ii) The combination of both the offices in one man would "concentrate military authority in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and subvert the supremacy of the civil power by depriving it of independent military advice."

**Compromise.** After some discussion, the following compromise was arrived at:—(i) The Military Member to be retained, he was to deal with army contracts, stores and supply and should be called



Military Supply Member. (ii) The Commander-in-Chief should exclusively control the strictly military departments of army administration, with a separate secretariate and should deal directly with the Government of India and not through the Military Supply Member. Lord Curzon was about to resign because this compromise was not acceptable to him. He thought that it was a practical triumph for Lord Kitchener. On the persuasion of some members, however, Lord Curzon submitted to this proposal.

**Curzon's Resignation.** In 1905, the trouble arose again over the question of the appointment of a new Military Supply Member. The Viceroy proposed one name and the Secretary of State rejected it. Lord Curzon resigned, and Lord Minto II was appointed Viceroy in 1905.

**New Arrangements Under Lord Minto II.** The Liberal Party came into power in 1905 and Lord Morley was appointed the Secretary of State for India. In 1906, new arrangements were made. The military department was abolished, and in its place two new departments were created :—(1) Army Department under the charge of the Commander-in-Chief to be directly responsible to the Governor-General-in-Council for the administration of Indian forces. (2) Department of Military Supply placed under the charge of the Member for Supply. This arrangement was subjected to two criticisms.—(1) That this arrangement would cause too great a strain upon the Commander-in-Chief, and (2) That there was not enough work for the Military Supply Member, and therefore it was a waste of money to keep him. In March 1919, the Military Member was abolished, and Lord Kitchener's proposals ultimately triumphed, and the Commander-in-Chief became the sole military authority in India.

**Defects of the New Arrangement.** This new arrangement proved extremely unsatisfactory as (1) it adversely affected the Indianization of the army and (2) it also led to the increase of Military expenditure.

**Q. 213. Is Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty a success or a failure ?**

(P.U., 1928)

**Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty a Failure.** The reign of Curzon is considered to be a failure in spite of a number of good reforms which he introduced in the country. His police reforms, the spread of network of railways and to crown all his economic reforms which bettered the condition of the farmers who constitute 1/5 of the whole population are very important. There is no denying the fact that he tried to give a stamp of his personality to all the departments of the state, but *the spirit of officialism and his over-enthusiasm for efficiency* have marred his regime and left behind a good deal of bickering. The following acts of his viceroyalty make one believe that his regime on the whole was a total failure because in his mad pursuit of his policy of officialism and efficiency, he ignored the sentiments of the people put under his charge. The following instances are quoted in support of the above argument :—

(1) *The Calcutta Corporation Act (1900).* In 1900, this Act was passed according to the wishes of Lord Curzon. The size of the Corporation was reduced from 75 to 50 members by cutting out 25



elective members. This Act, therefore, gave a definite majority to the British element. In short the Corporation became frankly 'an Anglo-Indian House'. Sir Surendra Nath Bannerji writes that the Act marked the extinction of Local-Self Government in the city. It was a sort of anti-Ripon organization. The Indian press agitated against it and 28 Indian members of the Corporation resigned in a body as a mark of protest.

(2) *The Indian Universities Act (1904)*. This measure, as Sir Lovet Fraser remarks, led to a good deal of controversy and made Lord Curzon unpopular with the educated classes in India. Moreover, a conviction was growing that the Viceroy was restricting the opportunities for higher education open to young Indians.

(3) *The Official Secrets Act (1899)*. This act was greatly resented by the Indians. In 1899, he prevented the disclosure of military secrets by making it an offence. In 1904, it was enacted that persons divulging the secrets relating to civil affairs, and a newspaper trying to bring the government in suspicion or contempt would be punished.

(4) *Partition of Bengal (1905)*. This led to fierce agitation. The partition was not based on political grounds. Bengali-speaking people described it as a gulf between the two sister-communities—Hindus and Mohammadans. Its object was to create a Mohammadan province. In short the Partition of Bengal is the crowning act of the folly of Lord Curzon's regime in India.

(5) *Costly Expedition to Tibet*. Indians were against the extension of British Imperialism and resented the heavy increase in the military expenditure—the amount that could be spent in nation-building activities. Indians did not wish Indian troops and Indian money to be used for inflicting misery and death on inoffensive people living in self-inflicted exclusion and loneliness.

(6) *The Placing of N.W.F. under the Central Government*. The separation of N.W.F. from the Punjab and its being placed directly under the Viceroy brought difficulties with Afghanistan and ultimately led to substantial increase in military expenditure.

(7) *Despatch of Indian troops to China and South Africa*. The despatch of Indian troops to China and South Africa was unjustified as they were meant for the protection of Indian frontiers and not for securing the extension of the empire-boundaries.

**Conclusion.** Lord Curzon's policy led to much unrest in India. "He was undoubtedly a great ruler according to his lights, but unfortunately for him and us Indians, these were defective. He was a worshipper of efficiency and this false god made him commit many a blunder. Mere efficiency cannot long be an ideal, nor can it satisfy people. As Mr. Montague pointed out in the Mesopotamia Debate in 1917, Lord Curzon was like a motor driver who spent all his energies and time in polishing up the different parts of his machine, but who drove it not because he never knew where to drive to. Like Dalhousie he sowed the wind, and left it to his successors to reap the whirlwind. He had no far-off vision to cheer him or his spectators, and great as an administrator, he must be admitted a failure as a statesman. He failed to cope with the rising tide of Indian nationalism and that is enough to condemn him."



QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give a short account of the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, with special reference to the internal reforms carried out in his administration.

2. Describe and criticize the measures by which Lord Curzon endeavoured to remedy the abuses of the Land Revenue and ameliorate the condition of the Indian peasantry.

[Hints. Four measures : (1) Punjab Land Alienation Act, (2) Lord Curzon's Resolution on Land Revenue in 1902 which defined the policy of the Government in the Revenue administration, (3) Cooperative and Credit Societies Act, (4) The organization of the Imperial Agricultural Department of research work and the agricultural farms for teaching the application of scientific methods in agriculture.]

3. Discuss the importance of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. What were the causes that led to the conclusion of his Government ?

4. Is it correct to describe Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty as a failure ? Critically discuss his educational and administrative reforms.

5. What was the Curzon-Kitchener controversy and how did it end ?  
(P.U. B.A., '36 Sept.)

6. Discuss :—"The Curzon Frontier Policy has now been superseded by or perhaps it would be fairer to say has developed into.....a new 'Forward policy... not of military conquests but of civilization."  
(P.U., B.A., '40 Sept.)

7. Bring out the importance of the reign of Lord Curzon in the history of India. Do you accept the view that he was 'Britain's Great Pro-Consul' ? Give reasons for your answer.  
(P.U., B.A., '41)

8. "Lord Curzon's period of office was especially notable for a drastic overhauling of the whole machinery of administration." Explain.

9. Describe the circumstances that led to the partition of Bengal and account for the agitation that followed it.  
(P.U., B.A., '35)

10. Give an account of the expedition led against Tibet. What were its results ?

11. Describe the relations with Persia during the rule of Curzon.

12. Analyze Lord Curzon's N.W.F. Policy. How far has it been a success ?  
(P.U., B.A., '41 Sept.)

13. Give an account of the expedition sent to Tibet by Lord Curzon. What did it achieve ultimately ?

14. Give an account of the changes introduced by Lord Kitchener in the administration of the army.

[Hints. (1) The efficiency of the fighting forces was increased ; (2) native regiments were re-armed ; (3) the artillery was given better guns ; (4) transport service was overhauled ; (5) Indian army trained for service abroad ; (6) the Imperial Cadet Corps was instituted in 1801, it consisted of young men of princely and noble families ; (7) the Military Member was dismissed and the whole military power was placed in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief.]





## CHAPTER XLII

### LORD MINTO II (1905-1910)

**His Career and Character.** Lord Curzon was succeeded by Lord Minto, the great grandson of the first earl, who was Governor-General from 1807-1813. The new Viceroy had fought in Afghanistan under Lord Roberts in 1878 and had been Governor-General of Canada from 1898 to 1904. With him, a new era opens in the Government of India, an era characterized by more liberal ideas, during which Indians began to be associated in the administration of the country in increasing numbers. Mr Dodwell speaks of him as follows:—"The new Governor-General was no politician, but had enjoyed a wide and varied experience of men. He had always been a keen sportsman; he had served for many years in the army, had fought in the Second Afghan War, and Egypt; he had taken an active part in the local administration according to the admirable tradition of English aristocracy; and he had occupied the high administrative post of the Governor-General of Canada. He had, therefore, seen men from many angles, and his vision derived from this experience a solidity which is denied to those who only watch life from the study window, or confuse the problems of statesmanship with the fluctuations of party debate. In addition to these advantages he had acquired in his entirely practical career the art of managing men, the knack of getting his own way, or as much of it as circumstances permitted, without domineering over or irritating those with whom he worked."

**Unrest in Bengal.** Lord Minto had to face a number of difficulties due to Lord Curzon's administration, particularly by the partition of Bengal. Due to this there was grave unrest in Bengal and the Bengalis had vowed to get this partition rescinded. British goods were boycotted and violent speeches were made against the Government. Many murders and dacoities were committed and many more were attempted. Sir Hebert Risley gave the following summary of political crimes in the Legislative Council in February, 1919. "Already they have a long score of murders or attempted murders to their account. There were two attempts to blow up Sir Andrew Fraser's train (the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), and one of the type which we are now unhappily familiar, to shoot him on a public occasion. Two attempts were made to shoot Mr. Kingsford (Magistrate of Muzzaffarpur), one of which caused the death of two English ladies. Inspector Nanda Lal Banerji, Babu Ashutosh Biswas, the public prosecutor at Alipur, Sir William Curzon Wyllie (at the India office), Mr. Jackson (Collector of Nasik), and only the other day Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul-Alum have been shot in the most deliberate and cold-blooded fashion. Of the three informers two have been killed, and on the third vengeance has been taken by the murder of his brother in the sight of his mother and sisters, Mr. Allen, the Magistrate of Dacca, was shot through the lungs and narrowly escaped with his life. Two picric acid bombs were thrown at His Excellency the Viceroy at Ahmedabad, and only failed to explode by their faulty construction. Not long afterwards attempt was made with a bomb on the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala." To stop this agitation, special Acts such as the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act were passed.

**His Foreign Policy.** In the foreign policy of the new Liberal government one of the most noteworthy achievements was the three-fold Convention between Great Britain and Russia (known as the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907), relating to Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia, which settled by peaceful diplomacy three long outstanding questions of Asian politics. (1) *Relations with Tibet.* The formal assent of China to the treaty of Lhasa of 1904 was necessary. At last, a Convention was signed at Peking in 1906, by which the treaty was confirmed, and Great Britain agreed neither to annex the country



nor to interfere in its internal administration, and China agreed to impose similar restrictions on other powers. The Chumbi Valley was evacuated under orders of the Secretary of State, though the Indian Government were opposed to it. In 1907, Great Britain and Russia agreed to respect the integrity of Tibet, to abstain from interference in its internal administration, to deal with Tibet through China and send no emissaries to Tibet. The control of the country thus passed into Chinese hands, and the Dalai Lama was eventually deposed. He came to Calcutta, and appealed to the Viceroy for help but in vain. The object of preventing the spread of Russian influence in Tibet was thus gained, although it amounted to a surrender of the aims of Lord Curzon's policy. (2) *Relations with Afghanistan*. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 recognized *status quo* in regard to Afghanistan only through the British Government, and to send no agents to that country. Habibullah, however refused to give his assent to this agreement between two foreign powers about his dominions without his permission. (3) *Relations with Persia*. From 1905-10, the condition of Persia was chaotic. Both Russia and England agreed to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, but Northern Persia was to be a Russian sphere of influence, and Southern Persia to be a British sphere of influence. This Convention of 1907 averted a conflict between Russia and England at the the time when Persia was in the throes of a revolution. (4) *Relations with the N.W. Frontier*. In 1908, trouble again broke out on the frontier, and it was found that rifles of European manufacture came to the Pathans from France *via* Muscat. In order to suppress this traffic, closer watch had to be maintained on ships leaving Muscat.

**The Opium Trade.** "A great humanitarian act was performed by the Government in 1907. The opium trade with China, of which the Government of India held the monopoly, brought a revenue of 8 to 10 crores a year. The Chinese Government wanted to suppress the traffic, as the opium-habit was ruining the manhood of China. As a result of diplomatic discussions, the Government of India agreed to sacrifice its revenue and gradually stop the traffic by reducing the export of opium by 5,100 chests every year. The pace was later on accelerated and the traffic has now almost stopped."

**Political unrest in India : Causes.** (a) **External.** (1) Japan had defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, and the whole Asian continent awoke from its lethargy. (2) In India the advanced educated party, following western liberal ideas, agitated for a greater share in the government of their own country. (3) The rise to power of the Radical party in England had inspired great hopes in the minds of the people, for they were known for their sympathy with Indian aspirations. (b) **Internal.** (1) The growing influence of the Indian National Congress, and the political alliance of Hindus and Mohammadans for a common object. (2) The revolt against the autocratic rule of Lord Curzon. (3) The boycott of English goods. The extremist propaganda led to riots and violence in several places. In spite of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act and other repressive measures, the agitation continued, and grew more and more violent each succeeding day.

**Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.** In spite of this outburst of political crime, Lord Morley and Lord Minto decided to take steps to



liberalize the Indian constitution. The reforms, known as Morley-Minto Reforms, were announced. By these reforms, which we have discussed at full length at another place, the number of members of the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils was increased. The Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay were also enlarged and such councils were established in provinces ruled by Lieutenant-Governors. The members of the councils were to be elected as well as nominated. These reforms, however, failed to satisfy the Indian National Congress, especially the principle of class representation was severely criticized. They were regarded only as a half-way house, and were in 1918 condemned as wholly inadequate.

**Drawbacks of Morley-Minto Reform Scheme.** The Morley-Minto scheme had serious defects :—(i) The electorate was too narrow and it did not satisfy the growing national aspirations of the Indians. (ii) There were no general franchise and no territorial constituencies. The members of the legislative councils were elected indirectly and consequently elections failed to encourage in members a sense of responsibility to the people. (iii) The elected members could not get any real legislative facilities. The nominated members always voted with the Government and defeated popular measures. (vi) The legislative bodies, whether supreme or provincial, were mere advisory bodies having no effective control over the Government. (v) Legislature powers of the councils were themselves very much restricted. Large number of subjects were outside the control of the councils. (iv) The legislative councils were presided over by the provincial Executive Heads, who exercised considerable influence over their deliberations. (vii) As regards finance, the provincial settlements were based not on provincial revenues, but on provincial needs. The Central government, therefore, not only controlled provincial expenditure to adjust the needs of provinces, but also kept down provincial charges to meet their own needs.

The Morley-Minto reforms were not intended, as the authors of the reforms themselves remarked, to give any parliamentary form of government to India. They were "the final outcome of the old conception which made the Government of India a benevolent despotism (tempered by a remote and only occasionally vigilant democracy) which might as it saw fit for purposes of enlightenment consult the wishes of its subjects."

**The Death of Edward VII.** King Edward VII died in 1910, and George V, succeeded him. Lord Minto, who had endeared himself by his reforms, left India in November 1910.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Why was the Indian Councils Act of 1909 passed ? What were its provisions ? How far was it an advancement upon the Act of 1891 ? Why did it fail to satisfy the Indian National Congress ?
2. What measures did Lord Minto II adopt for the suppression of the revolutionary propaganda and with what results ?
3. Describe briefly the foreign policy of Lord Minto II. What were its results ?



## CHAPTER XLIII

### LORD HARDINGE (1910-1916)

**His Career.** Lord Minto was succeeded by Sir Charles Hardinge, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who, on his elevation to the peerage, took the title of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst. He was the grandson of the Governor-General Hardinge who had fought in the First Sikh War. He had been a diplomat and had had no administrative experience before coming out to India. But he showed himself so sympathetic towards Indian aspirations and identified himself so thoroughly with the cause of the Indians at home and abroad, that it may be said that he was certainly the most popular Viceroy who ever ruled India, and his administration was successful in an eminent degree. He mixed freely with the Indians and sometimes visited the hostels and colleges and talked with students." Summing up the results of his government *The Times of India* remarked that Lord Hardinge had 'placed himself and his Government at the head of best Indian thought. He has won the confidence always given in true and transparent sincerity. He has made the government in India *the Indian Government*.' The chief events of his Viceroyalty may be briefly stated as follows :

**Relations with Tibet.** In 1912, there were rumours that China wished to conquer Tibet. The British Government told the Chinese authorities that while they acknowledged the suzerainty of China over Tibet they would strongly oppose the reduction of the country to the mere position of a province of the Chinese Empire. A settlement of this question was reached in 1911 and in 1914 a conference of Tibetan and Chinese delegates met at Simla.

**The South African Question.** In 1913, the Union Government of South Africa passed a law limiting the immigration of Indians, and prohibiting them from trading, farming or holding property. The Act produced great indignation and resentment in India. The Indians in South Africa under Mr. Gandhi offered passive resistance with the result that Gandhi and other leaders were arrested. Strikes occurred in various parts of the country. Lord Hardinge strongly condemned the measure. In the end the South African Government appointed a Commission which led to the passing of the Indian Relief Act in 1914. This Act recognized the *de facto* monogamous marriages and abolished the levee of £3 on Indian labourers. Although the Act did not entirely satisfy Indian aspirations, it was pronounced by Mr. Gandhi to be the Magna Carta of Indian liberty in South Africa. It may also be mentioned that the system of indentured labour which had been introduced in Natal to replace slavery, was far from satisfactory. The matter was taken up by Mr. Gokhale in 1910, and the system was at last abolished in 1917.

**The Steamship Komagata Maru.** South Africa at least admitted Asiatics under restrictions, however hard. Canada and British Columbia declined to receive them at all. Certain Indian leaders, as a kind of concrete protest, chartered the steamship *Komagata Maru* to convey three hundred Indians, mostly Sikhs, to Vancouver. They were not allowed to enter the colony and were obliged to return to Calcutta after some trouble, and there was an unfortunate collision with the police on their disembarkation.

**The Coronation Durbar of 1911.** King George V succeeded to the throne of Great Britain in May 1910, the coronation took place in Westminster Abbey in 1911, and on December 12, 1911, a grand Durbar was held at Delhi at which the King-Emperor presided in person. Certain boons were announced. Fifty lakhs were granted for education, the capital of India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, and the Partition of Bengal was partially undone. A Governor-in-Council was given to Bengal, Eastern Bengal being re-united with the old Province. A new province of Bihar, Orissa and Chota-Nagpur with a Lieutenant-



Governor was created ; and Assam was again placed under a Chief Commissioner. Roberts writes, "These changes were striking and dramatic. The transfer of the capital had no doubt many theoretical and logical advantages ; it was defended by the government on the ground that the consolidation of British rule in India and the development of the Railway system made it no longer necessary for the seat of government to be upon the sea-board. The Viceroy henceforward would be increasingly concerned with matters of purely imperial interest, and the subordinate provincial governorships would become more autonomous in their administration. Delhi, from its central position and its historical association, was obviously the best-fitted city in India for the capital of a quasi-federal empire. The re-union of Bengal was said to be 'not a reversal of the partition but a re-arrangement after experience'—a statement hardly consistent with facts. The appointment of a Governor of Bengal had long been a favourite notion with the advanced Indian party."

**Its Criticism.** These political experiments were naturally submitted to criticism on the following grounds, (1) That these changes could only be made by an Act of Parliament, and their premature announcement by the King was an encroachment by the Executive on the privileges of the House of Commons. (2) Economists objected to the huge outlay of expenditure on the new capital, which was at first estimated at £40,00,000, but revised estimates revealed the fact that the sum would probably amount to half as much again. (3) To dethrone a great capital is an invidious task. Round Calcutta had gathered all the most hallowed traditions of British India since the day of *Job Charnock*, and our national prejudices are little in sympathy with such dramatic strokes of constitutional experiment. (4) It was held by many that the trouble aroused by the Partition had subsided, that it was a grave error to re-open the question, and finally that the government had made a concession to the agitators—always a doubtful policy—and what was worse, had gone out of their way to do so when such a step was in no way necessary.

**A Bomb on Lord Hardinge.** On December 23, 1912, when Lord Hardinge was making his state entry into Delhi, a bomb was thrown at him as the procession was passing through the Chandni Chowk, which wounded him. One of his attendants who rode behind him on the same elephant was killed. This dastardly attack by some anarchist sent a thrill of horror throughout the country ; but the noble Viceroy showed great courage and forbearance on the occasion.

**The Outbreak of the Great War (1914-1919).** The Great War, which had ostensibly been fought to defend the freedom of small nationalities, concerns the history of Europe rather than that of India and cannot, therefore, be dealt with here. Being an integral part of the British Empire, India was drawn into the struggle. In this gigantic struggle, the popularity of Lord Hardinge stood Britain in great stead. The peoples and princes of India showed a deep and splendid loyalty to the British Empire, by contributing 2 million recruits and 100 millions towards the war debt. Indian troops fought side by side with those of the self governing dominions on the battle fields of France, Flanders, Macedonia, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Africa.

**Its Results.** Some of the political results which followed the Great War were :—(1) Import duties on cotton goods were raised, without any enhancement of the countervailing duty on the product of Indian mills. Protests from Manchester in this connection were ignored. (2) Another important result was the place allotted to India in the deliberations of the League of Nations. Two Indian representatives, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Satyendra Sinha, took part together with Sir James Meston in the Imperial War Conference in London in the spring of 1917 and afterwards in the Peace Conference. (3) In the reconstruction of the Coalition government following the general election of 1918, Sir Satyendra Sinha



was made Under-Secretary for India and elevated to the peerage under the title of Lord Sinha of Raipur. (4) The most important change was the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

**The Muslim League.** The Indian National Congress, started with the object of gaining Home Rule for India, was purely a Hindu movement in the beginning. The Muslims, under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad, stood apart. In 1904, the Muslim League was formed at Aligarh by the Muslim leaders to safeguard Muslim rights and interests. During the Balkan War, England was not at all friendly towards Turkey. This offended the Muslims. This event with a few others affected the Muslims of India very much. The Muslim League abandoned its old policy of loyalty and devotion, declared Home Rule as its ultimate goal and thus joined the Congress.

**Higher Education.** From the time of Lord Hardinge onwards, there has been such a renovation and expansion of educational activities, as had never been witnessed before. These activities have been fully dealt with at another place. It was Lord Hardinge who laid the foundation stone of the Benares Hindu University in February, 1916. The project of Muslim University at Aligarh, begun by H.H. the Aga Khan in 1911, hung fire for seven years and was established in 1919 by Lord Chelmsford. It was under him that the scheme of the Patna University was formulated in 1913, but the scheme did not materialize till 1917.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. What were the principal changes announced by His Majesty the King Emperor George V at the Coronation Durbar of 1911 and show how far were they desirable?

2. Write detailed notes on : (1) The Muslim League (2) The South African Question.

2. Give an account of the progress of education during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge.

4. Would you regard Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty in India (1910-16) as a failure? To what extent was he responsible for the "Mesopotamia Muddle"?

[Hints. The concentration of executive and administrative authority in the hands of one over-worked Commander-in-Chief resulted in collapse of the transport and of the medical service in Mesopotamia [Mesopotamia Muddle] during the Great War. The Commission of inquiry that followed strongly condemned the system adopted at the suggestion of Lord Kitchener and declared that it was not possible for the duties of Commander-in-Chief and Military Supply to be adequately performed by one man in time of war.]



## CHAPTER XLIV

### LORD CHELMSFORD (1916-1921)

Lord Chelmsford succeeded Lord Hardinge as Viceroy in 1916. The chief events of his viceroyalty may briefly be stated as follows :

**The Declaration of August 20th, 1917, the Preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919.** (*P.U. 1941*). Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, made an important announcement of British Policy on August 20, 1917. He enunciated four principles :—(1) The increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration. (2) The gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. (3) That progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. (4) That the Home Government in conjunction with the Government of India 'on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance'—to be determined by 'the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed on the sense of responsibility of the Indian people.' These four principles framed the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919.

✓ **The Govt. of India Act 1919 or the Montford Scheme.** After this announcement, Montagu came to India to consult with the Viceroy. In 1919 followed the reforms which have been described at full length elsewhere in this book. By these reforms, the Provincial Councils were enlarged, the departments were divided into two sections, '*the reserved*' and '*the transferred*,' the former to be managed by the Executive, and the latter by Indian Ministers. This division of the Provincial Government into two halves is spoken of as '*dyarchy*.' The Viceroy's Council was divided into a Council of State of sixty members and an Indian Legislative Assembly with two-third elected members was opened by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught towards the close of 1920. A Chamber of Princes was also formed.

✓ **The Third Afghan War, 1919.** Briefly stated, in 1919 Amir Habibullah was murdered for his pro-English tendencies. Despite much propaganda, he kept up his neutrality throughout the Great War. After his assassination, there was a civil war in the country. Amanullah, one of his younger sons, got possession of the throne of Afghanistan. In 1919, there had been disturbances in the Punjab following the passage of the Rowlatt Act. These disturbances nearly synchronized with a declaration of war by Afghanistan. The Amir, who had been put on his throne by the army, was persuaded to attack India. Moreover his position on the throne was insecure because of other claimants. He desired to divert the attention of his subjects from questions of domestic politics by declaring war upon India and thereby strengthen his own position on the throne. A short but decisive war followed. The Afghans were defeated, but they won back the control of their



foreign policy. The war was brought to an end by the treaty of August 1921, whereby the payment to the Amir was stopped, though he was allowed to conduct his own foreign relations.

**The Non-Co-operation Movement.** Mr. Ghulam Hussain in his hand-book, *History of British India and Its Administration*, has written a beautiful and useful note on this topic. It runs as follows: "A Committee had been appointed in 1918 under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Rowlatt, an English Judge, to enquire into conspiracies and political crimes in India and suggest measures to uproot the same. According to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee's report, two Acts, the so-called Rowlatt Acts (known also as the Black Bills), were passed by the Government of India in 1919 giving extensive powers to the police and the judiciary. As a protest against these Acts M. Gandhi launched his *Satyagrah* or non-violent passive resistance movement. Meetings were held all over the country and *hartals* were organized. Passive resistance soon assumed the form of violence. Public buildings and railway stations were burnt; Railway lines were broken and much violence was done. At Amritsar, a bank was broken and burnt and its manager was killed. An English woman was insulted. The authorities met the menace with the Martial Law. Amritsar was the first city in India where Martial Law was proclaimed and General Dyer was put in command to the city. He forbade public meetings. No living Indian had ever had any experience of martial law and nobody knew what it implied. In spite of the order of prohibition, the citizens of Amritsar held a public meeting in Jallianwalla Bagh. General Dyer mowed them down with machine guns. The massacre called forth a still more violent agitation. Martial Law was proclaimed over many districts. The fire of violence burnt itself out in a few weeks and the people quieted down. The martial law was withdrawn in course of time. The Government of India appointed a Committee to enquire into the Amritsar massacre and General Dyer was dismissed from service. The Daily Mail of London raised a huge sum in public subscriptions to compensate him for the loss of service. By the close of the year things had quieted down to such an extent that the Government felt justified in releasing the Muslim leaders (Messrs. Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali) who had been interned during the War, owing to their sympathies with the Turks. Immediately on their release, the Ali Brothers threw in their lot with M. Gandhi and the Hindu-Muslim unity was made an accomplished fact at Amritsar."

**History of the Khilafat Movement.** "A few preliminary explanations are needed to understand this (Hindu-Muslim) alliance. The Sultan of Turkey was the Caliph of Islam, to whom the Muslims all over the world owed a measure of loyalty. He had entered the war against Britain, and it was hard for the Muslims of India to supply recruits for the British army to fight against their own co-religionists. To re-assure the Muslims of India, the British Government gave a promise that whatever the outcome of the war, the Turkey would not be endangered and that the Holy Places of Islam would be left free under Muslim control. The Holy Places in question are in Hedjaz, Mesopotamia and Palestine. In the course of the war, the Arabs revolted under the leadership of Col. Lawrence and Hussain, the



Sharif of Mecca, against their Turkish sovereign. British gold came in very handy at the time. When the war ended, Mesopotamia and Palestine remained under British control. Lord Balfour, a British Minister, declared that a National Home for the Jews would be founded in Palestine and Lord Allenby, the conqueror of Palestine, was greeted by the responsible British Minister as 'our most successful crusader,' a remark which made it clear to the Muslims that the religious antagonism between the Muslims and the Christians was one of the key-notes of British policy towards the Muslims in Palestine at least. King Hussain of Hejaz was a mere puppet in the hands of the English, and the pretty bait that had been held out to him in order to induce him to revolt against the Turks, namely that all Arab lands would be united into one empire, proved a mere dream. It was a promise that had been made with the intention of breaking. As soon as the truce was signed, Constantinople was occupied by the Allies and the Turkish Sultan was reduced to the position of a helpless prisoner in his palace. Mr. Lloyd George, the then Prime Minister of England and the liberal inheritor of Gladstone's tradition of undying hatred of Turkey, induced Greece to attack the Turks in Asia Minor and drive them out of their fatherland. Britain also wished to retain possession of Constantinople, and the Archbishop of Canterbury arranged a demonstration in the streets of London demanding the conversion of the mosque of St. Sophia in Constantinople into a Christian church. The promises with which General Townsend was able to bring about truce between England and Turkey, were repudiated, and a most unjust treaty was imposed upon Turkey, which reduced the Emperor of Turkey to the position of an Indian Maharaja. The Sultan was helpless and was made to declare as rebels those Turkish patriots, who were trying to save Turkey from Greek aggression. The Greeks committed most inhuman barbarities upon the Turks in Smyrna. It was against these flagrant injustices and glaring breaches of promise that the Muslims of India rose to protest in 1920. Their demands were: (1) the integrity of the Turkish Sultan and Caliph with his capital at Constantinople, (2) the freedom of the Jazira-tul-Arab which included the western half of Mesopotamia, and (3) the establishment of a Muslim state in Palestine. All these demands were expressed by the single word—**Khilafat.**"

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Write a note on the historical significance of the Parliamentary announcement of 20th August, 1917, and bring out the main principles it contained.
2. Describe the salient features of the Govt. of India Act, 1919.
3. Define the word 'Khilafat' and give its brief history.
4. Give an account of the Third Afghan War. What were its results?

*Chambersford reforms*



## CHAPTER XLV

### LORD READING (1921-26)

**Lord Reading's Viceroyalty.** Lord Reading, a Jew of humble origin, was a barrister and later on became the Lord Chief Justice of England by his unusual abilities. During these critical times, he was appointed Viceroy of India because of his liberal tendencies. He was known for his shrewdness and diplomatic abilities. His viceroyalty was full of opposition and disorder. The Swarajists boycotted both the Duke of Connaught and the Prince of Wales, making black flag demonstrations. Moreover, there were strikes and riots at several places including Bombay. Meanwhile there was a split in the Congress. The Swarajists under the leadership of Mr. C.R. Das, a great patriot from Bengal, decided for council entry with a view to wreck it from within. This policy of mere negation soon proved useless. Mr. V J. Patel was elected as the President of the Legislative Assembly and with his election the non-co-operation movement came to an end.

#### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Describe the chief events of the viceroyalty of Lord Reading.
2. Give an account of the split that was caused in the Indian National Congress at this period.



## CHAPTER XLVI

### LORD IRWIN (1926-31)

**Simon Commission Appointed.** The reign of Lord Irwin is too recent to warrant any positive criticism. With his appointment the relations between the Government and the Sawarajists improved. According to the Government of India Act, it had been laid down that a Commission should be appointed after every ten years to examine as to how far the Indians have responded to the responsibility given to them already. In 1927, it was proclaimed that Sir John Simon with some other members of Parliament should form the new Statutory Commission. The Commission was boycotted from the very beginning by M. Gandhi's followers and the Moderates on the plea that all the members of the Commission were Europeans. The demand of the Indians was that instead of appointing a Commission, the Government should hold a Round Table Conference and make a promise of granting Dominion Status. There was a partial boycott of the Commission. Before the Commission could publish its report, the Viceroy announced that the goal of the Government of India was Dominion Status. A Round Table Conference was held in London by inviting representatives of India. In 1929, the Congress, held at Lahore under the leadership of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, voted for complete independence. Under the guidance of M. Gandhi, the non-co-operation movement was in full swing. The salt laws were broken. There were arrests all over the country and about 50,000 people, men and women, were imprisoned for political offences. The situation has been described as follows :—

**The Work of Lord Irwin.** "The Government of Lord Irwin was assailed on all sides. Some condemned it because it was weak ; others condemned it because it was repressive. Its conduct had a curious reaction upon political opinion in England, which possessed the dubious advantage of a minority Government. At one time the Conservatives were demanding the recall of Lord Irwin. Similarly, Provincial Governors were criticized for alleged inactivity. In the summer few predicted any success for the Round Table Conference. The Simon Commission published a report that was condemned by almost every party in India ; it was practically a still-born Report. Events had moved too rapidly. The Round Table Conference, however proved to be the culminating point of a world-wide interest in the Indian political struggle. The Princes, at first, assumed the lead. They stood for a federal Government in which the States and British India should be partners. At once the extremists, who had intended to ignore the Conference, showed the keenest concern. The Conference, despite all evil prognostications represented the voice of India. The delegates were still working in London when the troubled year 1930 came to an end."

#### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Write a note on the Simon Commission and its work.
2. Explain briefly the important events of the viceroyalty of Lord Irwin.



## CHAPTER XLVII

### LORD WILLINGDON (1931-36)

**His Career.** Lord Willingdon succeeded Lord Irwin as the Viceroy of India in 1931. He had previously acted as the Governor of Bombay from 1913-1919 and as the Governor of Madras from 1919-1924. He had also proved his administrative ability as the Governor-General of Canada from 1926 to 1930.

**Round Table Conference.** The Second Round Table Conference was held in London during his viceroyalty, the first having been held under Lord Irwin. But it was inconclusive because the different Indian communities especially the Hindus and the Mohammadans could not arrive at an agreed solution of their conflicting claims. The minorities too demanded special protection. As the Indians could not solve their communal problem, the question was left to the final arbitration of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

**National Government came into Existence.** In the meanwhile the Labour Government had resigned. The Labour Party was disrupted. A National Government was specially brought into existence to manage an economic crisis. It was predominantly conservative in its character and was not particularly enthusiastic about India's political advance.

**Civil Disobedience Movement started.** After Mahatma Gandhi's return from England in the beginning of 1932, the Civil Disobedience Movement was revived. Many eminent leaders were consequently sent to jail. The Viceroy passed a number of ordinances to suppress unlawful activities. The Congress movement received a temporary set back.

**The Communal Award announced and the Poona Pact.** The Prime Minister's award on the communal question was published a few months later in August. It did not satisfy the Hindus and a split in the Congress resulted in the formation of the Congress Nationalist Party. At the same time the world was staggered by the announcement that Mahatma Gandhi had decided to fast unto death as a protest against some of the clauses of the *Communal Award*, which referred to the depressed classes. There was naturally a great stir in the country. Hurried negotiations were held behind the prison bars, and ultimately an agreement was reached. It was embodied in what has been since known as the *Poona Pact*. The Communal Award was modified accordingly and the historic fact came to a happy end.

**Third Round Table Conference (1932).** Late in 1932, the Third Round Table Conference was convened in London. It considered the reports of various sub-committees appointed previously and formulated its own recommendations before dispersing at the end of 1932. They were considered by His Majesty's Government and in March 1933, the latter



published a White Paper containing their own proposals. These were considered by a Joint Committee of both the Houses of Parliament in consultation with Indian representatives. The President of this Joint Parliamentary Committee was Lord Linlithgow who was to act as the Viceroy later on. After the publication of that Committee's report, a bill was introduced in Parliament to give concrete shape to the net achievements of such prolonged investigations and discussions and to translate them into practical reality. The bill was finally passed as an Act in September, 1935. The Act is full of reactionary provisions and has, therefore, evoked severe condemnation throughout the country.

**Earthquakes.** It was also under the viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon that India suffered much from earthquakes in Bihar and Quetta, where there was a very great loss of life and property.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Discuss the work done by the Round Table Conferences.
2. Write a note on the Communal Award.
3. Give an account of the important events of the viceroyalty of Lord Willingdon.



## CHAPTER XLVIII

### LORD LINLITHGOW (1936-1944)

**His Career.** Lord Linlithgow was an eminent Scotch who had played a great part in the life of his country. His interest in Scottish Finance and Agriculture was keen. Hence he was specially suited to govern an agricultural country like India. He was the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture from 1926 to 1928. He also knew the Indian constitutional problem in all its phases as the Chairman of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933. He had a hand in the drafting of the Government of India Act of 1935. In 1936 he was asked to work it as the Viceroy of India.

**The Government of India Act of 1935.** The Act has two parts, Provincial Autonomy and the Federation. In 1937, the first part of the Act was introduced. Elections were held all over the country. According to the Act India had been divided into 11 Provinces. Burma was separated from India and two new Provinces of Orissa and Sind were created. The Congress came into power in Madras, Bombay, U.P., C.P. and Bihar and Crissa. Later on it formed ministries in Assam and N.W.F. Province too. But the Congress' acceptance of office was conditional; the Governors were not to resort to their special powers to interfere with the day-to-day activities of the government. Provincial Autonomy worked smoothly but a few constitutional crises took place especially on the question of the Indian States. Mahatma Gandhi interested himself much in Rajkot affairs. There was unrest also in Travancore, Hyderabad, Jaipur and some Orissa States.

**Split in the Congress.** A split took place in the Congress ranks. Subhash Chandra Bose, the President of the Indian National Congress in 1938 and 1939, resigned and formed the Forward Block to press more vehemently the National demand for freedom. Thus the Indian National Congress was divided into two camps, the Rightists and the Leftists. The Forward Block which was composed of the Leftists pressed for the ideal of Purna Swaraj.

**Outbreak of War in Europe.** The war broke out in Europe in September 1939. Unlike the Great War of 1914, the war of 1939 was a war of conflicting political ideals: Democracy versus Dictatorship. England and France ranged themselves on one side and Germany and Russia ranged themselves on the other. As Mr. Chamberlain stated clearly in some of his speeches, the Allied powers stood for democracy, international justice and decency and the rights of the smaller nations. The effect of the war of 1939 on Indian politics was immediate and sudden: (a) The Congress Ministries resigned. (b) Due to the same reason Federation could not be introduced. Attempts were, however, made to win India's willing co-operation to help England in her war effort against Germany. Proposals to solve the



Communal problem and to reconstruct the Central Government were not materialized.

After the outbreak of war, the relations between Germany and Russia became strained. Germany invaded Russia and carried on a bloody war. The Russians have now regained all the territories they had lost. On December 6, 1941, Japan declared war against England and the United States of America but ultimately Japan suffered a defeat. The allied forces occupied Japan.

Since the beginning of the war there had been three important occurrences, viz., (1) The Satyagrah movement by the Congress against the war. (2) The formation of the War Defence Committee in which Indians had been admitted. (3) The extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the addition of 8 Indian Members.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Describe the salient features of the Government of India Act of 1935.
2. Give an account of the split that was caused in the Congress.
3. Name some of the important measures of the viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow.



## CHAPTER XLIX

### LORD WAVELL (1944-1947)

The viceroyalty of Lord Wavell was characterized by three important events. The Second World War had come to a successful close. The Province of Burma, which had been taken away by the Japanese, has been rescued and the British are busy in reconstructing it. The general elections of the Central and Provincial Assemblies had been held and the Congress Ministers were functioning in all the provinces excepting those of the Punjab (where a Coalition ministry had been formed), Bengal and Sind (where League ministries had been formed). Some time before the general elections, with a view to form an all All-India Coalition Government at the centre, the Viceroy, in June 1945, invited the leaders of all the major political parties in India for a conference at Simla, but the negotiations broke down as the suggested parity between the Muslim and caste-Hindu members in the proposed Coalition Government was found unacceptable to the leaders of public opinion in India.

Early in January 1946, came a Parliamentary Good-will mission to India. After their return to England, Mr. Attlee, the Labour Premier, deputed three of his colleagues in the Cabinet—namely, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A.V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty to go to India, to help Indians in solving their own political problems with a view to the earliest realisation of complete independence. Immediately after their arrival the Mission started its work in right earnest. But after several weeks negotiations, talks and conferences, statements and counter-statements by both officials and non-officials they failed to arrive at an agreed solution acceptable to all the three major political parties. On the 16th May, 1946, they offered a constitutional set up which was the best solution they could think of. The Cabinet Mission's announcement sponsored a Union Government at the centre controlling Defence, Foreign Relations and Communications (to include Transport, Railways, Post and Air). The British Indian Provinces were divided into three groups: Group A comprising the provinces where the Hindus predominate namely—Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Delhi, Ajmer Marwara and Coorg; Group B comprising the Punjab, the N.W.F. Province, Sind and Baluchistan, and Group C comprising Bengal and Assam—the provinces where the Muslims preponderate. India was given the right to summon a Constituent Assembly which was to draw up a constitution for a free and Independent India, within or without the British Commonwealth. When this was done the Constituent Assembly to divide itself into 3 different sections (groupwise) in order to draw up the constitution for their respective Groups. After this any province would be free, if it so decided, to opt out of its Group. The Provinces will be autonomous and will possess the residuary powers.



After carefully considering these proposals the Congress sought clarification on certain points—so did the League. Ultimately both accepted the proposals with certain reservations.

Negotiations then commenced with regard to the Interim Government. But no agreed formula acceptable to all parties could be found. Ultimately on 16th June, 1946, the Viceroy and the Mission issued a statement, suggesting an Executive Council consisting of 14 members, all Indians, comprising of 5 caste-Hindus (all Congressites), 1 scheduled caste (also a Congressite), 5 Muslims (all Muslim Leaguers), 1 Parsi, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian. The League accepted it. The Congress suggested three changes in the proposed arrangement. As the Viceroy conceded only *one* of the three Congress amendments and rejected the other two, the Congress finally refused to co-operate in the formation of the Interim Government. The Cabinet Mission left India on 30th June, 1946\* and a Caretaker Government consisting of 8 members (all officials) had been formed. It included three members from the out-going Government—the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Akbar Hydari and A. A. Waugh. Only two of the members were Indians—Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir G. N. Bewoor. The members had taken their oath of office on 4th July, 1946. The Provincial Governments were instructed to go ahead with the election of Members for the Constituent Assembly. The elections to the Constituent Assembly were scheduled to be over by the end of July. The Caretaker Government was followed by the formation of an interim Government, which comprised of representatives of all major political parties of India. The Interim Government was also dissolved on 15th August, 1947, when India was declared free.

Lord Wavell handed over the office of Governor-Generalship to Lord Mountbatten, his successor, in March, 1947.

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\*Opinion will naturally differ as to what course the Viceroy ought to have adopted after the Congress's half refusal. Mr. Arthur Moore has suggested that if Lord Wavell had called upon Mr Jinnah to form a Government, faced with the prospect of opposition in the Central Legislature and from the provincial Governments, the Muslim League would have been obliged to seek co-operation from the Congress leaders and to come to terms with them. Says Mr. Moore; "Our good faith is suspect because we promise to part with power but show ourselves unwilling to do so. All that the Cabinet Mission offered India was a Government chosen by the Viceroy after consultation with the parties, but with the substitution of some names of his own for their nominees. They were to be his colleagues and he was to be the executive head, in other words, his own Prime Minister. This has no resemblance to Dominion practice, where the King's representative is not responsible for the actions of a Government. If we continue to say that India must first devise a constitution before she can have other than a 'puppet' Government we are pedantically creating an impasse, and must expect to be accused of doing so to maintain British rule. Moreover, so long as this is all we have to offer, we are forcing the two main parties to bid against each other for the largest place in the Viceregal sun, where they can forward their own policies but leave the responsibility with the Viceroy. Whereas if responsibility for the Centre during the constitution-making period were thrown upon either a Congressman or a League he would have to compromise. Otherwise no constitution would result and he would find himself at odds with the Provincial Governments controlled by his opponents."—*The Tribune, Lahore, dated 5, 1946.*



## CHAPTER L

### LORD MOUNTBATTEN (MARCH 1947-AUGUST 1947)

He replaced Lord Wavell in March 1947. He belongs to the British Royal Family and commanded the allied forces in S. E. Asia. He quickened the Quit India process as soon as he assumed the office of Governor-General.

**Declaration of 3rd June, 1947.** The Viceroy in a statement emphasized the partition of the country as the only solution of Indian Political dead-lock. The British Parliament, as a result, passed the Indian Independence Act in which it was laid down that India was to be free on August 15, 1947. The British rule was to come to an end and the country was to split up into two Dominions of India and Pakistan.

**Division of the Country.** On August 15, 1947, India was divided into two Dominions—Pakistan Dominion was to comprise of Sind, British Baluchistan, Western Punjab, East Bengal and Sylhet, a district in Assam, the rest of British India was to comprise the Dominion of India and Lord Mountbatten was to become the first Governor General of Free India. The paramountcy relapsed to Indian States and they were free to join either of the Dominion.

Though young and inexperienced, this Governor-General grasped the real difficulties in right earnest. He brought about an amicable settlement between the two major political parties. He was the final rung of the ladder of British Governor-Generals starting with Warren Hastings. With him extinguished the light of British Imperialism in India which blinded us for such long weary years.

**Lord Mountbatten.** (The first Governor-General of Free India (1947—1948.) He was the first and the last Englishman to be the Governor-General of Free India. The Congress Ministry was formed with Mr. Nehru as its Prime Minister and Sardar Patel (now late) as the Deputy Prime Minister.

The Cabinet consisted of the following :—

1. *Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru*—Prime Minister, in charge of External Affairs, Commonwealth Relations and Scientific Research.
2. *Sardar Patel*—Deputy Prime Minister, Home and Information and Broadcasting and States Depts.
3. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*—Minister of Education.
4. *S. Baldev Singh*—Minister for Defence.
5. *Shri Jaggivan Ram*—Minister for Labour.
6. *Dr. Rajendra Prasad*—Minister for Food and Agriculture.
7. *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*—Minister for Health.



8. *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar*—Minister for Law.
9. *Shri R. K. Chetty*—Minister for Finance.
10. *Dr. S. P. Mukerjee*—Minister for Industry and Supply.
11. *Shri K. C. Neogy*—Minister for Commerce.
12. *Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai*—Minister for Transport and Communication.
13. *Shri N. V. Gadgil*—Minister for Works, Mines and Power.
14. *Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar*—Minister without Port-folio.

**Social and Economic Conditions.** On August 15, 1947, India became a free dominion. Then followed the horrors of the Punjab and Sind. The great Calcutta killing was bad, the East Bengal atrocities were worse and the West Punjab horrors were the worst. The divided India set down to rebuild her administration, economy and security. But peace was not secured because of various factors in the situation. From August 1947 to December 1949 India had a period of experiment under new and unexpected conditions. It would be idle to say that the experiment has been free from faults, errors and omissions.

The economic consequences of the partition of India were both serious and far-reaching. With the division of the country, the problem of adjustment of economy faced our government. The cumulative effect of these two was that many economic problems came into forefront.

(1) The most important of such problems was that of food. Most of the wheat-growing areas, West Punjab and Sind, came under Pakistan. Our national government had to go with a begging bowl to foreign corn-producing countries, and their efforts met with success partially.

(2) The next problem was that of labour. Now the labour was demanding higher wages, dearness allowance and houses as their cost of living had gone up due to rise in prices. Consequently, strikes became more wide-spread than the pre-partitioned India.

The other feature of the labour problem was that of *shortage of hands*. Majority of the labour class, had migrated to Pakistan. Indian dominion lacked skilled Muslim labour. This problem was acute in case of transport—Transport bottlenecks which hindered the carriage of goods from one place to another.

(3) The next disheartening feature of Indian economy was the declining investment as well as business activity. Industrialists now adopted 'go-slow' policy with regard to the floating of new companies as well as expansion of existing ones. Then we can blame, along with Industrialists, the industrial policy adopted by our national government.

(4) After the partition of the country, the Indian dominion felt the shortage of two important industrial raw-materials, raw jute and cotton. The position was further worsened by the introduction of custom barriers and breach of trade agreement between the two countries. This undesirable factor checked our industrial development.

The cardinal as well as disheartening feature of post-war Indian economy was that of falling production, the child of a long list of



unfavourable circumstances like labour troubles, transport-bottlenecks, shortage of coal and partition of the country. The problem of falling production set into motion the phenomena of rising prices.

### POLITICAL EVENTS

**The Problem of Kashmir.** The notable event of the post-partitioned India was an attack upon Kashmir by the tribal raiders. Kashmir approached India with a request of military aid against those tribes. India agreed to help Kashmir in their attempt to turn out raiders from Kashmir who were supported by Pakistan with men and money. Pakistan helped these raiders on account of two factors :—(1) Since the Pakistan financial condition did not permit her to pay a tempting sum to the raiders which was formerly used to be paid by the British Government they diverted their attention towards Kashmir. (2) The movement for free Pakhtoonistan had entered into a critical as well as serious stage.

India lodged a complaint in the Security Council against Pakistan that it had breached the international law by helping the aggressors. Consequently a commission was appointed for Kashmir. The commission recommended for immediate cease-fire in Kashmir. But for long their proposal failed in bringing reasonable truce between the two countries over the issue.

**Dominion Government and Indian States.** The States Department was established on July 5, 1947, in the Central Government. The words of Lord Mountbatten—"You cannot run away from the Dominion Government any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible"—changed the outlook of the rulers of the states altogether. They thought it advisable to accede to Indian Dominion wherein the Government was to control—defence, external affairs and communications. With the exception of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir, all states inside Indian territories acceded or merged with Indian Dominion. The administration of Kutch and Junagadh was taken over by the Central Government. And the following State Unions were inaugurated—Matsya Union (March 1948) ; Rajasthan (March 1948) ; Himachal Pradesh (April 1948).

**India's Foreign Policy.** Since August 1947, Free India is developing her independent foreign policy. India has chosen to remain free from the two major-blocs of the present world. But that does not mean a permanent and lethargic neutrality, but a positive and active one demanding and taking action whenever peace is threatened and broken and liberty of independence is jeopardised. Despite India's neutrality in the global conflict of ideologies, India has certain definite aims to pursue for the advancement of the peace and prosperity of mankind. These are racial equality, end of colonialism, industrialisation of the under-developed countries and peaceful solution of international disputes by mutual agreements and conciliation. India is the champion of the low and down-trodden countries, steadfast in her aim of peaceful progress in a world already on its race of atomic and other armaments. Hence the growing international prestige of India. Our national government established diplomatic relations with most of foreign countries.



**Death of Mahatma Gandhi.** On 30th January, 1948, we were overtaken by the heart-rending news of the death of Mahatma Gandhi. The country plunged into mourning upon the death of the greatman of the world. The passing away of Mahatma Gandhi from amidst us was an irreparable loss to our country. He has given to posterity the most valuable principle of non-violence, only which can bring peace in the world. He was the greatest man that India has ever produced. Our country owe much to 'Bapu' because he was the man who devoted the whole of his life in freeing India from British rule.

Lord Mountbatten relinquished his office on 21st June, 1948 and he was succeeded by Shree C. Rajagopalcharya, then the Governor of West Bengal. He was a noble soul as he realised the difficulties of our country and never did anything at the cost of the interests of India. One cannot help remarking that he was the man who hastened the end of British rule in India.



## CAPTER LI

### CHAKRAVARTI RAJAGOPALCHARYA

(21ST JUNE 1948 TO JANUARY 1950)

After the retirement of Lord Mountbatten, C. Rajagopalcharya came into office. He was the first and the last Indian to be the Governor-General of Indian Dominion. During his times, Nehru's Ministry was in power with some changes in his cabinet. The events of his times, both political and economic, were manifold.

(a) **Labour Legislation.** Much was done to improve the lot of the labour-class. Many important acts were passed which raised the standard of welfare of this class. The notable acts were three :—

(1) **The Factories Act.** It widened the operation of factories regulations to such establishments which were not covered by earlier legislation. The Act appointed labour-welfare officers for large factories employing 500 or more workers and also fixed the age of employment of children at fourteen. Thus this Act clearly laid down the minimum requirements regarding health, safety and welfare of the workers.

(2) **Minimum Wages Act.** This Act fixed the minimum wages in those industries wherein either sweated labour or the exploitation of the labour was the rule rather than exception. The list of such employments numbered as much as eleven. Out of these important were, agriculture, public motor-transport, road-construction and building operation, leather tanneries and manufactures, etc.

(3) **Employees' State Insurance Act.** Every employee was to get himself insured if his monthly income was less than rupees four hundred. These persons were to get sickness benefit, disablement-benefit, dependent's benefit, medical benefit and mortality benefit. From an angle of social security, this was the most significant piece of legislation.

(b) **Trade Agreements and Barter Deals.** Our country was running short of the supplies of essential and critical commodities to Indian industries. Moreover, the country wanted to compensate the huge deficit on account of heavy imports of food-grains from abroad. With these main aims in view, our government entered into trade agreements with seven countries as well as barter deals with Russia and Argentina. It renewed our old commercial relations with countries like Japan and Western Germany and established new trade relations with new countries.

(c) The Industrial policy of the national government was announced in the Parliament House by Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, our Minister for industry. The policy was wedded to the slogan of nationalisation of Industries after ten years. It was made clear in the policy that the greatest need of the time was all-round greater production in order to



check the evil of rising prices. Some other measures were also taken by our government during 1948-50, in order to improve the state of industries in India.

A Central Emporium for cottage industries was started at Delhi with an aim to give a fillip to the production of such goods. Further, an Industrial Finance Corporation, a State Organisation was established in order to meet financial requirements of the Indian industry.

(d) The lot of the tillers of the soil in India was pitiable. Many provinces introduced Zamindari Bills in order to rescue the tenant from the tyrannies of big landlords. To these bills which numbered two, Governor-General gave his assent in 1949. (1) Madras Zamindari Abolition Bill. (2) Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill. Our national government started many multi-purpose projects in order to fight against the food-problem as well as problem of water supply to the agricultural lands. Our currency was devalued in terms of foreign currency, 1949.

**Home Affairs.** During the Governor-Generalship of C. Rajgopalcharya there had been many important developments in the country. On January 5, Indian Parliament passed a bill amending the Act of 1935 giving more powers to the centre in the interim period in respect of certain concurrent subjects in industrial and merged-state affairs. As a precaution against the threatened railway strike from March 9, a general round-up of communists was started in all provinces and states under Public Safety Act.

The different political parties raising their heads to exploit the tender situations in the country were dealt accordingly. The R. S. S. leader, Mr. Golwalkar, was arrested who issued directive to suspend the R. S. S. satyagrah. Master Tara Singh was taken into custody along with some other Akali leaders before holding a banned Akali meeting at New Delhi on February 19, 1949. Pandit Nehru declared on 5th August that the communists in India were engaged in sabotage and violence; and a month later the Home Ministry issued its indictment of the party and announced that lawlessness would be put down. Socialist Party advocated for a single leftist party in the country except the Communist Party.

The Territorial Army of India with a strength of 130,000 was inaugurated in New Delhi by the Governor-General of India on October 9, 1949.

On 10th February, the Gandhi Murder Trial Court announced death to Godse and Apte, transportation for life to Karkare, Madan Lal Kistaya, Gopal Godse and Parchure and acquittance of Mr. Savarkar with recommendation to commute the sentence of Kistaya to 2 years' R. I. The hearing of the appeals to the sentence began on May 2 and resulted in acquittance of Parchure and Kistaya. The Privy Council on October 12 rejected leave for appeal to those sentenced to imprisonment. The Governor-General rejected petitions for Godse and Apte. Both were hanged on November 15.

**Indian Dominion and Indian States.** The process of Democratization and integration of the Indian States reduced the five hundred



Indian States to nine units. The states have either merged with adjoining provinces or formed separate unions.

On March 30, 1949 a greater Rajasthan was inaugurated uniting Matsya Union and Rajasthan. Before this on March 1, Kolhapur was merged with Bombay and Sirohi was also handed over by the Government of India to Bombay. Bombay also gained by the merger of Baroda on May 1. Sandur was merged with Madras. On August 1, Tehri-Garhwal and on October 15, Banaras were merged with U. P. On December 1, 1949, the Rampur State was handed over by Government of India to the U. P. Government.

On July 1, the Travancore-Cochin Union was inaugurated. On June 1, the Government took over the administration of Bhopal.

On October 15, Tripura and Manipur completely merged with the Dominion Government, and constituted into Chief Commissioners' Provinces.

On November 24, 1949 the Nizam of Hyderabad issued a firman accepting the Constitution of India also applying over Hyderabad as for other parts of India. Nizam signed the Instrument of Accession.

Only exception regarding the merger of Indian States is the State of Jammu and Kashmir which is governed by the temporary provisions of article 370 of the Constitution.

**Relations with Foreign Countries.** India continued the foreign policy based upon the principles of universal peace, neutrality in bloc-politics of the world and establishing of friendly relations with new countries.

(1) **Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.** The Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference was held at London on 21st April, in which the prime-ministers of India, Australia, Pakistan, Ceylon, Canada, United Kingdom and Burma participated. At this conference our Prime-Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru declared that Indian Republic would remain a member of the Commonwealth nations bloc.

(2) India entered into a treaty of friendship with Bhutan, an independent neighbouring state to our country. By virtue of this treaty, India was to control the foreign policy of Bhutan only and to do nothing with her internal affairs.

(3) Our country exchanged diplomatic representatives with foreign countries such as Argentina, China, Vatican, Finland and Austria. Thus the bonds of friendship were established between India and those countries.

(4) **Relations with Pakistan.** The relations between India and Pakistan were strained. Their relations in the year 1949 started with an agreement of cease-fire in Kashmir. Further issues of evacuee property were settled in January 1949 by means of a conference. Many agreements on trade and communications were arrived upon by the two countries. The problem of canal water flowing from East Punjab to West Punjab came into existence. Some attempts to solve this problem met with partial success but this has not been completely solved. The important dispute relating to Kashmir remained unsettled.



The cease-fire agreement was based upon the acceptance of U.N.C.I.P. resolution of August, 13, 1948. But truce was not concluded. The Commission over Kashmir proposed for plebiscite and the appointment of Plebiscite Administrator, Admiral Chester Nimitz. But the Commission failed in its objectives.

The Constituent Assembly of Indian dominion adopted the new constitution of India after heated discussion. In the new Constitution of India, Indian dominion was to become the 'Sovereign Republic' of India, on 25th January 1950. Shree C. Rajagopalcharya went out of his office in January, 1950. He was replaced by the President of Indian Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.



## PART IV

### PRESIDENTS OF INDIAN REPUBLIC

### CHAPTER LII

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD (1950—)

Indian Republic took its birth on 26th January, 1950. The first President of our Republic Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who happens to be a noble soul as well as a great scholar, hails from Bihar.

#### POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EVENTS OF HIS TIME

**Pacific Relations Conference : 3rd October, 1950.** The eleventh session of the Institute of the Pacific Relations met at Lucknow on 3rd October, 1950 with Pt. H. N. Kunzru, as its President. This is an international non-governmental association of private national societies concerned with the scientific study of international affairs in the Pacific and the Far East. It was declared that India would pursue progressive socialist legislation and steer clear of the two blocs, that is the Anglo-American Bloc and the Russian Bloc.

**Indo-Pakistan Goodwill Conference.** The Indo-Pakistan Goodwill Conference opened at Lucknow on September, 30, by Govind Vallabh Pant, the Premier of the Uttar Pradesh. At this conference, about 200 delegates both from India and Pakistan were present. This conference stressed the need to promote amity and understanding between the two countries. Five resolutions were adopted at this conference. The most important was that the economic, the cultural and the social ties between the two countries should be strengthened.

**Indo-Afghanistan Friendship Treaty.** This Treaty of friendship was signed at New Delhi in January 1950. But it came into force on 1st October. The treaty lays down "Everlasting peace and friendship between the two countries. Both the Governments agreed to strengthen and to develop cultural ties between their countries as well as industrial and agricultural co-operation."

**Trade Agreements with Indonesia.** It had been recently concluded. The total value of the exchange of goods between the two countries is 37 million Rupiahs (Indonesian) worth of goods either way.

**Movement for Democratic Government in Nepal.** In Nepal the old aristocracy of the Rana family was an anachronism in the modern times. The Independence of India could not but affect the democratic feelings of the Nepal Congress. The King Tribhuvan, of Nepal, took asylum in India. A boy-king was enthroned in his place by Maharaja Mohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister of Nepal. A repressive measure was taken up by the Government Army. The congress volunteers retorted in the same coin.

India being the next door neighbour and Nepal situated between Himalayas and the Indian territory, the upheaval in that area was



surely to affect the safety of the Indian Republic. In order to settle the constitutional adjustment, a Nepalese deputation waited upon the Prime Minister of India. As a result of long talks a constitutional formula was evolved. The king was to return to his country and a popular, responsible ministry was to be set up.

**India's Attitude towards Korea.** The fluctuations of the Korean War along the 38th Parallel is a great force to arouse hopes and fear in the world. The Indian Government was opposed to the U.S.A., U.K and the French proposal to a full scale drive across the 38th Parallel in the Northern territory. An Indian medical mission is operating in South Korea.

**Chinese Invasion of Tibet.** During the month of November, "Chinese troops entered Lhasa. Tibet having accepted the Peking draft proposal, the hostilities are reported to have ended."

The Chinese adventure, though not unconstitutional, was unacceptable to Indian Government. Because firstly the issue was to be solved amicably, secondly a Tibetan mission was going to Peking to settle the problem.



**PART V**  
**THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA**  
**(OLD AND NEW)**

**CHAPTER LIII**

**INTRODUCTION**

**Q. 214. Justify the statement "The assumption of the Government of India by the Crown (1858) was rather a formal than a substantial change."**  
*(P.U., B.A., 1936, Sept.)*

**THE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE COMPANY TO THE CROWN**  
**A FORMAL MATTER**

**The Transfer was formal.** The transfer of the Indian Empire to the Crown involved far less change than might at first sight appear. All real power had long before passed to the President of the Board of Control. In 1858, the main rules by which India was to be governed were already laid down by the Parliament. India was only nominally governed by the Company's servants, it was known at all hands that they were really answerable to the British Parliament through the President of the Board of Control. The Act of 1853 had deprived the Directors of their most valued privilege, the patronage of India. In fact, the continued existence of the Company was only a time-honoured anomaly which the Act of 1858 thrust aside.

**The Stages in the transfer of power.** The interference by the Parliament into the affairs of the Company dates as far back as the Regulating Act of 1773. Pitt's India Act of 1784 divided the control between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control appointed by the King. The Charter Act of 1793 strengthened the control of the Crown over the Company by asking it to submit an annual account of its income and expenditure. The Commercial monopoly of the Company was also broken by allowing a few Englishmen to trade with India up to a certain limit. The Charter Act of 1813 threw open the general Indian trade, but the constitutional significance of the Act was that it started the sovereignty of the Crown over the territories of the Company. A further step in this direction was marked by the Charter Act of 1833. The Company was allowed to retain its territorial possession for another twenty years, but it was to hold them in trust for His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the service of the Government of India. The Company had to close its commercial business and its administrative affairs were henceforth to be conducted by the Court of Directors under the control of the Board as representing the Parliament. By the Charter Act of 1853, the charter of the Company was renewed but not for any definite number of years. The



Act further reduced the number of Directors from 24 to 18, out of whom 6 were to be appointed by the Crown. The Directors were thus deprived of their right of patronage. The Indian Civil Service was thrown open to general competition. The changes in detail were also formal. After the mutiny a Secretary of State with an India Council was appointed to take the place of the President of the Board of control on the one hand and Board of Directors on the other. This is in fact the only change made by the Act. It introduced no change in the actual administrative system of India, nor in the policy of the Government, nor in the laws to be administered, nor in the personnel. In view of the above-quoted facts, we find that in reality the government was already in the hands of the Crown, through the Board of Control, even before the Mutiny, and that the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown, therefore, marked a formal rather than any substantial change. The Dual Government was ended and in its place was appointed the Secretary of State to be assisted by a Council of 15 members.

**Q. 215.** Briefly state the constitutional significance of the Government of India Act of 1858, and show that it put an end to the Double Government in India. *(P.U., B.A., 1930)*

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ACT OF 1858 AND THE END OF DOUBLE GOVERNMENT

(a) The Act of 1858 has a three-fold constitutional significance. (1) **The Evolution of the 'Double Government.'** The administration of India by a commercial corporation in trust for the sovereign of Great Britain was abolished and the entire responsibility was assumed by the Crown. Accordingly the Act abolished the Courts of the Proprietors and Directors as well as the Board of Control. A special Secretary of State with an India Council was created. (2) **Responsibility of Parliament** The Secretary of State for India was to be a member of the Cabinet going out of office with it. The Viceroy, the head of the Indian administration, was more dependent on the Secretary of State than the Governor-General had been on the Board of Control. Thus the Government came under the direct control of a minister responsible to the Parliament. (3) **The Constitution of the Home Government.** The Secretary of State was to govern India with a Council of 15 members. This Council was primarily an advisory body. He may act in opposition to its decision under certain limitations.

(b) **The End of Double Government.** Before 1858, the Government of India was carried through two bodies i.e., the Courts of Proprietors and Directors and the Board of Control. The work which was transacted by these two bodies was now transferred from them to the Crown by the Act of 1858. In view of this, therefore, it is said that the Act of 1858 has put an end to the Double Government in India as created by Pitt's India Bill.

**Q. 216.** Compare and contrast the Queen Empress's Proclamation of 1858, and the King-Emperor's Proclamation of 1917.

#### THE PROCLAMATION OF 1858 AND 1917 COMPARED AND CONTRASTED

**The Proclamation of 1858.** The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 marks the beginning of a new epoch. With it starts the direct government of India under the British Parliament. Indian revenue henceforth is not ear-marked for paying dividends to share-holders of the Company. Promise is held out for the equality of treatment to all subjects of the Crown, and the maintenance of strict religious neutrality. Admission to service is assured according to education, ability and integrity, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Moreover an assurance is given that the ancient rights and customs of the country would be respected. A general promise is made for the promotion of the welfare of the people. The Proclamation did not mention any definite step by which these objects would be carried out. It



was left to the persons in charge of the administration to take necessary steps as the occasion would arise. In pursuance of this Proclamation, which is considered as the Magna Carta of India's liberty, Legislative Councils were instituted, open competitive examinations were introduced, and powers were delegated to the Indians to manage local and municipal affairs.

**Its Comparison and Contrast with the Act of 1917.** The Queen's Proclamation did not contemplate the grant of any responsible government to the people. Its main object was to allay suspicions, and to win the people over to the British Government. The announcement of 1917 comes as a corollary to this, but reduces the importance of the great measure by making the British Parliament the ultimate judge of the successive stages of progress. The idea of trusteeship is still there, which was absent in the earlier Proclamation. The people of India are denied the right to determine their own future. The Queen's Proclamation announced :—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our subjects." This means that no limitations would be put upon the liberties of the people by any other body excepting their own representative assemblies, as it is in Great Britain.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Show that the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown after 1858 was only a formal thing.
2. Discuss the importance of the Act of 1858.



*Indk* X

## CHAPTER LIV

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION (1773-1935)

##### (A) Under the Company.

The Indian Constitution consists of the following Acts which were passed from time to time :—(1) *The Regulating Act (1773)* was the foundation stone of the Indian Constitution. It gave a legalized and working constitution to the Company's dominions in India. By this Act a Governor-General of Bengal was appointed with a Council of four members for the government of Bengal holding a general control over Bombay and Madras presidencies, in their relations with native powers. A Supreme Court was set up for judicial purposes. The Charter Act was to be renewed after 20 years. (2) *The Declaratory Act (1781)* was passed with a view to remove some of the defects in the Regulating Act. (i) The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was defined; the Governor-General and the member of his Council were exempted from its jurisdiction which was limited to Calcutta and to British subjects elsewhere. (ii) The Supreme Court was not to try revenue cases. (iii) No action to be taken against judicial officers for their judicial decisions. In deciding civil cases, the law of the defendant was to be applied. (3) *The Fox India Bill*. This Bill aimed to remove the remaining defects in the constitution. It distinguished between the commercial and political dealings of the Company; it replaced (i) the Court of Directors by a Board of seven Directors or Commissioners invested with powers to appoint and displace officers in India and to administer the Company's territories, revenues, and commerce in trust for the Proprietors, and (ii) the Court of Proprietors by nine 'assistant directors' empowered to deal with the commercial affairs of the Company. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords owing to the intervention of George III. Its place was taken by Pitt's India Act (1784). (4) *Pitt's India Act (1784)*. By it in addition to the Court of Directors a Board of Control was appointed in England to look after the affairs of the Company. Thus Pitt's India Bill introduced the Dual Government. It also gave to the Governor-General more definite control on the subordinate presidencies. The members of the Council were reduced from four to three and the Governor-General was empowered in cases of emergency to over-ride the decisions of the Council. In fact, it was a measure of centralization and the Company came under the control of the British Parliament. (5) *The Amending Act (1786)*. By this Act, the offices of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were to be combined in the same person and the Governor-General was empowered to over-ride the decisions of his own Council in the interests of peace and tranquillity in India. (6) *The Second Declaratory Act (1788)*. By



this Act the Directors were required to submit annually to the British Parliament an account of their income and expenditure. The Board of Control got the right to send royal troops to India and their expenses were to be met out of the Indian revenues. This Act strengthened the Control of the Crown over the Company. (7) *The Charter Act (1793)*. By it the Company's privileges, commercial and political, were extended for another period of twenty years. A few concessions were granted to private traders after much agitation. (8) *The Charter Act (1813)*. The abolition of the entire monopoly of the Company with regard to the Indian trade (except in tea) reduced the powers of the Company and increased those of the Crown. The Charter was revised for another period of 20 years. A sum of one lakh of rupees a year was set aside for the spread of education in India. It also established an office of a Bishop for India and an archdeacon for each of the Presidencies. (9) *The Charter Act (1833)*. The charter was renewed for another period of 20 years. The Company ceased to be a trading body. It marks an important stage, therefore, in the history of Indian Constitution. The Governor-General of Bengal now became the Governor-General of India. The other presidencies were finally subordinated to the control of the Governor-General-in-Council. A fourth member was added for making laws. The Governor-General-in-Council could make laws for the whole of India and thus the Provincial Governments were deprived of this right. It carried centralization still further. The Company's monopoly of trade with China was taken away. (10) *The Charter Act (1853)*. Civil Service was thrown open to competition and thus the Court of Directors were deprived of patronage. The Executive Council was converted into a Legislative Council by the addition of two judges and four representative members from the provinces. In order to relieve the Governor-General of his work a separate Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for Bengal. The Charter was renewed but not for any definite number of years. (11) *The Charter Act (1858)*. The occurrence of the Mutiny brought about a change. The Government of India passed from the hands of the Company to that of the Crown. The Court of Directors and the Board of Control, the form of Dual Government created by Pitt's India Bill were abolished and their place was taken by the Secretary of State for India, who was also a member of the British Cabinet and therefore responsible to the Parliament for Indian affairs. He was to be assisted by a Council of fifteen members. The Governor-General henceforth is to be designated as Viceroy.

### (B) Under the Crown.

#### (12) *Indian Councils Act (1861)*.

**Causes.** The Indian Councils Act was passed on account of two reasons. The Provinces complained as to why the Bengal province should make laws for the whole of India, and argued that it was not possible for one Council, with no representation, to legislate for all India as it could not understand local needs. After the Mutiny, it had become necessary to add the native element so that the Government should remain in touch with the people and their feelings.

**Its Provisions.** It established for the first time a Legislative



Council for the whole of India with non-official members. A fifth member was added to the Viceroy's Executive Council and each member was given a separate portfolio, i.e., the process of decentralization began from 1861. Provincial Legislative Councils were also created for Bombay and Madras. The Governor-General was empowered to issue Ordinances having the force of law for not more than 6 months in cases of emergencies. This Act differed from the Act of 1833 which introduced centralization.

(13) *Indian Councils Act or Lord Cross's Act (1892).*

**Causes.** The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed owing to the following reasons :—The ill-feeling created by the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, the preachings and writings of Swami Dayanand, Maxmuller and others, the unpleasant Ilbert Bill controversy of 1883, the introduction of the principles of local-self government and the beginning of the holding of annual sessions by the Indian National Congress.

**Its Provisions.** The number of additional members in the Imperial Legislative Council was increased. The system of indirect representation was introduced. The Provincial Legislative Councils were further enlarged. Members of the Council were allowed to discuss the budget. The right of interpellation was also granted.

(14) *The Indian Councils Act (1909) Morley-Minto Reforms Scheme :—*

**Causes.** There were internal and external causes : (a) *Internal :—*  
(i) The formation of revolutionary societies to show their dissatisfaction against the English was at first started in Bombay and later on it spread to Bengal. (ii) The Universities Act of 1904 and the Partition of Bengal (1905) were very much resented by the Bengalis. (iii) The Boycott movement, the Bande Mataram and the terrorist movement were also responsible for the spread of disaffection in the country. (iv) *External.* In 1904, the victory of Japan over Russia made Indians feel that if a small eastern nation like Japan could score victory over a big European power why could not India over England.

**Its Provisions.** The Minto-Morley Reforms Scheme (1909) enlarged the Councils. Non-official majority was created in the Provincial Councils. The principle of indirect election was introduced. It also introduced the principle of commercial representation by giving the Mohammadans special representation.

**Defects.** The Councils were not representative of the whole population. Narrow franchises and indirect elections did not encourage the members to be responsible to the people. The Councils had no power of legislation and no control over finances. Centralization was still there. Members were empowered to ask supplementary questions and discuss the Budget. "In fact the Morley-Minto Reforms were an attempt to graft the principle of constitutionalism upon the former autocracy of British rule" (Sapre).

(15) *Government of India Act (1919).*

**Causes.** (i) Hindu-Muslim Unity, i.e., the combination of the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 due to the Khilafat Movement.



(ii) Revolutionary movements. (iii) Rowlatt Bills and the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy. (iv) Constructive fighters like Mrs. Anne Besant, Tilak and Gandhi on non-violent non-co-operation principles.

**Its Provisions.** The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme known as the Government of India Act (1919) was a great measure of decentralization. By this Provincial Governments were enlarged on the basis of direct election. Dyarchy was introduced in the Provinces. A bicameral system was introduced at the centre, i.e., the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. An Enquiry Committee was to be appointed after every ten years to inquire into the working of the constitution, and to report whether the degree of responsible government granted was to be extended, modified or restricted.

*Stages leading to Constitution Act of 1935.* The constitution introduced under the Act of 1919 has been sketched above. It must be conceded that it is a great improvement upon the system which existed before. The political system which prevailed before 1919 was based on the Indian Councils Act of 1909. In it the responsibility was lacking; in every legislature, central and provincial (except in Bengal), the elected members were in a minority; the ultimate decision rested in all cases with the Government, and the Councils were left with no function save that of criticism; and they criticized the executive in a very irresponsible manner. As compared with the Act of 1909, the present constitution is a great step in advance. It, however, met with opposition from its very inception. The politically-minded Indians considered the Reforms as a very meagre dose. They demanded full responsible government whereby the Executive would be entirely responsible to the Legislature. They insisted upon the appointment of Indians in large numbers to high posts including the army. In spite of the lack of co-operation between the Government and some classes of citizens, the Reforms under the Act of 1919 have given the citizens a more intimate touch with the administration than before.

(1) **Legislative Assembly Resolution (1921).** In 1921, the Central Legislative Assembly passed a comprehensive resolution demanding complete responsibility in the provincial councils and a revision of the Government of India Act.

(2) **Muddiman Committee 1924 (known also as a Reforms Inquiry Committee).** The Majority Report made suggestions for the better working of dyarchy, while the Minority Report held that dyarchy was unworkable.

(3) **Simon Commission (1927).** In 1927, due to the denunciation of dyarchy a Royal Commission was appointed to review the political progress of India and her fitness for further constitutional advance. It was designated as the Indian Statutory Commission, and known also as Simon Commission after the name of its Chairman or **All White Commission**, on account of the exclusion of Indians from it. The Commission did not arouse any hope and enthusiasm among the educated Indians and when it submitted its report its recommendation failed to satisfy them.

(4) **The Nehru Report (1929).** The Government had challenged the Indian politician to produce a joint constitution acceptable to all



communities and the outcome of that was an All-Party's Report in 1929 called the Nehru Report which was not accepted by the government.

(5) **Round Table Conference.** Mainly because of the almost universal dissatisfaction with the personnel of the Statutory Commission, it was decided to hold a Round Table Conference in London in order to discuss with representatives from India the future constitution of the country. The Round Table Conference held three sessions (1930-33). Some committees were appointed to go into such questions as the extension of the franchise and the structure of the federation.

(6) **Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931).** After the First Round Table Conference in which the Congress did not participate, Lord Irwin made a pact with M. Gandhi, who, as representative of the Congress with others, participated in the Second Round Table Conference.

(7) **The White Paper.** As a result of the discussions at the Conference and recommendations of the committees, certain proposals took definite shape and were published by the British Government in what is known as the White Paper (March 1932).

(8) **The Communal Award.** In the previous year the communal award had already been announced (August 4, 1932) to safeguard the interests of the depressed classes and Muslims.

(9) **The Poona Pact** made some changes in the condition of the depressed classes.

### COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

(P.U., B.A., 1930)

**Its History.** Communal representation means that each community should be represented in the Legislature. In 1892, Lord Lansdowne was of opinion that each important community should have an opportunity to present its views in the Council but the Indian Councils Act did not confer any such right upon any community. The Government, however, made nominations in a manner so as to secure the representation of different interests. As a result of the deputation led by Agha Khan to the Viceroy in 1906, the principle of communal representation was introduced by Lord Morley in 1909, by giving the Mohammadans separate electorates, while retaining their right to vote in the general electorates. Ramsay MacDonald at that time pointed out that communal representation had created an irreconcilable Ulster in India and had opened the Pandora's Box. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 confirmed it. The Montford Scheme, despite its opposition, retained it. Even the Simon Commission was against it, because the Commission held that separate communal electorates serve to perpetrate political divisions on purely communal lines. It is an undoubted obstacle in the way of the growth of a sense of a common citizenship. But they retained it. The White Paper and the Joint Parliamentary Committee have sanctioned it. The Communal Award was therefore announced in 1932 to safeguard the interests of the depressed classes and Muslims. The Poona Pact made some changes regarding the status of the depressed classes.

**Its Merits.** (1) Persons elected otherwise are not acceptable to the minorities. The minorities can safeguard their own interests

**Its Demerits.** The principle of communal representation does not permit the growth of the sense of civic responsibility, it rather embitters the feelings between the two major communities. The Montford Report writes as follows: "We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of Self-Government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State arranging its members in any way which encourage them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself. (2) The communal representation makes the people think first of the community to which they belong, as Hindus, Sikhs or Mohammadans. The idea of nationality cannot grow under these circumstances. It does no good to the community, it rather retards the progress of



the country, it is a grave menace to the growth of healthy nationalism in the country. (3) It impairs the efficiency of the Government. (4) It hinders the growth of amicable relations between the various communities."

**Conclusion.** On the whole it may be said that this principle is the most immoral, scientifically unsound, socially vicious and mischievous. The Legislative bodies have become areas for the members to fight with one another for individual interests rather than for the interests of the nation as a whole. Mrs. Besant says that no country can become prosperous or peaceful under such conditions as it destroys nationhood. Sir Surenendra Nath Bannerjee calls it a national calamity.

(10) **Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report.** A Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament was then set up to consider and report upon the White Paper proposals in consultation with Indian representatives. The Government of India Act of 1935 is based upon the White Paper and the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

(11) **The Government of India Act (1935) and its main Features.** The main features of the *Constitution Act of 1935* are the introduction of the Federation of India—a union between the Governor's provinces and those Indian States whose rulers signify their desire to become members of the Federation. It will consist of the Federal Executive, the Federal Legislature and the Federal Court. All executive acts of the Federation will be run in the name of the Governor-General. He will personally control the 'reserved' subjects as defence, foreign affairs, etc., and in the administration of other subjects, he will be assisted and advised by a Council of Ministers, who are to be members of the Legislature and should be able to command its confidence collectively. The Federal Legislature will consist of the Governor-General representing the king and two chambers to be styled the Council of State or Upper Chamber and the Federal Legislative Assembly or Lower Chamber. The former is to continue for 7 years having 260 members (150 elected from British India, 100 appointed by the Rulers of States and 10 nominated) and the latter for 5 years having 375 members (250 elected from British India and 125 appointed by the Rulers). Each Legislative Chamber is entitled to elect its President and Deputy-President from among its members. There are to be eleven Governors' Provinces, including Sind and Orissa. Burma is to be separated from India. In the Provinces of Madras, Bengal, the U. P., Bihar and Assam, there will be bicameral Legislatures (the Legislative Council or Upper Chamber and the Legislative Assembly or the Lower Chamber), and in the remaining there will be unicameral system (the Legislative Assembly). A Federal Court will be set up at Delhi consisting of a Chief Justice and several judges. The Federal Legislature will be empowered to establish a Supreme Court of Appeal from the High Courts in British India to serve the purpose of the Privy Council. By this Act the Council of India ceased to exist. The Railway administration was placed in charge of a Statutory Railway Board to be mainly nominated by the Government.

**Advantages.** (1) "The unity of India which can be achieved by an All-India Federation," observed the Joint Committee, "is likely to confer added strength, stability and prosperity on India as a whole, that is to say, both the States and British India. There would arise a greater India out of the union of the states and provinces than what



the world has yet seen. (2) The strongest argument in favour of the All India Federation is to be found in the present economic condition of India. The states cause obstruction in the flow of trade by levying taxes and similarly the Government of India have got the power of controlling the tariff. On such affairs the All-India Federation alone will have the power to adopt a common policy. (3) The provinces being made autonomous require a federal central organization to bind them together. Moreover, central responsibility is essential because such provinces cannot co-operate with an autocratic centre. This could have been possible in British India Federation had not there been the interests of the states. It had been observed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee that the central authority shall have to deal with the States. Therefore, the only possible alternative was an All-India Federation. (4) Lastly, it is said, that the All-India Federation was not thrust upon the people of India. It was welcomed by both the States Delegation as well as the Representatives of British India at the First Round Table Conference. (*Summarised.*)

**Disadvantages.** (1) A "Federation", as the Joint Committee itself states in its report, is an agreement between independent, or at least autonomous governments to surrender a definite part of their sovereignty or autonomy to a new central organisation. But the Indian provinces which are intended to federate with the states have been made autonomous for the first time by the new Act and yet combined into a Federation by one and the same Act. It follows, therefore, that the provinces had no original or independent powers or authority to surrender. (2) All-India Federation created by the Act is apparently composed of separate constituent units—the British provinces with responsible government and native states with personal government. But in a Federation the component parts must have a uniform system of government as in U. S. A. (3) The powers and authority of the Central Governments will differ in relation to different classes of units. The Central Government will have a wide range of powers in provinces while in states its powers will be restricted as the princes have made it a condition precedent to their joining the Federation that they will surrender only such powers as are specified in each case by the instrument of accession, by which they enter it. This is against the very basic principle of a true federal system of government. (4) The Federal Legislature will not control the Federal Executive (Governor-General) although responsible ministers will be chosen from amongst its members to administer the subjects not specifically reserved. This is unprecedented in the history of the Federal Constitution. (5) The British provinces will send their representatives to the Federal Legislature by election while those of the states will be nominated by the rulers. The nominated members will form an "official bloc." Such a body is not expected to be democratic. (6) The Legislative rights in many matters relating to Provinces are left with the Federal Legislature, *e.g.*, matters relating to the concurrent list. The state nominees will have a hand in legislation affecting the provinces while the representatives of the provinces will have no concern with legislation affecting States outside the Federal list. Thus a unilateral advantage is given to the states as against the provinces,



**EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947**

The Government of India Act 1935, as sketched above, was not fully implemented. And in April 1937, only the Provincial Autonomy was imposed on the people of Indian Provinces. The autonomy was more for the Governor of the Province, rather than for the people. The Autonomy of the Provinces was subject to many "safeguards" and cramped by Governor's "special responsibilities." Out of the 11 Provinces, the Congress secured absolute majority in 5 and in 4 it was the largest single party. The Muslim League had no majority in any Province. In the beginning Congress refused to enter into office. But being assured by Lord Linlithgow in June 1937, that the Governors would not interfere in the day-to-day administration of the Provinces, Congress formed Ministries in Bombay, Madras, U. P., Bihar, C. P., Orissa, N. W. F. P.; and in 1938 joined a Coalition Ministry in Sind and formed a Coalition Ministry in Assam. Thus except Bengal and the Punjab all the Provinces were under Congress Rule.

(1) **Congress in Opposition.** War broke out in Europe in September 1939. The Congress opposed all measures of British Imperialism to drag India into War. The very principle of war—being fought for Democracies—required India to be declared as an independent nation, democratically ruled, if she had to be co-operated in the war. As the British Government made no satisfactory response, the Congress resigned from its offices. Other parties continued in office. The Congress without embarrassing the Government demanded a Constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution for India. On August 8, 1940, Lord Linlithgow assured the minorities that no constitution would be framed without their consent; and stated in clear terms that the constitution-making body was to be set up after the war.

(2) **Lahore Resolution, 1940.** In 1940, the League passed a resolution that no constitutional scheme would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it was based on the principle that Muslim-majority areas in north-western and eastern zones of India should be made autonomous states. The extent of Pakistan was not clearly specified by this Resolution. In 1942 Mr. Jinnah cleared his mind over Pakistan consisting of N. W. F. P., the Punjab and Sind on the one side of India and Bengal on the other.

(3) **The Cripps Mission, 1942.** The early success of Japan forced Mr. Churchill to send Sir Stafford Cripps to India to explain some constitutional proposals. The Cripps proposals stated about a constitution making body; Indian States to participate in it; the conditions being that any province might refuse to accept union constitution; and till the new constitution is framed, defence of India was to remain in British hands. This offer was only a future promise "a post-dated cheque" as Mahatma Gandhi called it. It was direct encouragement for Pakistan. The Congress rejected it; League also rejected it.

(4) **'Quit India' and the August Revolt 1942.** Sir Cripps left India. Japan was knocking at the gate and people were still unreconciled. Mahatma Gandhi at once made "Quit India" a battle cry of Nationalist India. The Congress passed a resolution on July 14, 1942 to that purpose. On August 9, 1942 Mahatma Gandhi and Indian



Congress Working Committee were arrested. India was under repression. People were forced to become violent. Mahatma undertook a fast on February 10, 1943 for three weeks. A terrible famine followed in Bengal in 1943.

(5) **Rajagopalchari Formula 1944.** To bring Mr. Jinnah round for winning Independence Mr. C. Rajgopalachari evolved a formula for Congress-League co-operation on the basis of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah rejected this offer.

(6) **Wavell Plan, 1945.** With dubious statements as "no one can alter geography" and "the offer of March 1942 stands as it is" was put forward. Wavell tried to form an Executive Council of the political leaders of India, on the basis of equal proportions of Muslims and caste Hindus. The Congress members were released, Simla conference was held in June-July 1945, and failed, and dead-lock ensued.

(7) **I. N. A.** In 1943 Subash Chandra Bose, who had disappeared in 1941, formed Indian National Army and fought against British in Assam.

(8) **The Elections (1945-46).** The coming of Labour Party in power in England changed the course of British policy towards India. Declaration was made for General Elections in India and framing of constitution-making body.

(9) **The Cabinet Mission, 1946.** On March 23, 1946 three British Ministers arrived in India. Their purpose was to collect first hand impression about political situation in India. In May a conference was held at Simla with the representatives of the Congress and Muslim League. No compromise could be reached. The Mission announced its own Plan on May 16, 1946.

The salient features of the Cabinet Mission Plan were as follows :—

(1) The demand for Pakistan was examined and rejected. (2) It was regarded injurious to disintegrate the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India. (3) The gravest danger was felt for the division of armed forces. (4) The proposed Pakistan was separated by 700 miles and communication depended on the goodwill of Hindustan. So mission suggested one central government controlling specified subjects.

There were certain complications in the plan for formation of Groups of Provinces ; and also for the election of the constitution making body. Groups were divided into—"General", Muslim, and Sikh ; and into A. B. C. At the same time paramountcy of the Indian Native States was to return to the states. The greatest importance was attached to the setting up of an Interim Government.

The Cabinet Mission's Plan was accepted by all parties and the elections to the Constituent Assembly took place in July 1946. Seeing the commanding position of the Congress in the election, League decided to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan as also 'to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan.' On August 16, 1946 the 'Direct Action Day' of the League began.

Meanwhile, Pandit Nehru formed an Interim Government on September 2, 1946. After long negotiations League nominees joined



the Interim Government on October 26, 1946. But the two blocs within the Interim Government could not pull on together.

(10) **Statement of December 6, 1946.** British Government invited representatives of Congress, League and Sikhs and the Viceroy to London, and declared its support to the League interpretation of the Cabinet Mission's provisions about voting in Sections of the Constituent Assembly. The Congress hoping that League would join Constituent Assembly accepted even this interpretation. But Mr. Jinnah refused to join the Constituent Assembly.

(11) **The Constituent Assembly.** The first session of the Constituent Assembly began on December 9, 1946. Pandit Nehru moved the main resolution—"This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a constitution. . . . ."

(12) **Statement of February 1947.** On February 20, 1947, Mr. Attlee declared that it was the "definite intention" of the British Government 'to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948.' And he also announced the succession of Lord Louis Mountbatten.

(13) **Direct Action and the Mountbatten Plan.** The publication of Mr. Attlee's statement was followed by organised violence in Calcutta, Assam, the N. W. F. P. and the Punjab. The Hindus of Bengal favoured the partition of Bengal. The Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab also concluded that their Province must be partitioned.

Lord Mountbatten assumed charge in March 1947, and explained in a statement on June 3, 1947. He declared that the only alternative to coercion was partition. The Mountbatten Plan was accepted by the the Congress, the League and the Sikhs and given to effect immediately.

(14) **The Indian Independent Act, 1947.** In July 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act, which provided for the end of British rule in India on August 15, 1947. Two new Dominions, India and Pakistan, were set up, each Dominion having a Governor-General appointed by the king.

(15) **The Framing of the Republican Constitution.** The Mountbatten Plan removed all restrictions on the Constituent Assembly. On August 29, 1947, it appointed a Drafting Committee which prepared a Draft Constitution and submitted it to the President of the Assembly on February 21, 1948. The Constituent Assembly finalised the Constitution on November 26, 1949. It came into force on January 26, 1950.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Describe the various Government of India Acts from 1773 to 1851, and state the changes effected by them in the Government of India. (P.U., B.A. '34)

2. Make a critical estimate of the Mantague-Chelmsford Reforms. What were its short-comings? (P.U., B.A. '34, '38)



3. Estimate the importance of the Morley-Minto Reforms. Give also the composition and powers of the new legislature. (P.U., B.A. '35, '37 Sept.)
4. In what way was the Indian Council Acts of 1892 an advance on the Act of 1861 ? (P.U., B.A. '36)
5. Discuss the salient features of the Acts of 1813 and 1833. In what manner and to what extent, did they curtail the powers of the Company ? (P.U., B.A. '37)
6. What effects did experience reveal in the Regulating Act of 1773 ? How were they removed by Pitt's Act of 1784 ? (P.U., B.A. '39)
7. Describe the constitutional achievements of the Charter Act of 1833. In what respects was the Indian Councils Act of 1861 an advance upon the Act of 1833 ?
8. Describe the principal changes in the constitution of India during the latter half of the 19th century.
9. Describe the salient features of the Constitution Act of 1935.



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## CHAPTER LV

### “BHARAT, A SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC”

**I. Preamble, Territory and Citizenship.** India is a Republic, with an elected President, and based on the Parliamentary system of Government. The sovereign authority is vested in the people. Justice, liberty, equality and fraternity are the main objectives of the Constitution. To give practical shape to these objectives there are the “Fundamental Rights” and “Directive Principles of State Policy.”

Bharat is a ‘Union of States’ comprised of 28 States (A, B, C,) and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. New States may be admitted or established by Parliament with no right to secede for any state. The Constitution is Federal in structure, but with emphasis on uniformity. In times of war and emergencies it can become Unitary.

There is only Indian citizenship and no state citizenship. Heredity, birth and domicile are the conditions of citizenship qualifications; special facilities are provided for persons who have migrated to India from Pakistan.

**II. Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles.** The Constitution declares elaborate fundamental rights, providing legal enforcement by the Supreme Court of these rights. But, State, when necessary can impose limitations on them. All laws opposed to Fundamental rights are void.

The seven categories under which the fundamental rights fall are—  
(1) Right to Equality, (2) Right to Freedom, (3) Right against Exploitation, (4) Right to Freedom of Religion, (5) Cultural and Educational Rights, (6) Right to Property and (7) Right to Constitutional Remedies.

*excludes*  
Some extra-legal instructions are issued to the Legislature and the Executive for their guidance, in the form of Directive Principles. Though not enforceable by any court, they are fundamental and their application in the making of laws shall be the duty of the State.

The State is to direct its policy towards securing adequate means of livelihood for all, just distribution of material resources, no concentration of wealth to common detriment, equal pay for equal work to both sexes, wealth and strength of workers, protection of childhood and youth. ✓ There are further directives to organise village panchayats; ✓ to secure effectively the right to work, ✓ to education and to public assistance in certain cases; to secure just and human conditions of work and for maternity relief; living wages etc. for workers, a uniform civil code for the citizens, free compulsory education for children, to promote educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes and other weaker sections, to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health, to organise agriculture and animal husbandry, to protect monuments and places and objects of national importance, to take steps to separate judiciary from executive, to promote international peace and security. ✓



**III. The Union Government ; President.** The President is an elected and nominal executive head. The executive powers of the Union is vested in him and all executive action is taken in his name. He is the supreme commander of the Defence Forces. He is elected by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of both Houses of Parliament and of the Legislative Assemblies of the States by single transferable vote system. His term of office is five years and eligible for re-election. He must be a citizen of India, of full 35 years, qualified for membership of the House of People, holding no office of profit under any public authority. He has official residence, a salary of Rs. 10,000 and allowances. He has to make an oath or affirmation before entering upon his office. And by a majority of two-third members of the Parliament, the President may be removed for violation of the Constitution. He has the privilege to grant pardons, reprieves, respites or remissions of punishments in certain cases.

**The Executive Powers of the President.** The constitution provides with a Council of Ministers to "aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions." Though it is not expressly mentioned that the President must always act on the advice of the Ministers, but it is expected that he will follow the British practice and act on Ministerial advice alone. The President appoints the Prime Minister, and other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister communicates to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to administration and legislation and other informations which the President may call for.

The President may summon and prorogue either House of Parliament and dissolve the House of People. He may address and send messages to the Houses of Parliament. He delivers an address giving "the causes of its summons," at the commencement of every session of Parliament. He may summon a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament, if they fail to agree on a Bill. The President causes to be laid (through the Ministers) before both the Houses of Parliament the "annual financial statement." No demand for a grant can be made except on the recommendation of the President. The President may make rules as to the procedure for the joint sittings of and communications between, the two Houses. He may consult the Supreme Court on any question of law or fact which is of public importance. The President receives reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, and places them (through the ministers) before the two Houses.

The States in Part C of the First Schedule (former chief Commissioners' Provinces) are administered by the President through Chief Commissioners, or through Lieutenant-Governors. He also administers the Andaman and Nicobar Islands through a Chief Commissioner, and may make regulations for the peace and good government of this territory. The President receives from the Governors or Rajpramukhs, reports regarding the administration of Scheduled Areas within their States. The President may entrust to the government of a State functions in relation to any matters under the executive power of the Union. He may establish an Inter-State Council over disputes between States. The President is authorised to appoint a Finance Commission to distribute taxes between the Union and the States.



**The Legislative Powers of the President.** The Parliament consists of the President, the Council of States and the House of People. Every Bill passed by the two Houses is presented to the President for his assent. He may give his assent or withhold it. He may refer any Bill (except a Money Bill) for reconsideration by the Houses. If that Bill is presented to him again after reconsideration by the Houses, he cannot withhold his assent from it. He lays down before the Parliament the annual financial statement. The President may promulgate Ordinances during recess of Parliament. Such an Ordinance has the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament and it ceases to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of Parliament unless it is approved by both Houses.

Any Bill passed by a State Legislature may be reserved by the Governor concerned for the consideration of the President, if in the Governor's opinion that Bill is likely to derogate from the powers of the High Court. The President may or may not assent to such a Bill or direct the Governor to return the Bill for reconsideration by the State Legislature. He may make regulations which may repeal or amend any law made by the Parliament for the peace and good government of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

**President's Powers of Appointment and Dismissal.** Besides appointing the political executive, the President has an authority to nominate 12 members of the Council of States. He also appoints administrative service men. He appoints the Attorney-General for India, to advise the Government on legal matters and do some legal duties; the Chief Justice and judges of the Supreme Court; the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Courts; the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India; the Governors, the Chief Commissioners, Lieutenant-Governors; Commissioners and advisory councils over some matters. He makes rules regulating the recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed in the public services. All persons—Ministers, Governors and persons serving the union hold office during the pleasure of the President. A person holding a civil post under the Union may be dismissed or removed or reduced in rank without being given an opportunity of showing cause against such action if the President is satisfied that in the interest of the security of the State it is necessary to do so. The Chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission of the Union, and also of a Joint Commission serving the needs of two or more States, are appointed by the President and can be removed by him.

**President and Matters of Elections.** The President appoints an Election Commission to supervise, direct, and control elections. President may nominate, not more than two members of the Anglo-Indian community, if it is not adequately represented in the House of People. He appoints a Special Officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; and a Commission for the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes; and a Commission for backward classes.

**President and Official Language.** The President shall appoint at the end of five years and ten years from the commencement of the new constitution, a Commission to report on the progressive use of the Hindi Language for the official purposes of the Union.



**President's Emergency Powers.** The President is authorised to issue a Proclamation of Emergency when the security of India or any part thereof is threatened whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance. Such a proclamation must be approved by both Houses of Parliament before the expiration of two months; otherwise it shall cease to operate at the end of two months. As a result of this proclamation, India will be governed as a unitary state. The Executive and Legislative authorities at the centre will take up even the matters of the States in their hands to legislate upon and execute them. This arrangement lasts the emergency period.

The Constitution also vests in the Union the duty to protect every State, and to see that states' governments are carried on according to the Constitution. The President can take up the functions of the government of any state in his own hands if the situation in that state so requires, and Parliament takes up its legislative functions. This arrangement lasts for three years at the most, and two months at least. This is an emergency measure and not a normal feature of the Constitution.

For financial stability or credit of India, or of any part thereof the President may issue directives to any state to observe certain canons of financial propriety.

The President is immune from all civil and criminal proceedings during his term of office. These are certain special powers of the President during the transitional period.

**The Vice-President.** There is a Vice-President who is elected by the members of Parliament. His term of office is five years. He is the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States. When there is any casual vacancy in the office of the President, the Vice-President acts as President, till a new President is elected. He also discharges the functions of the President during the temporary absence of the President. He can be removed from office by the Council of States.

**IV. Council of Ministers.** To aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions, there is a Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President and the other ministers are appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister, but all of them shall hold office during the pleasure of the President and they are collectively responsible to the House of People. The Ministers must be members of either House of Parliament or become one within six months.

**V. The Parliament.** There is a Parliament for the Union which consists of two Houses, the Council of States is to consist of 250 members, of whom 12 members will be nominated by the President. Rest of the members are to be indirectly elected from amongst the elected members of the legislatures of the States. The members to be nominated by the President will consist of persons having special knowledge or practical experience in literature, art, science, and social services. The Council of States is not subject to dissolution.

The House of People is to consist of 500 members directly elected by the adult voters in the States, on the scale of not less than one representative for every 750,000 of the population, and not more than one for 500,000 of the population. It shall continue for five years unless



dissolved sooner ; or the period of five years is extended by Parliament by law on ground of existence of Emergency. Seats shall be reserved in the House of People for the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes. President may appoint not more than two Anglo-Indians if that community is not adequately represented, in the House of People.

The Houses of Parliament must be summoned to meet twice at least in every year. The House of People may be dissolved by the President. He prorogues the Houses. The President may address them separately or together, may send messages to either. But at the commencement of each session both Houses are addressed by him together.

The Vice-President of India is the ex-officio Chairman of the Council of States. A Deputy Chairman is elected by the Council of States. The House of the People elects a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker. There is separate secretarial staff of each House.

All elections to the House of People shall be on the basis of adult suffrage. No person shall be ineligible on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them. And with a view to securing fairness and impartiality in the matter of all elections, the Constitution provides that the superintendence, direction and control of all elections shall vest in a commission to be appointed by the President. The Chief Election Commissioner enjoys a tenure similar to that of a Judge of the Supreme Court, so that his independence is assured and he may perform his duties free from executive control.

There is freedom of speech in Parliament. No member of Parliament is liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in Parliament.

**Legislative Procedure.** Any Bill except a Money Bill may originate in either House of Parliament and must be passed by both Houses and assented to by the President before it becomes law. A disputed bill other than Money Bill is carried through at a joint sitting.

A Money Bill can only be introduced in the House of the People on the recommendation of the President. Parliament may discuss but cannot vote upon the expenditure charged upon the consolidation Fund of India. The Council of States has to return the Money Bill within 14 days. The House of People may accept or reject recommendations of the Council of State, and the Bill passes as accepted by the House of People. Each department will be authorised to make expenditure sanctioned by the Parliament, not by certification by the President but by an Appropriation Act. Additional or supplementary demands for grants can be put forward. There is also votes on accounts, on credit and exceptional grants.

The President has power to promulgate Ordinances during recess of Parliament.

**VI. The Supreme Court.** In India the Act of 1935 provided for the establishment of a Federal Court. Under the present Constitution the highest court is called the Supreme Court. Judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President and hold office until they attain the age of 65 years. A Judge of the Supreme Court can be one who is a



citizen of India, and has been a judge of a High Court for at least five years or an advocate of ten years standing ; distinguished jurist may also be appointed. Retired judges can also be appointed if consented by the President. A Judge of the Supreme Court cannot be removed from his office except by an order of the President, who will be asked to do so only if each House of Parliament agrees by two-third majority. The constitution has fixed their salaries. A retired judge of this court cannot practise in India. The object is to secure independence for the Court.

The Supreme Court of India has exclusive original jurisdiction in disputes between the Union Government and State or States. It has appellate jurisdiction in all cases from High Court over the interpretation of the Constitution. Its jurisdiction over civil matters and other cases is similar to that exercised by Privy Council before 1947. Appeals from the High Courts may also lie in Criminal cases. It has special authority to enforce the Fundamental Rights ; and advisory function.

### THE STATES

**The Government of the States.** Former Governors' Provinces, now called States, have following arrangements :

**I. The Governor.** The executive power of the State is vested in the Governor and all executive action is formally taken in his name. He is appointed by the President for five years. His qualifications are like that of the President. He receives Rs. 5,500 as his salary. He has certain prerogatives to grant pardons.

To aid and advise the Governor, there is a Council of Ministers headed by a Chief Minister. The relationship of the Governor, Ministry and Legislature are based on parliamentary system, like that of the Central Government.

As a formal executive head he carries out his ceremonial functions regarding the legislature as to summon, prorogue and dissolve it. He also nominates some members in the Legislative Council, where there are two Houses. He delivers an opening address at every new session. He decides according to the opinion of the Election Commission about disqualifying a legislative member. Every Bill becomes an act after his assent to it, which he may refuse or withhold for President's consideration. He lays before the legislature the "annual financial statement", and he alone recommends a demand for grant.

He has got authority to promulgate Ordinances under certain circumstances.

The Governor has certain powers of appointment posting, and promotion of district judges etc. He cannot be tried in law courts during his term of Office.

**II. Council of Ministers.** There is a council of ministers to aid the Governor. Except the cases where the Governor has to act in his discretion, he is expected to act on the advice of the ministers. His powers thus are exercised by the Council of Ministers. The Ministry is appointed by the Governor first selecting a Chief Minister. Ministers should be members of legislature or become within six months. They hold office during the pleasure of the Governor but they are responsible



to the Legislative Assembly. Governor makes rules for the conduct of Governmental business.

The Chief Minister is the joining link between the ministers and the Governor. The number of ministers is not specified but in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa there shall be a minister in charge of tribal welfare.

**The State Legislature.** Except Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, U. P. and West Bengal, in every other state there is only one House. The Houses of State legislatures are known as the upper house, called the Legislative Council, and the lower house called Legislative Assembly. Parliament creates or abolishes Legislative Council.

The membership of the Legislative Assembly varies from 500 to 60. Members are elected by the adult votes of the State, the proportion being one member for every 75,000 population.

And the Legislative Council shall not have more than one-fourth of the Legislative Assembly in the State. But nowhere less than 40. The members of the Council come from local authorities, graduates of Universities, teachers, Legislative Assembly and some to be nominated by the Governor.

The functions of the legislature and its work is run on the Parliamentary lines. There is no separate electorate based on communal basis, with a few reservations for the Scheduled Castes and tribes. There will be joint electorate and one general electoral roll. The Legislature has parliamentary privileges. But there is no provision for a joint meeting of two Houses wherever they exist.

The President under emergency may assume the functions of the Government of a State.

**IV. The High Court.** The jurisdiction and powers of the High Courts are the same as they were immediately before the commencement of the Constitution. But the Constitution gives them certain additional powers. Every High Court will now issue prerogative writs throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises its appellate jurisdiction. Now they will also superintend over all tribunals within their jurisdiction. India has a unitary judiciary.

#### PART B STATES

The Part B states (former Indian Native States) have similar constitutional sketch as the States in Part A. But the executive head is a Rajpramukh who is recognised by the President. He acts as the Governor in Part A States.

As regards Kashmir there are powers as specified in the Instrument of Accession.

#### PART C STATES

These are former Chief Commissioners' Provinces. President will govern them through his agents. Parliament may create local legislature etc there.

#### PART D TERRITORIES

The territories, not included in A, B, C, States and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands will be administered by the President through Chief Commissioners.



## CHAPTER LVI

### THE JUDICIARY

**Q. 217. Give the History of the Judiciary in India.**

(P.U., B.A., 1936)

#### THE HISTORY OF THE JUDICIARY

With the grant of the Diwani from the Moghul Emperor in 1765, the work of civil justice also fell upon the English, who maintained the existing arrangements as far as possible. The experiment did not succeed well. In 1771, it was, therefore, stopped. In 1772, Warren Hastings set up new judicial institutions.

**Warren Hastings. Civil side.** Registrar's and Munsiff's Courts were set up with Indian judges in every district. Over them were the European Zila judges, who did their work with the help of Hindu and Mohammanan Assistants. The judges were also the Collectors of revenue in their own districts. Six provincial courts were set up to hear and determine appeals from the courts. At the top stood the Sadar Diwani Adalat as the highest court of appeal consisting of the Governor-General-in-Council.

**Criminal side.** On the criminal side, Nizamat Adalats were set up with Mohammanan presiding judges who were to work under the supervision of European Collectors. The members of the provincial courts went on circuit for the purpose of criminal cases. Sadar Nizamat Adalat was at the top with a Mohammanan presiding officer. In civil cases the law and customs of the defendant were applicable while in criminal cases the Mohammanan law shorn of its rigours was applied.

The Regulating Act (1774) set up a Supreme Court at Calcutta with powers over all British subjects. It consisted of a Chief Justice and three junior judges. The Supreme Court was quite independent of the Company's Courts. This led to conflict of jurisdiction between the Supreme Court, the powers of which were not clearly defined and the Governor-General-in-Council, which controlled the Company's Courts. Warren Hastings sought to avoid this conflict by appointing Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to be the head of the Company's Courts as well. In 1781, a Declaratory Act was passed which defined the duties of the Supreme Court and the Company's Courts.

**Cornwallis.** The next important step was taken by Lord Cornwallis. He established a hierarchy of district courts of appeal under three European Judges. Moreover, the village courts were set up under Munsiffs. Sadar Adalat Diwani was at the top under the Governor-General-in-Council for Criminal cases. Courts of Circuits were established and these were presided over by the judges of the provincial courts. The work of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat was taken



over by the Governor-General-in-Council. The Mohammadan criminal law was still in force. He separated the revenue from the judiciary and the Collectors were thus deprived of their judicial duties. He ordered that Indians should not be appointed to any office but the lowest. He also got a code compiled known as Cornwallis Code for the conduct of business in the various courts.

**Lord Wellesley.** In 1801, in the days of Lord Wellesley, the two appellate courts underwent a change. Three judges from the Covenanted Civil Service were appointed for the Sadar Adalat.

**William Bentinck.** Lord William Bentinck introduced the following changes : He appointed Indians in large numbers. With a view to economise the administration, he destroyed the separation between the judiciary and the executive. He ordered court proceedings to be recorded in Urdu rather than in Persian. He abolished the provincial courts. In 1833, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was set up as the highest court of appeal for the overseas dominion of the British Empire. The Committee could also hear appeals from India. It was at this time that Macaulay was appointed as Law Member.

**Under the Crown.** In 1861, the Penal Code was compiled and in 1872 the Code of Criminal Procedure was drafted and enacted. After the transference of the power from the Company to the Crown, in 1861, the Company Courts and the Crown Courts were mixed up and High Courts were set up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

**Ilbert Bill Controversy.** The Code of Criminal Procedure (1872) had brought in the question of racial distinction. To terminate it Mr. C. P. Ilbert introduced the Ilbert Bill in 1883, the days of Lord Ripon to the effect that Indian judges in the presidencies should be empowered to try cases of European British subjects. It led to a good deal of agitation. Later on a colourless compromise was made by which Indian judges were empowered to try cases of Englishmen, who were privileged to have a jury, half the members of which were to be English and half Indians. Under the Reforms Scheme of 1919 Dr. Sapru was appointed as the Law Member. A Committee was appointed to remove traces of racial distinction. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru succeeded in getting a law passed to the effect that Indians like Englishmen could also claim a jury, half the members of which should be Indians.

**The Government of India Act 1935.** By the Government of India Act of 1935, the Judicature had undergone some changes. It had provided for the establishment of a Federal Court. The Federal Court was a court of record which was ordinarily to sit at Delhi, or at such other places as the Chief Justice, with the consent of the Governor-General, could decide. It consisted of a Chief Justice and not more than six judges. Every Judge of the Federal Court was appointed by His Majesty and remained in office till at the age of 65. It had both original and appellate jurisdiction. Privy Council in England was the highest court of appeal in Indian judicial matters.

**Supreme Court.** In the new constitution the highest Court is the Supreme Court. Its jurisdiction corresponds to that exercised by the Privy Council before the commencement of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. No more appeal lies with the Privy Council in London.



Every judge of the *Supreme Court* is appointed by the President and holds office until he attains the age of 65 years. For appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court, a person should be a citizen of India, and should have been a Judge of a High Court for at least five years or an advocate of ten years' standing. The President may also appoint a person who in his opinion is a distinguished jurist to be a Judge of the Supreme Court. Provision has been made for employment of retired Judges in the Supreme Court with the previous consent of the President. A Judge of the Supreme Court cannot be removed from his office except by an order of the President, passed after an address by each House of Parliament supported by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting, has been presented to the President in the same session asking for his removal on the ground of proved mis-behaviour or incapacity. The salaries of the Judges of the Supreme Court are fixed by the Constitution itself. After retirement a Judge of the Supreme Court cannot practise in any law Court or before any authority in India. Thus the Constitution tries to secure the independence of the highest court in every possible way.

The Supreme Court of the Indian federation has wider powers than the highest court in any other federation. The Supreme Court of India has exclusive original jurisdiction in disputes between the Union Government and one or more states or between two or more states *inter se*. It has also an appellate jurisdiction in all cases from every High Court involving questions of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has been also given criminal appellate jurisdiction over the State High Courts in certain specified classes of cases. It has a very wide revisory jurisdiction not only over all courts in India but also over tribunals which may not be called courts in the strict sense of the term. The Supreme Court has a special jurisdiction as regards the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights. It has also a special advisory jurisdiction.

**Hierarchy in Judiciary.** A significant feature of the Indian Federation is that it has a unitary judiciary. All the courts in the Indian Union—from the Supreme Court at the top to the subordinate courts at the bottom—form a single judicial hierarchy, whereas in other federations there is a dual judiciary.

**Executive and Judiciary.** There is a directive in the Constitution that "the state shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the state." Many states of the Indian Union have started giving effect to this directive. Thus the age-old combination and subordination of judiciary will be freed from the official clutches. A free and independent Judiciary is the guardian of people's liberty.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give some account of the development of the Judicial System of Bengal till the time of Lord Cornwallis. (P. U., B.A., '37)
2. What changes were effected by the Act of 1935 in the judicial machinery of the country?
3. Contrast the Judicial reforms of Cornwallis with those of Bentinck.
4. Explain the Ilbert Bill Controversy.



## CHAPTER LVII

### DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

**Difference between Local Government and Local Self-Government.** There is a vast difference between Local Government and Local Self-Government. By Local Government is meant the administration of the sub-division of the area of a country. This administration deals only with the local affairs which do not directly affect the nation at large, but only concern the inhabitants of a particular district or place. Now this local government may be carried on either by locally elected bodies or by state officials. If the local Government is administered by such local bodies as have been elected by the people living in that particular locality it is designated as Local Self-Government. But, on the other hand, if the Government of that locality is carried on by officials of the state or the Central Government it will be known only as the Local Government. It is not Local Self-Government then. To illustrate this point with reference to India, the district and the provincial administration will come within the meaning of the Local Government, while the administration carried on by village Panchayats, Municipalities and District Boards will be grouped under the term Local Self-Government, because the people of the locality themselves elect these bodies.

**History of Local Self-Government** (P.U., B.A., 1930, Sept.). Municipalities and Local Boards in India are the creations of British rule. Their beginnings are to be traced in the presidency towns. In 1687, a municipal corporation was established in Madras. The imposition of taxes by this body was resisted. In 1729, the three presidency towns were given a Mayor's court to perform judicial functions only. In 1793, Justices of Peace were appointed in the presidency towns to manage their conservancy arrangements. Between 1840 and 1853 an elective element was introduced in the corporation but the decision was reversed in 1856 when the work in the presidency towns was entrusted to three nominated commissioners. In 1872, 1876 and 1878 attempts were made to introduce the element of election by the rate-payers. The first attempt to set up municipal institutions outside the presidency towns was made in Bengal in 1842. The experiment was a failure on account of the antipathy of the people towards direct taxes. In 1850, an Act was passed for the whole of India allowing the setting up of municipalities with powers to levy indirect taxes. Despite all this the real municipal life was long in appearing.

**Lord Mayo.** The Indian Councils Act of 1861 and Lord Mayo's resolution on the decentralization of Finance gave some powers to the municipalities. In 1871, Local Committees were set up in almost all districts of the Punjab especially, and elsewhere also. The bodies were to advise the heads of districts on matters similar to those entrusted to these bodies today.

**Lord Ripon.** With a view to giving political and popular education to the Indians Lord Ripon suggested to the provincial Governments that municipal boards should be set up in all important towns. For rural areas, he advocated the establishment of Taluqa Boards and District Boards. These bodies were given definite duties and definite sources of income were allotted to them. These bodies were to have a

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sum of collecting  
revenue and then spending it  
on revenue works like  
roads, water supply, etc.



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non-official majority. The officials were not to exceed one-third of the total number of members. The principle of election was introduced. It was also suggested that these bodies might have a non-official chairman. Internal administration of these District Boards was to be left free and official control was to be exercised from without rather than from within. The Government was to revise and check the acts of the local bodies rather than dictate to them. In pursuance of the above policy the provincial Government of Madras passed a Local Boards Act in 1884, which gave it the work of lighting and cleaning the streets, education, water supply and medical aid. The board was to be financed by a light tax. In 1885, an Act was passed in Bengal to the same effect. In the Punjab the District Boards Act and the Municipal Act were passed in 1884. In fact Lord Ripon's resolution remained the bed rock of municipal government in India for many years afterwards.

**From Elgin II to Lord Minto II.** Lord Elgin also issued revised instructions on the subject. (1) In 1907 and 1909 the Decentralization Committee recommended the appointment of Punchayats in villages, and this suggestion was carried into effect by the passing of Village Punchayats Act. (2) It recommended that the elective element be increased. (3) The Government control over these bodies should be relaxed by allowing these bodies to have an elected in place of an official chairman. (4) The bodies should have complete control over their budgets. (5) The power of levying more taxes within their limits be given. These recommendations were carried into effect. The Morley-Minto Reforms Scheme of 1909 left the problem of Local Self-Government untouched.

**The Government of India Act, 1919.** After the Great War the Government of India Act (1919) enacted that there should be "as far as possible complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence from outside control." It laid down that local bodies were to be democratized in their construction and were to have a substantial majority of elected members. Non-official elected chairmen were to be allowed. Municipal and local boards should be allowed to vary the taxation. The amount of interference in their budget and their establishment was to be lessened and they were to be allowed control over their own establishments. By this Local Self-Government became a transferred subject entrusted to a minister, nominated by the Governor out of the elected members of the legislative council. Rapid advance is now being made in this direction by establishing elected Small Town Committees in places which cannot have municipalities.

**Spheres of Local Self-Government.** We can divide the sphere of Local Self-Government into the following five classes :—

- (a) Municipal administration (b) Rural District administration  
(c) Village Punchayat administration. (d) Improvement Trusts. (e) Port Trusts.

(a) **Municipal Administration.** The province of municipal administration may be divided into two separate heads :—

- (1) Municipal administration carried on in Presidency towns. (2) Municipal administration exercised in District towns.



(1) In the year 1687, a Royal Charter of incorporation was granted to Madras and in 1726 a Corporation with Mayor's courts were established in Calcutta and Madras. Lahore also got a Corporation in 1946.

**Calcutta Corporation.** The present Municipal administration of Calcutta is regulated by Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899. The Corporation consists of fifty members, who are called Commissioners, besides an elected Chairman called the Mayor. Half the members are elected and the rest are nominated. There are several committees and sub-committees to help in the working of the Corporation administration. The Corporation has the right of fixing the rates of taxation. The Mayor is the Chief Executive Officer, and subject to the approval of the Corporation the entire control of executive operations rests in him. Its financial position is quite stable.

**Madras Corporation.** Its present administration is regulated by Madras Municipal Act of 1904. Out of a total number of 36 Commissioners, twenty are elected and the rest are nominated. The levying of municipal taxes by the Corporation requires the sanction of the Government. There is a Standing Committee consisting of the President and eight Commissioners which is concerned chiefly with financial and building questions.

**Bombay Corporation.** It is governed by the Bombay Act of 1888. At present there are 72 Commissioners of whom only 16 are nominated. Out of the remaining 56 elected Commissioners, 16 are elected by the Justices of Peace, two by the fellows of the University and two by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. The President is elected by the Councillors and presides over the meetings of the Council. The Chief Executive authority is not vested in the President but in a Municipal Commissioner, who is nominated by the Government. Their financial position is satisfactory.

(2) **Municipalities of the District Towns.** It was in 1870 that Lord Mayo's Government formulated their policy in their famous resolution wherein it was said, "Local interest, supervision, and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to Education, Sanitation, Medical Relief, Charity and Local Public Works". A still greater stride was made by Lord Ripon, in whose time an Act was passed in 1884 which greatly extended the elective system. The Reforms Acts of 1909 and 1919 have conferred still more freedom on the municipalities which contain elective majority.

**Their Constitutions.** At present there are about 770 municipalities in India. The majority of the members of these municipalities are elected by the towns people. In every municipality there are a number of nominated councillors who form about 30% of the total number. These nominated members chiefly represent the minorities. For every municipality a voter's register containing the names of persons entitled to vote is prepared. The tendency nowadays is to lower the franchise and thus widen electorate. The principle of communal representation was introduced.

**Their Functions.** The principal normal functions of the municipalities may be classified under the heads of public safety, health and



education. Under the first head are included the construction, upkeep and lighting of streets and roads, as well as providing and maintaining public and municipal buildings, making satisfactory arrangements for medical relief, vaccination, sanitation, drainage and water supply and taking measures against epidemics—cholera, plague etc.—these constitute the preservation of health. Under the third head of education we may count night schools as well as the primary and vernacular middle schools, the establishment of libraries, museums, reading rooms and the organization of exhibitions. In order to carry on these functions the municipalities can levy taxes such as on houses, lands, etc. and derive a large sum of money from water, lighting and conservancy rates as well as from octroi. Sometimes the municipalities have to borrow money from the Government in order to carry out large projects such as water supply, drainage, etc.

**Sources of their Income.** In the Punjab the number of municipalities is 107. The committees are empowered to levy taxes on any of the following:—(1) A tax on persons practising any profession or art or carrying on any trade or calling within municipal limits. (2) A tax payable by the owner, on buildings and lands. (3) A tax of the nature of a toll on vehicles and animals entering the municipality. (4) A tax payable by the owner on all or any vehicles, animals used for riding, driving or carrying burdens and dogs kept within the municipality. For the imposition of any other tax the Municipal Committee has to obtain the previous sanction of the Local Government. But no committee can impose any one of the above-mentioned taxes unless three-fourths of the elected members agree to it and its cash balances have fallen below Rs. 24,000 or one-tenth of the income accrued in the previous year. In the Punjab, as in other provinces, every municipality has a committee which consists of such number of members as the Local Government may fix. Every person who is appointed or selected has to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown. The term of office is fixed by the Local Government but it does not exceed three years. The Local Government has got some powers over the constitution of the committees. Every committee elects one of its members to be the President, but he can become president only with the approval of the Local Government. Every committee elects one or two of its members to be the vice-presidents. In case the committee cannot elect any president within one month, the Local Government nominates one out of the members.

**Control exercised by the Local Government over Municipalities.** In every province the Local Government exercises through the District Officers or the Divisional Commissioners great control over the Municipalities but it is being steadily relaxed at any rate in the case of the larger bodies. In the Punjab the Commissioner of the Division or the Deputy Commissioner (1) may directly or indirectly inspect and survey any immovable property within the limits of their jurisdiction. (2) They may by order in writing call for and inspect any book or documents in the possession of the municipal committee and (3) they may require to furnish statements, accounts, reports and copies of documents relating to the proceedings. (4) Each committee has to submit such periodical reports to the Deputy Commissioner or any other officer



chosen by the Local Government. (5) The Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner may order the suspension of any resolution and in case of emergencies for the execution of any work they like. (6) If the Municipal Committee has made default in the execution of its work, they may get it done by appointing some person and may order the committee to pay the expense incurred therein. (7) The Local Government has got the power to supersede any Municipal Committee or Council in case of incompetency, persistent default or abuse of powers. (8) The Local Government may increase or reduce the number of seats in any municipality in the interests of public peace. (9) Finally the Local Government has the power to make rules to carry out the purposes of the Act.

(b) **Local Boards of Rural Administration.** The Local Boards owe their origin to the policy initiated by Lord Mayo in 1871, and consequent upon that Local bodies began to spring up in certain provinces. After a decade, a great stimulus was given to the development of Local Boards during the reign of Lord Ripon who reorganized the whole system. On account of the varied conditions of different provinces Local Governments were allowed to set up Local Boards in accordance with local conditions and needs. Great progress has since been made in the rural administration of these boards.

In Madras, important villages or groups of small villages constituting unions form the primary unit. Above these unions there are Taluka Boards and at the top stands the District Board with general control over the administration of the entire District. In the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F. Province each district must have a District Board, but it depends wholly on the Local Government whether the Subordinate Local Boards should be set up or not. Bombay has only two classes of Boards, District Boards and Taluka Boards. In the United Provinces, sub-division boards have been abolished while in Central Provinces the system approximates to that prevalent in Madras. Assam has only Sub-district Boards while Burma and Baluchistan have neither District Boards nor Sub-District Boards. There are in India 199 District Boards and 573 Local Boards subordinate to them and also 522 Union Committees.

**Their Functions.** The chief normal functions of the Rural Boards are the maintenance and improvement of roads and other means of communication, maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries, provision for vaccination, sanitation and veterinary work, construction and upkeep of markets and rest-houses, charge of pounds and ferries, distribution of relief among the people in the times of famine, provision for drainage and water-supply and the spread of education especially in its primary stages. Sub-district Boards or Taluka Boards possess very limited powers and resources and they carry out their duties subject to the supervision of the District Board.

Members are appointed both by election and nomination, and the elective element has been extended from time to time. Formerly the District Officer used to be the President of the District Board, while the sub-divisional officer, namely the Tahsildar, presided over the Taluka Board.

The Punjab Government is authorized to establish by notification



a District Board for each district and to fix the number of members thereof. But in no case can a Board consist of less than six members. The members may either be appointed by the Provincial Government or be elected by the inhabitants of the district qualified as voters for the Boards. The term of office of the members is in no case to exceed three years. The Government may remove any member of the Board, if he is found negligent or is for any reason considered to be unfit to discharge his duties. One of the members of the Board is elected or appointed as chairman, who holds office for a term not exceeding three years. Whether the chairman is to be elected or appointed is determined by the Local Government.

**Duties of the District Board.** With the previous sanction of Government any Board may delegate all or any of its powers to the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Civil Surgeon, Medical Officer of Health or any officer of the Department of Public Instruction. Subject to some exceptions and conditions, the District Board has to perform the following duties :—(1) The management of all property vested in the Board. (2) Construction, repair and maintenance of public roads and other means of communication. (3) The establishment, maintenance and inspection of public hospitals, schools, etc., and the repair and construction of all the necessary buildings. (4) The training of teachers and establishment of scholarships. (5) The supply and storage of drinking water. Besides these there are many other matters which may be directed to be placed by the Provincial Government under the control of the Board.

**Conduct of Business.** For the conduct of business every District Board is empowered to make rules as to the time and place of the meeting, the method of conducting proceedings, the powers to be exercised by sub-committees or members and so on. The Board may employ and pay such officers and servants as may be necessary for the discharge of their duties. The Deputy Commissioner has got some power of intervention in this matter. Minutes of the proceedings at each meeting are to be duly recorded, published and kept for public inspection.

**Taxation and Finance.** With the previous sanction of the Local Government, a District Board may impose certain taxes. The Local Government may by notification abolish or reduce any tax imposed by the Board. After obtaining the sanction of the Government, any Board may fix and levy various fees such as (a) school fees, (b) fees for the registration of marriages, (c) fees at fairs, agricultural shows and industrial exhibitions held under its authority. Besides these, in each district there exists a "district fund" to the credit of which the entire income of the Board is placed. A finance committee submits every year an estimate of income and expenditure for the financial year. The copies of the estimate are sent to the Deputy Commissioner, who may disapprove of the estimate, and get it modified. The accounts of the Board are periodically made up, examined and audited.

**Control over Boards.** The Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners (1) may inspect any immovable property or any work in progress within the limits of a Board's jurisdiction. (2) They may, by an order in writing, call for any document and inspect it. (3) They may



also ask the Board to furnish account, reports and copies of documents. (4) Again, they may, by an order in writing, suspend the execution of any resolution or order of the District Board. (5) The Commissioner is empowered to provide for the performance of those duties which the Board has failed to discharge. (6) He may direct that the expense of performing them shall be paid by the Board. (7) The Local Government may annul any proceedings which it may find not in conformity with law. (8) If a District Board makes persistent default in the performance of its duties or is found to be utterly incompetent, the Government may by notification declare the Board to be suspended and may after some time constitute a new Board.

(c) **Revival of the Village Panchayats.** In the year 1907 a Royal Commission on decentralization was appointed to investigate and report on the matter. The Commission recommended the constitution and development of the Village *Panchayats* for the discharge of certain judicial and administrative functions. Some of the main recommendations of the committee were :—

(1) The unit of the Panchayat should be the individual village. (2) The headman should work as an ex-officio Chairman. (3) Other members of the Panchayat should be appointed by an informal election held in the village. (4) Due caution should be taken while conferring duties and functions on the panchayats. (5) The panchayats should be endowed with jurisdiction in petty Civil and Criminal cases. (6) They should be entrusted with the work connected with sanitation, minor public works and school houses, etc. (7) They should be financed by a portion of land-revenue, small fees on civil suits, receipts from village cattle pounds and markets and some special grants. (8) They should work under the control not of the Local Boards but that of the District authorities.

The Commission also recommended some methods for the adoption, creation and development of panchayats. The Government of India on the whole accepted the recommendations and expressed their readiness to act on them. In spite of the practical difficulties in the way of the revival of the old *panchayat* system, various measures have been passed from time to time in different provinces laying down in details the rules according to which the *panchayats* were to be constituted and the duties and functions that they have to perform. The Punjab was probably the first to establish *panchayats*, though for civil cases only and Assam followed suit. The Punjab Government has passed a Village Panchayat Act, which assigns to them certain local matters including judicial powers of a minor character both civil as well as criminal.

**Village Panchayats in the Punjab.** The Local Government after establishing a *panchayat* for certain villages fixes the number of *punches*, which always ranges between three and seven. The *punches* are elected in the prescribed manner and hold office for a period of three years. The *panchayat* elects one of its members as a *sarpanch* for one year. The *sarpanch* is the chairman and the chief executive officer of the *panchayat*. To act for him in his absence a deputy *sarpanch* is also elected and he is held responsible for the due maintenance of all the prescribed registers. The meetings of the *panchayats* are public and are



held at some place within the area of its jurisdiction. Such a meeting is called by the *sarpanch*. The decision of the majority is binding in all matters. The chairman has a casting vote.

### THEIR ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

**Compulsory Duties.** In respect of the following matters the *Punchayat* is bound to make satisfactory provisions :—(1) The construction, maintenance and improvement of public ways and drains ; (2) the excavation, maintenance, improvement and disinfection of wells, pounds and tanks for the supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing ; (3) the establishment and maintenance of burial and burning grounds.

**Optional Duties.** Besides the above duties the *Punchayat* has the following optional duties also :—(1) the promotion and encouragement of cottage industries, (2) establishment and maintenance of libraries, (3) laying out public gardens and playing grounds, improvement of agriculture, relief of the poor and sick, lighting of public ways and places, and planting and preservation of trees. Moreover there are other duties which are performed by the *Punchayat* when directed by the Local Government or the District Board.

**Its Powers.** To carry out these multifarious duties the *Punchayat* has been given some executive powers. Any person disobeying the order of the *Punchayat* may be fined by it. For the first offence the fine cannot exceed one rupee, but for subsequent offences the maximum fine can be 25 rupees. The *punchayat* has the power to inquire and make report about the misconduct of petty officials like the *patwari* and the *chaukidar*. Under some conditions it may veto excise licences granted within the jurisdiction.

**Judicial Functions.** The *Punchayat* can exercise some criminal and judicial powers. Small cases of theft, mischief, simple injury, use of abusive language and assault are dealt with by the *Punchayats*. But if the value of the property affected exceeds fifty rupees, the offence is not cognizable by it. The whole or part of the fine imposed upon an offender by the *punchayat* is usually paid as compensation to the complainant and the balance, if any, is credited to the "*Punchayat Fund*." The Public servants and European British subjects are excluded from the jurisdiction of the *Punchayat*. The aggrieved party may within one month of the order passed by the *Punchayat* appeal to the Deputy Commissioner who may thereupon direct a retrial.

**Finance and Taxation.** Every *Punchayat* has got a "*Punchayat Fund*" to meet charges in connection with its several duties. The sources of the "*Punchayat Fund*" are the following :—(1) Fines and fees recovered. (2) Receipts on account of rates imposed. (3) The cost of execution of rates imposed. (4) Sums received from individuals, corporations or Government. (5) The balances and proceeds of all funds collected for the common secular purposes of the village. The *Punchayat* may with the previous sanction of the District Board levy a rate called the village rate, upon all persons liable to pay *chaukidara* tax. In addition to this it may levy a special rate, if two-thirds of the adult male ratepayers of the village agree to it.

**Control exercised over it.** On a complaint being made, the Commissioner may suspend or remove any *punch*. If a *Punchayat* makes



persistent default in the performance of a duty, it may be suspended or abolished by the Local Government. Ordinarily if the *Punchayat* fails to perform a duty, the Deputy Commissioner may appoint a person or a body of persons to perform it, the expenses thus incurred being paid by the *Punchayat*. The Deputy Commissioner is also empowered to suspend the execution of a *Punchayat's* order.

**Critical Note. Village Uplift Movement or Rural Reconstruction.** The students should expand the following points in connection with the uplift movement in villages. (1) Poverty, (2) Illiteracy, (3) Insanitary condition, (4) Communalism. With regard to the first point, efforts should be made to start co-operative credit societies, to encourage thrift societies and to decrease social expenses. With regard to the second point, efforts should be made to spread education making it free and compulsory. It should not remain confined to the teaching of the three R's but should be given to enable children to develop their hands, eyes and ears independently. With regard to the third, efforts should be made through magic lantern lectures or through pamphlets, radios or through scouts to point out to them the evils of insanitary habits. With regard to the fourth, efforts should be made to make people of all castes and creeds to live peacefully as brethren.

**The Village Functionaries.** In villages of all types there is generally a Headman who is known in the Deccan as Patel, in the south as Reddi, and in the north as Lambardar. To assist the headman there are chaukidars and accountants. The Lambardar in the Punjab is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner. He enjoys certain legal powers for the maintenance of peace and order in the village. He presides over the village Punchayat and administers the village funds. The accountant or Patwari keeps the record of the village. He carries on the inspection of crops for each harvest. The revenue settlement is made with his help. Over him is placed a Qanungo to supervise his work. For supervising the work of village headmen, a Zaildar is appointed over 40 villages. The Chaukidar looks after the maintenance of peace and order. He is expected to report crimes and is empowered to arrest persons suspected of crime. He is also to report births and deaths within his beat to the police station after every fortnight. If there are five or more Chaukidars in the village, one of them is appointed as Dafadar to supervise their work.

(d) **Improvement Trusts.** The Improvement Trusts are of recent origin. The insanitary condition of the presidency towns and of others also has often brought terrible dangers on their residents in the form of plague, cholera and other epidemics. Due to over-crowding and congestion the people cannot enjoy fresh air and sunlight and hence the necessity has been felt of removing the unhealthy conditions and of improving the general public health by systematic development and expansion. The Corporations or the municipalities of the big towns are already overburdened with work and hence new bodies have been created to take up the work of city improvement. These bodies are called Improvement Trusts. At present there are in existence such Trusts for Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon, Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad and Lahore. The administration of these trusts is carried on by a Board which consists of members nominated by the Government, Municipal Boards and Commercial bodies. The Chief Executive head is the Chairman of the Trust, who is appointed by the Local Government. The principal functions of these Trusts are : —opening of roads for more light and air, developing the suburbs and making provisions of sanitary houses for the poor and the working classes.

(e) **Port Trusts.** Besides the City Improvement Trusts there are Port Trusts located at Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon and Aden. They are entrusted with the custody of the harbour, its administration and shore affairs. They provide suitable dock accommodation and improve other shipping facilities. Each one of these Port Trusts consists of members appointed by either the Local Government or by



the Chamber of Commerce and other interests. Their Chairman is appointed by the Local Government as are all the members at Aden. Dues on shipping and goods and fees for services rendered, constitute their income. To carry out large schemes of improvement, necessary loans are raised.

**Causes of the Failure of Local Self-Government.** (1) *Indolence.* This is a chief hindrance to good citizenship. It is the arduousness of the task, the unwillingness to be embroiled in "no man's business," and the insufficiency of the real power entrusted to Local Government, that lead many people to fight shy of partaking in Local Government affairs. (2) Official interference and undemocratic constitution. A bad system of representation led to the need of official control, and official interference engendered a spirit of irresponsibility and loss of initiative. The bad system of representation led to the election of corrupt and undesirable representatives. (3) Paucity of education among the toiling millions and the unnecessary intricacies and checks and balances have made the thing unpopular among the better class people. (4) Unwieldy sizes of Local and Union Boards and the patronization by lower grade government officials of the professional hangers on them have closed the doors to respectable citizens. Real responsibility, free scope to work and a policy of non-interference, on the one hand, and a spirit of social service, self-help and dynamic energy on the other, can make for success. In addition to these we may add that our agricultural life has made us fatalistic and have killed in us the spirit of self-help and initiative. Success would depend not on the "existence" of honest and intelligent men but on the "willingness" to work out self-governing institutions. Absenteeism has increased so much that capable men of the leisured class have become conspicuous by their absence. To-day the town-people rule the self-governing institutions of the village. The dumb millions suffering from epidemics and preventible diseases like malaria, cholera, etc., have become fatalists. So village life, first of all, must be made worth living. But this involves the solution of many rural and municipal problems. More money, more energy, more patriotism and a greater altruistic spirit can alone do away with the causes of inefficiency of Local Government.

**Q. 218.** Describe the functions of the head of the District and state how it is governed.

**Duties of a District Officer.** The District Officer is the representative of the Government in his district. He has multifarious duties. He administers the revenue, manages government estates and the Court of Wards estates, is responsible for all matters affecting the welfare of the cultivators, administers excise, stamps and income-tax revenues. He furnishes returns of crops, prices and other statistics. He supervises the jail administration, and also the work of the Executive Engineer, the Civil Surgeon, the District Inspector of Schools and the Forest officer. As Collector, he is the head of the revenue organization and as Magistrate he exercises general supervision over the inferior courts and in particular directs the police work. He also guides and supervises the working of self-governing bodies like local boards, district boards and municipalities. He is also a judicial officer. To the man in the street he is the *Sircar*. He is the eyes, the ears, the mouth and the hands of the Government which sits in the capital city.



On his resourcefulness, tact and good temper depends the smooth course of his administration. He must be a man of versatile talents. Usually a good deal of discretion is left to him. The growth of local self-government has relieved him of many supervising duties.

**His Powers.** "He wields large powers of patronage, he is responsible for making a vast number of appointments, for instance, of village headmen and accountants, of revenue officials and office clerks. His recommendations for honorary magistrateship and nominated membership of all local self-governing bodies are ordinarily accepted. He can grant seats at ceremonial functions such as "Durbars" and the coveted Indian titles and honours, and other rewards were usually conferred at his suggestion."

Besides the Civil Surgeon, the Executive Engineer, the District Superintendent of Police and similar officers in the Co-operative, Forest and other departments, he is helped in his work by the following subordinate officers :—

(1) The *Lambardar* or *Patel* is the village headman. He is responsible for the sending of the land revenue to the treasury of the *Tahsil* at the proper time. Besides this he keeps a record of births and deaths, looks after sanitation and performs sundry duties. He is assisted by a *chaukidar* who keeps watch at night. (2) The *Zaildar* is the headman of the *Zail*, which consists of 40 to 50 villages. He supervises the work of *Lambardars* and reports any breach of duty to higher authorities. He is responsible for the well-being of the whole *Zail*, including its roads, primary education, famine relief work and the like. He goes round with the Government officers when they tour round the district. (3) The *Tahsildar* is responsible for the *Tahsil* which consists of *Zails*. He is to the *Tahsil* as the *Zaildar* is to the *Zail*. He receives revenue from the *Lambardars* and sends it to the treasury, reports on the condition of the crops to the Deputy Commissioner, and certifies land transfers and acts as a magistrate.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Trace the different steps in the development of Local Self-Government in British India. (P.U., B.A. '35, '36 Sept.)

2. What do you understand by Local Self-Government? Give some account of the growth of municipalities and District Boards in India. (P.U., B.A. '38 Sept.)

3. Montford Report laid down the following formula with regard to the development of Local Self-Government in British India :—

"There should be as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." In the light of this formula examine the extent and nature of governmental control over local bodies in British India. (P.U., B.A., '40, '41 Sept.)

4. Give the functions of the village Panchayats.

5. Distinguish between Local Government and Local Self-Government.

6. What are the village problems and what measures would you propose for its uplift?

7. What causes are responsible for the failure of the complete realization of Local Self-Government in India?





## CHAPTER LVIII

### THE HISTORY OF THE PRESS

Bengal 1720  
Gazette  
Hicky at  
a weekly  
libel at

**Q. 219. Give a brief account of the history of the press in India.**

#### HISTORY OF THE PRESS

**Stages in the History of the Press before 1858.** (1) Prior to the advent of the British the press in India was unknown and it might be regarded as one of the fruits of the contact between the East and the West. The Anglo-Indians were the first to attempt journalism with the idea of providing material for the amusement of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The first Indian newspaper was the Bengal Gazette, started in January 1780 by Hicky as a weekly. The paper was stopped on account of its libel against Mrs. Hastings and for strongly criticizing the policy of Warren Hastings. The editor was imprisoned and the paper finally closed down in 1782. Lord Cornwallis had some difficulty with the press. He deported Duane of the *Indian World* to Europe. Under Lord Wellesley the Napoleonic Wars necessitated a stricter supervision of the press lest the French should get information from the East. He established a censorship in 1799 of all that was published in the newspapers. The Government also required that the names of editors and proprietors should be published on the papers. Lord Minto also kept the press under vigilant control.

(2) Marquis of Hastings abolished censorship in (1817) in Bombay and Bengal in view of the liberty of opinion being the natural right of subjects though he prohibited the discussion of some matters. Sir Thomas Munro did not approve of liberal tendencies and considered them to be dangerous to the stability of the British control over India. "A free press" said Munro, "and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and cannot long exist together; for what is the first duty of a free press, it is to deliver the country from "foreign yoke." At this stage, the newspapers began to appear in vernacular. The earliest Bengali newspaper *Samacharadarpana*, was published in 1818 by the missionaries at Serampore. Ram Mohan Roy published his *Sambad Kaumudi*. There were a number of other vernacular papers. Mr. Adams, the officiating Governor-General after Lord Hastings, deported Buckingham of the *Calcutta Journal* to England for his attacks on the Government. Lord Amherst also took vigorous measures against such Anglo-Indian journals as offended his taste. He further ordered that every newspaper should take out a license. Ram Mohan Roy wrote against this and as a protest stopped the publication of his *Sambad Kaumudi*. Lord William Bentinck did not interfere much with the press. He let the measure remain, but allowed considerable latitude in the matter.

(3) In 1835, Sir Charles Metcalfe removed all restrictions on the press and allowed it complete freedom in discussing all questions of



importance. This boldness stood in the way of his confirmation as Governor-General. The Calcutta public in appreciation of him built a Hall. The vernacular press by this time had come into existence but their number was small. It uniformly attacked the Government sometimes with great bitterness.

**Stages after 1858.** (4) In 1857, military circumstances necessitated the curtailment of the liberty of the press. The licensing regulation of Adam's day was re-enacted, but this censorship was withdrawn in 1865 by Lawrence. During the sixties the *Bengalee* and the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* in Bengal and the *Akhbar-i-Am* at Lahore were started as weeklies.

(5) In 1878, Lord Lytton imposed restrictions on the vernacular press and not on the English papers for three reasons : (i) The readers of the vernacular papers are relatively uneducated and liable to be deceived. (ii) The uneducated would not read the Anglo-Indian papers to know the other side. (iii) The vernacular press appealed or threatened to appeal to the great mass of the people on whose acquiescence rested the stability of the Government. It gave the Government power to ask for deposits from the publishers and declared this deposit forfeited when anything objectionable appeared. The Government could even seal the printing machinery and stop the publication. This measure was very much resented as an attempt on the part of the Government to curtail free expression of opinion. This had been done owing to the Second Afghan War (1876-77). A mission was sent to England to the Liberal Party and it won the sympathies of Gladstone.

(6) With the advent of Lord Ripon as Viceroy the Liberal Party under Gladstone came into power and it had the Vernacular Press Act repealed. The partition of Bengal in particular and the regime of Lord Curzon in general produced a new tone in the Indian press which became hostile to the Government.

(7) In 1908 the anarchist movement in Bengal and consequently the murder of officials was growing. A Newspaper Act was passed by which incitements to acts of violence gave the Government the right of forfeiting the printing press.

(8) In 1910, a more stringent Act was passed. According to this Act, the system of Lord Lytton's days was revived. It prohibited the Editors from seducing the soldiers or sailors from their allegiance or duty ; from bringing into hatred or contempt the British Government, any Indian Prince or any section of His Majesty's subject in India or from intimidating public servants or private individuals. Moreover, no provision for an appeal to courts of law was made in this bill. The law, however, could not stop terrorism in the country. With the outbreak of the Great War and with regard to public safety restrictions were imposed upon the press.

(9) In 1915 the Press Association of India was formed for the protection of the Press of the country by all lawful means.

(10) **Reforms in the Press Law (1917-22).** After the introduction of the reforms in 1919, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru became the First Indian Law Member. A Committee was appointed under him to examine this



question. Many newspapers did not disclose the names of their editors, and Government could not prosecute the party responsible for the publication of offending matters. It reported in favour of the repeal of the Act of 1910 with the suggestion that the name of the editor should appear on every paper. With the intervention of the Secretary of State for India, the Princes' Protection Act was passed by which offences against Indian princes are to be dealt with as seditious offences. The amendment was incorporated in the Press Act. In 1931, the Press Bill was passed to suppress the publication of matter inciting to or encouraging murder or violence. It was pointed out that the Bill would muzzle the Press and confer too great power in the executive. Due to the outbreak of the II World War in 1939, Censorship of the Press became strict.

**Its Future.** The press is a growing power in the country and the 20th century can rightly be called an age of newspapers. A free press is an index of the opinion of all shades in the country. Healthy criticism is indispensable for a good government. The stringent press laws rather worsen the situation and make the people more disaffected. It is unfortunate that there is a racial division between writers on all important questions. The vernacular press with their daily increasing number have still much to improve. Even the establishment of the Publicity Department in various provinces has not been much of a success in supplying right information. The rise of Party System along with party newspapers is responsible for the grant of responsible government. The issue of ordinances have added to the worst feature of the Press Act of 1910 and seems to defeat its object.

### PRESS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

**Strict Censorship.** The Second World War broke out in 1939. It brought in its train strict censorship of the Indian Press. Such a repressive attitude was the result of two factors. Firstly, in the year 1942 the Congress raised the slogan of 'Quit India' and as a result most of the Congress leaders were sent behind the bars. This gave an impetus to our freedom movement. Secondly, increase of communal feelings necessitated the censorship of the Press.

**Set up of Press Advisory Committees.** Press Advisory Committees were formed both at the centre and in the provinces. These committees were to act as agencies for improving relations between the Indian Government and the Press.

**Formation of New Bodies.** (a) The year 1940, witnessed the formation of All India Newspaper Editor's Conference, which was the first of its kind in the history of Indian Press. Shri Deshbandhu Gupta is the president of this body at present. (b) It was followed by an alike association, Indian Languages Newspapers Association in the next year. It was constituted with an idea to look after the welfare of newspapers in Indian Languages.

**Orient Press and Globe News Agency.** Orient Press took birth in India in 1941. It specialised in the news affecting the Muslims. Another news agency, named 'Globe News Agency' was started in July 1944 which issued news bulletin in almost all Indian languages.



**Post-War Developments in Indian Press.** War came to an end in 1946. India became free on 15th August, 1947. With the dawn of freedom, Indian Press witnessed some changes. Let us now review these changes.

**Birth of new News Agency, 1948** A news agency, the Press Trust of India Limited, was established in 1948. This non-profit making organisation took over the supply of news to and from India. Formerly Associated Press of India Ltd. discharged this function. Thus the coming of national news agency was the most notable event in the annals of Indian Journalism.

**Press Laws Enquiry Committee, 1948.** The Government of India constituted a Press Laws Enquiry Committee with Shri Ganga Nath Jha as its chairman. This committee was to study the entire Press Laws of India and then to report the possible changes that could be introduced in those. The committee in its report, issued in 1948, recommended some changes in Press Laws of India.

By virtue of an agreement, arrived upon between India and Pakistan Governments, the press in India as well as in Pakistan has to follow certain outlined policy. That policy is as follows : (a) Neither of the press was to indulge in propaganda against the two dominions. (b) Neither of the press to publish such news that might inflame or cause alarm or fear either to the entire population or section of the population in the two dominions. (c) Not to publish such material that may hint at the declaration of war by one dominion against the other.

The inter-dominion conference had not achieved its object in spite of sincere efforts on the part of both the governments.

**The Press and the New Constitution.** Indian dominion was transformed to Republic on 26th January 1950. In our new Constitution, the press has been granted freedom. But one should borne this fact in mind that in our constitution there is no separate clause concerning freedom of the Press. But the Fundamental Rights clause of 'freedom of speech and expression' indirectly confers the concession of freedom upon our Press.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Comment on :—"It is the newspaper press that has made democracy possible in large countries." (P.U., B.A., 1940)
2. Give a brief history of the Press before 1858.
3. Narrate the history of the Press under the Crown.
4. Trace succinctly but critically the history of the Indian Press since 1835. (P.U. 1931)
5. Give a brief history of the Indian Press. What measures have been adopted from time to time in order to maintain censorship over it ? (P.U. 1928)
6. Write a short note on the movement for freedom of the Press in India, and discuss briefly the restrictions imposed thereon by the Press Laws that were passed from time to time. (P.U. 1927)
7. Trace the history of the Press in British India during the 19th century with special reference to the Press Reforms of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Ripon. (P.U. 1942)



## CHAPTER LIX

**Q. 220. Give an account of the history of Education.**

**Warren Hastings.** In the beginning the British Government did not consider it to be a part of its duty to promote the cause of education in India. In 1781, Warren Hastings opened a college for the Mohammadans at Calcutta to enable the young Muslims to fill in the numerous government offices, then largely monopolized by the Hindus. Sir William Jones also started the Bengal Asiatic Society to further the cause of Asiatic learning and culture. In 1792, a college was opened at Benares.

**Macaulay-Wilson Controversy, 1833.** In 1833, in the days of Lord William Bentinck there took place the famous Macaulay-Wilson Controversy. Macaulay was the advocate of western education while Wilson was in favour of oriental education. After a heated discussion Macaulay succeeded and this sum was ear-marked to be spent on the spread of western education. Lord Hardinge furthered the cause of English education by declaring that the knowledge of English would be indispensable for entering into government services. In 1842, the Board of Education was substituted in place of a Committee for Public Education.



## (B) EDUCATION AFTER 1858

**Hunter's Commission Under Ripon (1882).** In 1871, Lord Mayo made the Department of Public Instruction a provincial subject. Hunter's Commission (1882) was appointed by Lord Ripon to materialize Wood's Despatch. It encouraged the cause of Vernacular Education. Schools were entrusted to municipalities and District Boards. The Punjab University was established in 1882. ✓

✧ In 1886, the Public Services Commission under Sir Charles Aichison in the reign of Lord Dufferin made three grades, Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate.

**Raleigh's Commission under Curzon.** Raleigh's Commission led to the passing of the Indian Universities' Act (1904) by which the Universities were remodelled on western lines and official element was introduced. The universities became teaching universities as well. Vocational and technical education was also promoted. In 1910, under Lord Hardinge, Rs 5,000,000 was set apart for education. Moreover a Department of Education was created in the Government of India, with an office of its own and a Member to represent it in the Viceroy's Executive Council. In 1923 revenue and agriculture departments were added to it due to economy. It was called the Department of Education, Health and Land. The Government also opposed Gokhale's Primary Compulsory Education Bill. In 1913, a resolution was issued by the Government of India re-affirming its intention to help primary education through voluntary efforts.

**Sadler's Commission (1917).** In 1917, the Calcutta University Commission known as Sadler Commission was appointed to investigate, among other things, into the problem of the teaching work of the Universities. It recommended: (1) The centralization of degree teaching in the University towns. (2) It suggested that all post-graduate and Honours Schools should be in the hands of the universities. (3) It suggested the raising of the college course to five years instead of four. (4) It also said that universities should be turned into democratic bodies. It was in view of these recommendations that the Universities of Dacca, Lucknow and Aligarh were established. The Intermediate classes were separated from the University work.

**The Government of India Act (1919).** By this Act, education in the Provinces was made a transferred subject and placed under an Indian minister appointed by the Governor out of elected members of the Council.

**Defects in the Present System of Education.** (1) *Paucity of Female Literacy.* It is a healthy sign that women themselves are anxious for it, but the inertia of conservatism and prejudice re-enforced by the *Purdah* system and the custom of early marriages and the lack of qualified teachers are some of the obstacles to rapid expansion. (2) The next defect is the deficiency in the primary and technical education. (3) India's system of education is defective in training the character of the Indian youths. (4) The present system of education has outlived its utility. (5) It has failed to suit the needs of modern times.



**Q. 221.** What are the different grades of the educational institutions existing in India? Give a brief account of each.

### THE DIFFERENT GRADES OF THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

There are four grades of educational institutions, viz., primary schools, secondary schools, colleges and post-graduate teaching in the Universities.

**(1) Primary Education.** Primary education is mainly under the direction of municipalities and local boards which are being entrusted with wider powers. In 1911, Gokhale's bill for the introduction of compulsory primary education in India was thrown out in the Imperial Legislative Council on account of financial stringency of the Government. In March 1930, there were 204,094 recognized primary schools in British India with 9,224,084 pupils costing about 8 crores of rupees. In all major provinces, education was made compulsory. In 1919, the Punjab Primary Education Act was passed and boys between 6 to 10 years are made to attend school. The compulsory education as far as possible shall be free. In 1929-30 the compulsion was introduced in 46 towns and 203 villages only.

**Hartog Committee on Primary Education.** "It is a pity that education has not as yet touched the fringe of the population. In India percentage of literacy is barely 7 per cent. The Hartog Committee which carried on an inquiry as to the spread of education in India reported that (a) throughout the educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness, (b) the children in the primary schools relapse into illiteracy very soon after they leave the schools, and (c) that education should be made a central subject and that the experiences of the different provinces may be co-ordinated.

**(2) Secondary Education.** It includes vernacular middle schools, Anglo-Vernacular middle schools, High Schools and Intermediate classes in some places where they have been withdrawn from the University. This work is largely done by private enterprise. The Government maintains a small number of High Schools to serve as models to private institutions and extends financial help to a very large number. In this respect the policy of the Government has been summarized as "the encouragement of private-managed schools under suitable bodies, maintained in efficiency by Government inspection, recognition, control and by the aid of Government funds." In the U. P., and C. P., the control of secondary education has been made over to special boards created for this purpose. In the Punjab there is established a Board to conduct the School Leaving examination. In 1929-30, the number of high schools was 2944 and they contained more than 9 lakh pupils.

**(3) Colleges.** There are more than 350 colleges in India. Co-education in colleges is also rapidly progressing.

**(4) Post Graduate Teaching and Research in the Universities.** Later on a need was felt that teaching and residential universities be established and consequently a number of such universities sprang into existence at various places. There are to-day eighteen Universities, out of which two are in Indian States. In these Universities both teaching and research work have attained a high standard of efficiency and can



compare favourably with the Universities of the West. All the Universities provide teaching and examining arrangement up to the M.A. standard. The Head of the Provincial Government is the Chancellor of each of the older Universities. Below him there is a Vice-Chancellor who presides over the executive body known as the Syndicate or the Executive Council. The legislative body is the Senate or the Court which is divided into faculties. It appoints a Registrar to keep the minutes of the proceedings of the Senate and the Syndicate meetings and to transact all University business.

### PROGRESS OF EDUCATION DURING 1935-1947

**The Government of India Act 1935.** The policy of decentralisation with regard to education of the Government of India was confirmed by this Act. This policy of the state marred the progress of education in our country, as it was made explicitly clear in the criticism of Hartog Committee.

**'Nai Talim' or Basic Education.** Mahatma Gandhi was the pioneer of the movement of Basic Education. The idea of the movement originated in an article of Mahatma Gandhi, written in the Harijan, 1937. The broad principles of this scheme are as follows :—

(1) Education should be self-supporting. In other words it means that learning and earning should go hand-in-hand. This could be achieved by teaching the child the production of useful handicraft from the beginning.

(2) State was to be responsible for creating market for the goods produced in such schools.

The experiments were made with the 'Nai-Talim' and the results were so encouraging that a committee was set up to prepare a tentative scheme and syllabus.

Later on, the idea of 'Nai-Talim' was applied by Mahatma Gandhi to the Adult Education and in this case it was to become literally education for life. Thus the scope of the Basic Education was extended and was divided into four stages. (i) Pre-Basic Education meant education of such children that were below seven years; (ii) Basic Education : Under this stage the children from seven to fourteen were to receive education; (iii) Post-Basic Education : Here, the education was to be imparted to adolescents who have completed basic education and (iv) Adult Education which implied educating men and women at all stages of life.

It is a tragedy that no place has been given to this scheme of education in the educational policy of the National Government. Sevagram is a centre where such type of education is imparted.

**All India Council for Technical Education.** At last, good sense prevailed upon the Government of India who realised the importance of technical education which was conspicuous by its absence in the system of Education of India. The government set up an All India Council in the year 1945 to study India's needs for higher technical education.



**Sargent Plan.** An elaborate Educational-development scheme for India was prepared by Sir John Sargent, the Educational Advisor to the Government of India. The essence of this scheme was to introduce universal free and compulsory education for boys and girls of six to fourteen years. Education would be a state enterprise and not a private enterprise as it was the case then. This scheme enunciated one principle, imposition of restrictions upon high school and college education. According to this scheme, everybody was not eligible for receiving high school education except those who could profit from further instruction and the same rule in case of college education.

The criticism which is generally levelled against this is that the plan is a costly affair which our poor country can ill-afford. His scheme was to cost the government exchequer 277 crores of rupees. Thus it has remained so far a paper-plan.

During this period, the education in India progressed in the sense that new ideas like 'Nai-Talim' and new plans like Sargent Plan, appeared on the stage. Really speaking, there was no progress of education due to the decentralisation policy of the Government of India.

**Education in Free India.** India became free on 15th August, 1947. The national government was much eager to pay its attention to the problem of education but the delay was inevitable as our country was in the grip of some other knotty problems.

**University Commission's Report.** The national government appointed University Commission with Sir R. S. Radhakrishnan as its chairman in the year 1948. The commission reviewed thoroughly the problem of education in India. The report was submitted to the government in August, 1949. The important recommendations of the commission may be studied as follows :—

(1) **Character of Education.** The basis as well as scope of education in India should be Indian and not western.

(2) **English as a medium of instruction.** English to remain the medium of instruction, during the transition period. At the same time, no time-limit has been prescribed after which this language will have to be removed. It has been asserted that on grounds of academic standards, English as a medium of instruction should not be hastily replaced by an oriental language, Hindi.

(3) **State help.** The commission has severely criticised the aid-policy of the government towards education. They say that the state financial help is inadequate as compared with other countries. Our government allocates only 5 per cent of the total revenue to education as against 12 per cent in foreign countries. It has emphasised that grants for scholarships and stipends should be enhanced.

(4) In its report, the commission has really realised the importance of educating the rural-folk, who happens to be quite illiterate. The commission has recommended the starting of rural universities on the model of Shantiniketan and Jamia Millia.

(5) **Views on Co-education.** The Commission is not in favour of



introducing co-education in all stages of education. They have recommended co-education for basic and college stage of education. There is to be no co-education in secondary stage.

(6) The number of students in a college should not exceed 1000. '*Objective test*,' prevailing in America, is to be popularised in place of long written examinations. Thus the examination is to be a test of ability and not of luck as it is today.

(7) The University Commission has stressed upon improving the standards of the teaching line. They have fixed some minimum grades both for professors, and Lecturers and school teachers.

Besides this report, the other notable features of Free India education is the establishment of new universities.

(1) East Punjab University with its headquarters at Simla (Solan) was established in 1947 with Shri G.C. Chatterjee as its Vice-Chancellor. Now the Vice-Chancellor of the University is Dewan Anand Kumar.

(2) Rajputana University, with its headquarters at Jaipur was established in 1947. The founder Vice-Chancellor of this University was Dr. G. S. Mahajan.

(3) Madhya Bharat University as well as Kashmir University were established in 1948 with their headquarters at Indore and Srinagar respectively.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Trace the history of educational development in India from 1854-1919, and point out the main defects of the present system of education.

(P.U., B.A. '40)

2. Indicate the main stages in the history of Indian education since 1813. What have hitherto been its main defects?

3. Describe the rise and progress of western education in India during the 19th century. What have hitherto been its main defects?

4. Give a brief history of educational reforms in India from the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

5. Give a brief account of the development of educational system in India since Macaulay's famous minute.

6. Give a brief history of the Indian educational system. Discuss its advantages and state how far it has succeeded in supplying the needs of the masses.





## CHAPTER LX

### SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

**Q. 222.** Give a brief account of the growth of some of the movements of social reform in modern India.

#### SOCIAL REFORMS IN MODERN INDIA

**The Uplift of Women.** (1) **The Abolition of Sati.** The first great social reform carried out in India is the abolition of Sati, through the strenuous efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1719, the Company's Government made a futile attempt to check it. In the first quarter of the 19th century Raja Ram Mohan Roy joined hands with the Government to suppress it. The orthodox section opposed Ram Mohan tooth and nail, but the Raja with the usual zeal of a reformer, carried on a vigorous anti-Sati agitation with the help of his friends and his Bengali journal, till the practice was declared illegal by Lord William Bentinck in 1829. The opponents of this measure tried for its repeal through petition to the Government and organizing meetings under the auspices of Dharam Sabha, but to no effect. In 1830, an appeal over the signatures of 800 Hindus of Bengal was made to the Privy Council against Bentinck's measure. At that time Ram Mohan Roy was in England. He met the members of Parliament and put his own point of view before them. He was even counsulted by the Privy Council. With all the emphasis and power of his amazing intellect and personality, he begged them to reject the appeal of the Pro-Sati party, and he procured a petition from progressive and humane Hindus thanking Lord Bentinck for what he had done.

(2) **Polygamy and Child Marriage.** Evils like polygamy and child marriage were attacked by all the noble reformers of modern India and have now almost disappeared from the better classes of Hindu society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first to raise the voice against polygamy and his work was carried on by a number of ardent workers who succeeded him. The Native Marriage Act of 1872 passed through the exertions of Keshab Chander Sen abolished early marriage, made polygamy penal, sanctioned widow marriages for those who chose to come under that Act. The Arya Samaj also tried hard to abolish early marriages. Mr. B. M. Malabari, the greatest Parsi Reformer of modern times, also started agitation against infant marriages in 1884. Lord Lansdowne passed the Age of Consent Act of 1891 which raised the age of perfection from 10 to 12 in the teeth of violent opposition from the orthodox Hindus. In 1901, the Gaekwar of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act by which the minimum age for marriage in the state was fixed for girls at 12 and for boys at 16. In 1930, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State passed Harbilas Sarda's Child Marriages Restraint Bill which penalised the celebration of



marriage between boys under 18 or girls under 14 years. The orthodox opinion has not succeeded against this Act. "It should be noted, however, that other factors chiefly economic and education have automatically raised the marriageable age of girls, as well as of boys, almost beyond the expectations of reformers and legislators, though this advance is not uniform in all parts of the society." (Sarkar and Dutt).

(3) **The Widow Re-marriage Movement.** As early as the middle of the 18th century, an attempt was made to reintroduce widow re-marriage in Hindu society but it failed owing to the opposition of the Pandits. It was Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the great Sanskrit scholar, social reformer and philanthropist of modern Bengal, who devoted himself with extraordinary courage and zeal for furthering the cause of widow remarriage in the teeth of violent orthodox opposition. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar made propaganda through his writings and speeches to prove that the marriage of widows was sanctioned by the Shastras and he soon gained a large number of followers. He next endeavoured to remove the legal bar to the legitimacy of the remarried widows, and accordingly presented a petition to the Government of India. His efforts bore fruit in the passing of the Act in 1806 which legalized widow-remarriage and declared the legitimacy of the issues of re-married widows. The Brahmo Samaj was also making efforts at about the same time for the spread of widow re-marriage; the cause was taken up earnestly by Keshub Chandra Sen since 1859, and the first re-marriage under the auspices of the Samaj took place in the year 1864. In 1867, a prominent worker of Bengal established the Hindu Widows' Home which did excellent work in educating widows so long as it lasted. The widow re-marriage movement had advocates in other provinces of India as well. Pandit Vishnu Shastri, a Maratha Brahmin, assisted by Mr. Ranade, came forward as the valiant champion of this cause in the Maratha country, and a Widow Marriage Association was started at Bombay in the year 1861. Many educated citizens enlisted themselves as its members. In Gujerat also a Widow Re-marriage Association was started at Ahmedabad and since 1884 the subject acquired fresh importance through the writings of Mr. Malabari. Men like Bhandarkar, Agarkar and Karve have also done much for the amelioration of widows' lot and condition. Some schools have also been opened to encourage education and training of widows. The Arya Samaj has also done excellent work in this direction.

(4) **Female Education.** There has been a steady growth of female education in modern times. Females are coming more and more out of *Purdah*, and are taking much interest in social and political matters. The first All-India Women's Conference was held in 1926 and since then similar conferences have been held every year. These conferences are being utilized by women for expressing their opinions about educational and social reforms. Increasing interest is being taken in the medical training of women. The Poona Seva Sadan of Mr. Karve is carrying on this great work at many centres with special reference to the training of nurses and mid-wives, the promotion of maternity and infant welfare, and the finding of employment for widows. The Lady Dufferin Fund is utilized for this purpose. The Lady Hardinge Medical College



at Delhi trains Indian women for the degree of M.B., B.S. Besides this, a number of schools and colleges have been opened for women and each succeeding day shows steady progress in this direction.

(5) **The Women Suffrage Movement.** This movement has achieved much progress. Since 1917, women are seen as members in the various councils and corporations. In the Round Table Conference at London, women delegates took part and even bodies like the Muslim League have now women party leaders. A few of them are taking part in the Indian National Congress. According to the Constitution Act of 1935, some seats were reserved for women in the Legislative Assemblies.

(6) **The Abolition of Purdah.** Connected with female education is the abolition of Purdah. Not only the educated Hindu ladies have discarded Purdah, but Muslim ladies have also begun to discard it. A Muslim lady (Begum Shah Nawaz) was a member of the Round Table Conference and also a member of the War Defence Council.

**The Social Reform Movement.** (1) **The Elevation of Depressed Classes.** The depressed classes form about 20% of the whole population of India. The public conscience of India has realized the need of elevating them. A good deal in this direction has been done by the Rama Krishna Mission, the Christian Society, and the Arya Samaj. The latter has also tried to raise their social status. The Depressed Classes Mission Society of Bombay of 1906 and the Dayanand Dalit Uddhar Mandal at Hoshiarpur in the Punjab are trying to elevate them by promoting education, providing work, remedying their social disabilities and preaching to them principles of liberal religion, personal character and good citizenship. The Hindu Mahasabha held at Benares in 1923, passed a resolution for admitting untouchables to ordinary Hindu privileges. Mahatma Gandhi had been devoting himself mainly to the work of removing untouchability and improving the lot of the 'Harijans' as he called the depressed classes. He even retired from the Congress for the sake of this work. The Government is also trying to elevate them by granting them scholarships. The depressed classes have now been given representation in the Councils.

(2) **The Abolition of the Caste System.** During the last half century, the rigours of the caste system have slackened considerably. Interdining and intermarriages have often taken place and been encouraged in different parts of the country, and sojourners in foreign lands have long ceased to be punished with social ostracism. Civil Marriage provisions, supplementary to the Act of 1872, have in recent years made inter-caste and inter-communal marriages easier in the country.

(3) **Slavery and Infanticide.** The evils of slavery and infanticide have also been removed. By the Charter Act of 1833, slavery was abolished in India. By the Act of 1943, it was rendered illegal, and maintenance of trade in slaves became a criminal offence under the Penal Code of 1860. The evils of infanticide in different parts of Western and Central India were also removed through the activities of Lord William Bentinck.

(4) **Welfare Movements.** With the development of the factory system of India the problems of labour have received the attention of



the social workers. Welfare movements have been started in industrial centres. Temperance Societies, child welfare and maternity homes have been established. The forced labour in the tea gardens of Assam has been stopped, and the hours of labour have been reduced. Inspection of factories has also been provided. The evil of dowry system is also being denounced. But the movement has not as yet made any appreciable progress.

(5) **Rank Communalism.** The most important problem in India which is engaging the attention of the people is the Hindu-Muslim Unity. The friction between the two communities has been accelerated by political reasons but there is a strong movement to remove the barriers. The educated Hindus no longer feel contaminated by dining with the Mohammadans.

(6) **The Dowry System.** The evils of dowry system are being denounced. But the movement has not as yet made any appreciable progress.

**Q. 223.** Give some account of the various religious movements in India in the 19th century, and estimate their effect on the social condition of the country. (P.U., B.A. 1935)

#### RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

**The Brahmo Samaj.** Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the father of modern India, led a reform movement in the early part of the 19th century. Dissatisfied with the orthodox creed of idolatry, he preached doctrine of monotheism as inculcated in the Upanishadas. His earliest attempt, after his retirement from the Company's service in 1815, was to start the *Atmiya Sabha*, an association for the spread of religious truth and the promotion of free discussions of the theological subjects which lasted from 1816-19. In 1828, he laid the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj. In spite of hostility, the orthodox citizens started a rival organization known as the *Dharam Sabha*. The cardinal principles of the Brahmo Samaj were the worship of one God, and the brotherhood of man. It calls itself the Church of Universal Religion, invites men of different creeds to come and worship in the same temple in the spirit of brotherhood, and inculcates respect for all religions and all scriptures. Thus the Raja rejected the barriers of caste division, worship of idols and sacrificial ritual, and stood forth as the high priest of universalism and love. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has justly remarked, "The Brahmo Samaj was unwilling to desert Hinduism but was willing to become liberal and respond to the impact of western faiths." After the Raja's death, his infant church "had no organization, no constitution, no membership, no covenant, no pledge." But it was soon raised from the 'moribund' condition by Davendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen, both men of wide culture and manifold experiences. The famous Cooch-Bihar marriage case of 1878 raised a storm against him. Keshab Chandra Sen was charged with inconsistency and turned out of the Samaj. The Samaj was split up into two sections :—The *Sadharan* (Universal) Brahmo Samaj and the *Adi* (original) Brahmo Samaj. After this secession Keshab also organized a new church known as the *Nava-vidhan* (New Dispensation) Samaj, whose distinguishing feature is formation in worship. They regard Keshab as a prophet.



**The Prarthana Samaj.** In Maharashtra a theistic Samaj called the *Prarmhansa Sabha* was started in 1849. But its influence was limited and it soon broke up. Later on a more important theistic organization called the *Prarthana Samoj* was started with aims of rational worship and social reform and developed under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj.

**The Theosophical Society.** This society also exercised a considerable influence on Indian social and religious life in modern times. Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott founded this society in U. S. A. in 1875. They came to India in 1879, and since 1886, Adyar, near Madras, became the head-quarters of the society. The growth of the Theosophist Movement as a force in Indian history has been due to Mrs. Besant, who joined the society in 1889. She came to India in 1893. One of her most notable achievements was the establishment at Benares in 1898 of the Central Hindu School which developed later on into a college and ultimately into the Benares Hindu University. In the words of Besant, the Theosophical Society stands for the revival of Hinduism and Zoroastrianism in India and Buddhism in Ceylon and Burma. Moreover, this society brought with it an idea of new self respect, i.e., a pride in the past and a belief in the future. This society is not a distinctly religious body, but as a rule, it advocates social reform.

**The Rama Krishna Mission.** Rama Krishna Paramhansa's name is associated with another movement known as the Rama Krishna Mission started ten years after his death by Swami Vivekanand. He attended the Parliament of Religions first at Chicago in 1893 and then at Paris in 1900. Sir Valentine Chirol remarks that he was "the first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilization and for her new born claim to nationhood." The Rama Krishna Mission with branches in different parts of India has been doing splendid humanitarian and social service by opening dispensaries, orphanages and schools. "The disciples of Rama Krishna do not accept the full programme of Brahmo Samaj but they are all liberal thinkers, and do not stick to the orthodox principles. His disciples are divided into two groups : first the ascetics who do not marry, and dedicate their lives to God and the service of man. The second group live in the world and earn their livelihood, but try to regulate their lives according to the teachings of Rama Krishna. They are not social reformers in the literal sense of the word, but they are helping in the reconstruction of society in several ways."

**The Arya Samaj.** Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, aimed at reconstructing modern Indian life on the model of ancient Vedic Society. He was hostile to image worship and preached the worship of one omniscient, omnipotent God. He was an enemy of caste restrictions, and of sacrifices, and wanted to remove superstitions from the minds of the people. He opposed child marriage, advocated travels in foreign lands, and also the re-marriage of widows and female education. Another important item in the programme of the Samaj has been the *dhuddhi* work of re-Hinduizing, the fallen, the outcastes, the converts and other externals. In 1892, the Arya Samaj was split up into two parties—College Party and the Gurukul Party. It has



remained a great and a powerful factor up to this day in building the national life of India by doing splendid religious, social and educational work in the country. It is still a great power seriously to be reckoned with. In order to solve the problem of unemployment for the youth of the country, the college party has started an Industrial College. It is also running a number of successful Degree Colleges—at Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Delhi and Ambla besides a number of High Schools throughout the Punjab.

**Religious Reform Association.** The 19th Century Indian Reformation Movement affected the Parsi community in India. A band of young Parsi workers started, in 1851, the Religious Reform Association for improving the social condition of the Parsees and restoring the Zoroastrian religion to its original purity. The Zoroastrian Conference of 1910 has rendered useful service to the community. Mr. Malabari, a prominent member of the Parsi Community, is entitled to be ranked as one of the greatest social reformers in modern India for his brilliant services in the cause of Indian women and children, journalism and education.

**The Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.** The Sikhs with a glorious tradition in the past have been influenced by the reformation spirit. They also overhauled their religious and social life. The most advanced among the community established the Khalsa College at Amritsar under the Central Association called the Chief Khalsa Diwan. This society advocates liberal reforms in society and education. A word may be said here regarding the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee amongst the Sikhs. In 1920-21, the Punjab was in a highly inflammatory condition. There arose, then, two sections of the Sikh community, one of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the second the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, with a view to rid their shrines of the corrupt *Mahants* and reform them in other ways. At that time, volunteers, called the Akali jathas, forming the most zealous section of the reformers, and wearing a black costume resembling that worn by the fanatical Akalis, who fought in the fore-front of Ranjit Singh's battles were organized and they began to seize Sikh Shrines more or less forcibly and this brought them into conflict with the Government.

**Islam.** At the beginning of the 19th century, a band of ardent souls from the Mohammadans attempted the purification of Islam and opposed the introduction of English education and western institutions. With the lapse of time, there came to the forefront Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who advocated the assimilation of western civilization by the eastern countries. His idea was to establish a working harmony between East and West. He advocated the abolition of *Purdah* and the spread of education amongst women. Along with these there was started the *Ahmadiya Movement* by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad at Qadian. He belonged to the conservative section. He rejected the abolition of *Purdah* and stoutly defended the Islamic law of divorce and polygamy. The orthodox party was against this movement. In 1914, after the death of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed in 1908, a split occurred in the community when a group headed by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and Moulvi Mohammad Ali formed the *Lahore Party*, the original group being named the *Qadiani*



**Party.** The latter regard the founder of the movement as a prophet, while the former regard him only as a reformer.

**The Muslim League.** The Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah was trying to secure Pakistan for the Mohammadans.

**Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98).** He advocated changes in the political, religious, educational and social ideas of the Muslims in India by effecting harmony between the old faith and the modern rationalism, oriental learning and modern science, in short by establishing a working harmony between East and West. He visited England in 1869, and after his return established with the help of some of his friends, the M.A.O. College at Aligarh in 1875, in the face of a vehement orthodox opposition. "He had," remarks Dr. Titus, "a vision of an Indian Muslim Oxford, which should train young men of character and capacity in all that is best in oriental and occidental learning." The college that was thus founded was raised to the status of the Muslim University of Aligarh in 1920, and now forms an important centre of Muslim education in India. He also tried to have large scale translations made of English literature and scientific works into Urdu, the chief vernacular of Muslims and thus cleared the way for the experiment in higher education through the medium of Urdu, as it is now carried on in the Osmania University at Hyderabad, Deccan. He was also an advocate of Social reforms like the abolition of *purdah*, and the education of women. He did a lot of propaganda work with the help of his magazine called *Ahidi-ul-Akhlaq* (Reforms of Morals). In short he gave birth to a New Islam. Later on, a number of *anjumans* have come into existence for the service of the community and a powerful Muslim press has also come into existence.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give some account of the various religious movements in India in the 19th century and estimate their effects on the social condition of the country.
2. Give some account of the growth of some of the movements of social reforms in modern India.
3. Trace in outline the history of social and religious movements in India during the 19th century and critically bring out the work of Ram Mohan Roy.  
(P.U., B.A., 1941)
4. Discuss the part played by either Raja Ram Mohan Roy or Swami Dayanand in the social, religious and educational development of India.  
(P.U., B.A., 1940 Sept.)
5. Describe the new religious movements among the people of India during the British period.  
(P.U., B.A., 1935)



## CHAPTER LXI

### THE PARAMOUNT POWER AND THE INDIAN STATES

**The Relations between the British Government and the Indian States before 1858.** Sir William Lee-Warner, in his well-known work, *'The Native States of India,'* has noticed three scientific divisions in British relations with the Indian States. (1) The period of *'Ring Fence'* or Buffer State Policy extending from 1765 to 1813. (2) The period of *'Subordinate Isolation'* from 1813 to 1857. (3) The period of *'Subordinate Union'* from 1857 to the Great War and the Reforms. We add a fourth, (4) that of *'Equal Federation,'* which has been established by the Constitution Act of 1935. Besides the aforesaid *four epochs*, we can add an earlier period of "neutral position" up to 1765 when the British held aloof from politics and represented powerful corporations extending on the good-will of the Indian States. During this period, the British were merely traders and had adopted as their watchword abstinence from interference in all political matters. This period lasted only so long as the Indian States were capable of maintaining order in their own dominions. The anarchy in the south made it possible for the French to interfere in Indian politics, and the English followed suit in the footsteps of their rivals. The rivalry between the French and the English at last resulted in establishing the British as the protectors of the Carnatic with the Northern Circars directly under them. Events in Bengal made them masters of that rich province by 1765 after the battle of Baxar, and the Company became a territorial power. It had now to evolve a real foreign policy.

(1) **The Policy of Ring Fence (1765-1813).** According to Lee-Warner, the Company during the period of *'Ring Fence'* treated the Indian princes as independent rulers and did not interfere in their affairs. But there were a number of important exceptions to this postulated principle, such as the Oudh affairs during the times of Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley, the treaty of the English with Ranjit Singh in 1809, etc., and the Company intervened in the affairs of some states when it became necessary for self-defence or strengthening of position. The fundamental idea of the Company's system in the time of Warren Hastings was the defence of their neighbours' frontiers for safe-guarding their own territories against the advance and attacks of the Marathas, the Afghans and the militant Muslim usurpers of Mysore. Under the pressure of circumstances, even Lord Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliances by which the Indian states were to hand over control of their foreign relations to the British may be treated as the extension of the policy of ring-fence. It should be clearly noted that the British were not at all interested in what was going on outside the ring-fence, but within the ring-fence, they supported and tried to strengthen the friendly powers which served as buffer states between the British territory and the enemy. It may,



therefore, be also called the '*Buffer State*' policy. In short, the ring-fence, at this time, extended over Oudh in Northern India and Hyderabad in Southern India.

(2) **The Policy of Subordinate Isolation (1813-1858).** As remarked above, Lord Wellesley had already made encroachment on the policy of the ring-fence by introducing subsidiary alliances; but Lord Hastings definitely introduced the policy of '*Subordinate Isolation*.' According to this policy, the Indian States were to be isolated from their neighbours by handing over the charge of their foreign relations to the British Government. They were to accept in fact, though not in theory, a position of subordination in matters of defence and external relations. "With the establishment of the Company as a paramount power after 1818 the treaties of reciprocity and mutual amity gave place to those of subordinate co-operation. In the new treaties concluded by Lord Hastings, the Indian States surrendered all forms of external sovereignty, as they could not make war or peace, nor could they negotiate agreements with other Princes. As regards internal sovereignty, the states retained it in full so far as the term of the treaties, and the declared policy of the British Government go. But in actual practice, as is natural in a connection between unequal powers, there was a great deal of interference by the Company in the internal affairs of the Indian States, such as in Oudh, Mysore, Nagpur, etc. The nature and degree of interference varied in different states according to the personality and temperament of the agent." There is no doubt that Lord Hastings was an aggressive champion of British paramountcy, *but he was not an annexationist*. However, Lord Dalhousie, who was a great advocate of the 'Forward' policy or policy of intervention and annexation, applied his *Doctrine of Lapse* to the 'protected or dependent' states and annexed their territory on two grounds, *viz.*, the misgovernment in the native states and the desire to extend the blessings of the British rule to their subjects. He also exercised the right of the Paramount Power to interfere in the internal affairs of states on the ground of misgovernment. He regarded the states as the bulwark of reaction and seats of chronic misgovernment and, therefore, as hostile to their existence. *This policy of annexation ultimately brought the British dominion in India on the verge of catastrophe.*

**Defects of the Policy of Subordinate Isolation.** This policy was essentially a half measure. It sought to check the rulers' capacity or mischief only in one direction, *i.e.*, their relations with one another. It left their relations with their subjects undefined. They could work their will unchecked on them and the Company was pledged to support its allies even if their misrule provoked revolts. The Company could not interfere or introduce any reform even if the subjects groaned under oppression and tyranny. The policy provided no correction against gross misrule but annexation.

(3) **The Crown and the States or The Policy of Subordinate Union (1858-1919) and Its Features.** The policy of subordinate union adopted towards the Native States after the Mutiny sought to unite them with the Empire for the common purpose of promoting the welfare of the Indian population. This relation is marked by a new



spirit of co-operation and their position is one of honour and responsibility. (i) Their integrity and status is assured by the withdrawal of the '*Doctrine of Lapse*.' The *Sanads* of adoption issued by Lord Canning about 140 in all removed mistrust and suspicion. It is true that the Hindu and the Mohammadan States were given the right of adoption on failure of natural heirs; but this did not mean that the States became entirely free in the matter of succession, because every succession still required the consent of the Government of India. This order was repeated in 1884 and 1891. In 1891, the Secretary of State for India wrote:—"Every succession must be recognized by the British Government, and no succession is valid until recognition has been given." (ii) The States were admitted 'as partners with the Government of India, not only in the defence of the Empire and in the output of its foreign treaties and its international activity, but also in the material and moral progress of the united country.' The right of the British Government to interfere in the case of misrule or disputed succession is freely recognized, but it no longer meant additions to the British territory. Of the several cases in which the Paramount Power exercised its right to intervene, the following may be particularly noted: Baroda (1873-75), Manipur (1891-92) and Hyderabad (1926). These cases show quite clearly how anxious the Government was to preserve the native rulers, 'not as sacred relics, but as real rulers; not as puppets but as living factors in the administration.' The interference by the Government in the internal affairs of the states increased because of various reasons: (a) The improvement of means of communication, such as, the construction of railways and telegraph lines, etc. (b) the growth of the public press, (c) the extension of free trade and (d) the necessity of ensuring good government to the people. (iii) During Lord Curzon's viceroyalty we find a great insistence by the Foreign Department of the Government of India on the maintenance of administrative efficiency in the States. The Princes must justify their position and not abuse the authority committed to them. Greater attention, therefore, is paid to common welfare. The native rulers are held personally responsible for good government. They have a common currency and a common fiscal policy. Thus the spirit of co-operation and the idea of common interests enter into the daily life of the British Indian subjects and those of the Native States. (iv) In order to tighten Imperial control over the states, Lord Curzon established the Imperial Cadet Corps for giving military training to sons of the Indian Princes. (v) Lord Curzon made regulations restricting the Princes' visit to Europe and began to oppose them. The Indian Princes showed resentment. This policy was soon changed. (vi) He began to consult them on matters of Imperial interest and in matters affecting the states as a whole. Lord Hardinge in 1916, therefore, described the Indian Princes as 'helpers and colleagues in the great task of Imperial rule.' This new policy was manifested in two measures, which had begun long before Lord Curzon: (a) One was the further development of the Imperial Service Troops, started since the administration of Lord Dufferin (1884-88). The Imperial Service Troops are under the control of the native rulers, and are commanded generally by their own officers, British officers being sometimes deputed to train them up to the necessary standard of efficiency. They can be



employed by Indian Government for the defence of the Empire, and when so employed, they are placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of India. This system presents marked contrast with the subsidiary system on the one hand and the policy of distrust and isolation on the other. The Imperial Service Troops show clearly the new spirit of trust, responsibility and union. These troops have rendered valuable service for Imperial defence especially during the World War; they were first employed in the Hunza campaign of 1893, and Lord Curzon was the first to utilize them for service outside India. (b) Lord Lytton proposed that an Indian Privy Council be constituted comprising some of the Great Princes of India who were to consult with the Governor-General on questions of common interest. But the proposal bore no fruit owing to the opposition of the authorities in England, and only some of the leading Princes got the empty title of 'Councillors of the Empress.' Lord Curzon's plan for a Council of Ruling Princes and Lord Minto's schemes first for an Imperial Advisory Council and then for an Imperial Council of Ruling Princes also led to no tangible results. The Great War made the Government realize the utility of this policy and Lord Hardinge began to consult the Ruling Princes on matters of Imperial interest and in matters affecting the states as a whole. The policy was followed by Lord Chelmsford. According to the Montague-Chelmsford Report, the Chamber of Princes was set up in 1921.

**The Chamber of Princes.** The Chamber of Princes contains, in the first place, 108 Rulers of States 'who were members in their own right,' and in the second place, of 12 additional members elected by the rulers of 127 other states not included in the above group. The Viceroy was the President of the Chamber and annually a Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor were elected from amongst the members. Its standing committee advised the Viceroy on matters referred to the committee by him and "proposed for his consideration other questions affecting Indian States generally, or which were of concern either to the States as a whole or to British India and the States in common." The Chamber of Princes was a deliberative, consultative and advisory, but not an executive body. The constitution of the Chamber was an event of great significance in the sense that it marked departure from the old policy of isolation, and "the Princes had gained a new position as Indian and imperial personalities who have collectively a right to be consulted on matters affecting policy and whose voice naturally carries great weight. They have been, in fact, collectively recognized as an independent constituent of the Empire."

**Critical Note.** (1) According to Simon Commission Report Vol. 1, two important things regarding the composition of the Chamber of Princes should be carefully noted :—(i) Treaties and internal affairs of individual states, rights and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of individual Princes and Chiefs, their estates and the members of their families and the actions of individual rulers shall not be discussed in the Chamber. (ii) The institution of the Chamber shall not in any way prejudice the engagements or the relations of any state with the Viceroy or Governor-General (including the right of direct correspondence), nor shall any recommendations of the Chamber in any way prejudice the rights or restrict the freedom of action of any State.

(2) **The Nature of engagements made with the Princes.** Most of the engagements deal only with measures which they are pledged to adopt for promoting



the welfare of Europe, such as the suppression of smuggling, the freedom of trade, the construction of Railways, Telegraph, Canal, Postage system, the extradition of criminals, the import and manufacture of arms, etc. In addition to these, the rulers are personally responsible for good administration. They cannot have diplomatic relations with other States or employ Europeans in their service without the sanction of the supreme Government. They can maintain a limited number of troops for keeping peace and order, and must share with the Imperial Government the burdens of common defence. Above everything else they must remain loyal to the British Government.

(4) See Answer to the next question.

**Q. 224. Modern Constitutional Problems and the Position of the Indian States and their classifications.** (P.U., B.A., 1936)

Sarkar and Dutt write as follows :—“The proposals for the future constitutional reforms in India have led the Crown, the States and the people of British India to study the position and rights of the Indian States with a view to fit them suitably in the new form of Government. The Indian States Committee, usually known as the Butler Committee from the name of its Chairman, Sir Harcourt Butler, was appointed in December 1917, to enquire into the relationship between the Government of India and the Indian States, to enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States, and to make any recommendations that the committee may consider desirable or necessary for their most satisfactory adjustment.” The committee has classified all the states into three groups :—viz., (i) 108 States, the rulers of which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right ; (ii) 127 states, the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber of Princes by 12 members of their own elected by themselves, (iii) 327 estates, *jagirs* and others.

**Critical Note.** According to Mr. Pannikar, all States in India fall under three distinct classes : (a) Those whose treaties entitle them to full and absolute sovereignty within the state. (b) Those who, though treaty states, enjoy criminal and civil jurisdiction and legislative powers only under supervision. (c) Those whose rights are based on grants and *sanads*.

**Recommendations of the Butler Committee.** The main recommendations of the Committee are seven ; (1) The Viceroy and not the Governor-General-in-Council, as at present, is to be the Crown's agent in dealing with the states. (2) The relation between the Crown and the Princes is not to be transferred, without the agreement of the Princes, to a new Government in British India responsible to a legislature. (3) The scheme for the constitution of a States Council of six including three Princes is to be rejected. (4) Intervention in the administration of a state is to be left to the Viceroy's decision. (5) Special Committees are to be appointed to enquire into disputes that may arise between States and British India. (6) A committee is to be appointed to enquire into the financial relations between British India and the States. (7) There should be separate recruitment and training of political officers, forming a special service of their own, drawn from the Universities of England.

**Its Criticism.** The Committee's recommendations have been criticized in various ways. (1) It has been pointed out that the direct relation theory is historically unsound, as the relations of the states were first established with the East India Company and not with the Crown. The treaties were first made with the Company and at the time of the assumption of sovereignty by the Crown, no fresh treaties



were entered into by the Crown with them. (2) Moreover the direct relation theory is a positive permanent barrier to the possible union of the Indian States and British India. This view is held by a number of prominent Indians. Mr. C.Y. Chintamani, while presiding over the Indian States' Subjects Conference held at Bombay in 1929, said that "The Butler Committee was bad in its origin, bad in the time chosen for its appointment, bad in its terms of reference, bad in its personnel and bad in its line of enquiry while its report is bad in its reasoning and bad in its conclusion." Another gentleman calls these proposals unsympathetic, unhistorical, and hardly constitutional or legal.

**The Indian Statutory Commission and their recommendations.** The Simon Commission held that the proposed federal constitution of India cannot be evolved by ignoring the Indian States, which would also be influenced by the new constitution. The Maharaja of Bikaner on behalf of the Indian Princes openly said that the ultimate goal is Federation, which would have no terrors for the Princes and Government of the states. The Commission made three concrete proposals: (1) Drawing up of a list of matters of common interest. (2) Inclusion, in the preamble to any new Government of India Act, of a recital which would put on record the desire to develop that closer association between the Indian States and British India which is the motive force behind all discussions of an eventual 'Federal union.' (3) The 'creation and setting up of a standing consultative body containing representatives both from British India and the Indian States with powers of discussion and of reaching and recording deliberative results on topics falling within the list of matters of common concern.' The princes and the representatives of the Indian States of course attended the Round Table Conference and made speeches sympathetic to the idea of a Federation for all India, though at the same time, it is admitted that the problem of creating Federal Constitution comprising British India and the Indian States is a very intricate one. The recent attitude of the Princes does not seem to be favourable for a real federation.

**The White Paper.** The White Paper also leaves the matter at the discretion of his states. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in the book '*Indian Constitutional Problems*' does not countenance this idea of Federation. He is emphatically of the opinion that the attitude of the princes renders any close organic association with British India impossible and that the most expedient course is to leave matters as they are at present. One plea put forth by him is that one fundamental principle of all corporate organizations is what may be called the rule of the majority, and this principle the Princes have not learnt and will not learn. Therefore, any attempt to bring about an organic friendship with British India is impracticable.

**The Joint Parliamentary Report.** The Joint Parliamentary Report approves of the idea of Federation with the following limitations: The Report says, "There can be no question of compulsion so far as the states are concerned." It must be a voluntary act of a ruler of the state. Moreover federation will not come into existence until the rulers of states representing no less than half the seats in the legislature agree to join it. And when it does come into existence, the election to it will be indirect.

**The Government of India Act of 1935 and Federation.** By this Act, the following changes have been proposed with regard to the



Indian States. The Act does not make any state a member of the Federation ; it only prescribes a method whereby a state may accede, and sets out the constitutional consequences of accession. It is within the discretion of the Rulers whether or not they enter the Federation. The Act provides that the Federation is to be constituted by a proclamation made by His Majesty. Before the Proclamation can be made, however, two conditions are to be fulfilled : (1) An address in that behalf must have been presented to the King by each House of Parliament. (2) Rulers of states representing not less than half the aggregate population of the states and entitled to not less than half the seats to be allotted to the states in the Federal Upper Chamber must have signified their desire to accede to the Federation.

**How the States can become Members of the Federation.** The ruler of a state proposing to join the Federation shall signify his willingness to accede to the Federation by executing an Instrument of Accession. This will allow the power and jurisdiction of the Ruler, in respect of those matters which he agrees to recognize as Federal subjects, to be exercised by the Federal authorities brought into existence by the Act, *viz.*, the Governor-General, the Federal Legislature and the Federal Court. Outside the limits defined by the instrument of accession of each state, the autonomy of the states and their relations with the Crown will not be affected in any way by the Act. Under the Act the Crown is not bound to accept any Instrument of Accession or Supplementary Instrument. If the Crown considers that the terms of an Instrument are inconsistent with the Scheme of Federation, then that instrument is to be rejected. After the establishment of the Federation the request of a Ruler that his state may be admitted to the Federation shall be transmitted to His Majesty through the Governor-General. After the expiration of twenty years from the establishment of the Federation, the Governor-General shall not transmit to His Majesty any such request until there has been represented to him by each Chamber of the Federal Legislature, for submission to His Majesty, an address praying that His Majesty may be pleased to admit the state into the Federation.

**Consequences of the setting up of the new Dominions.** The Indian Independence Act 1947 provided with the following arrangement with the Indian Native States. "As from the appointed day (August 15, 1947).....the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the Rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the Rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise ; .....

"Provided that notwithstanding anything in (paragraphs) of this sub-section, effect shall, as nearly as may be, continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by



the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreements."

**Accession of the States to the Dominion of India.** The Indian Independence Act released the States from all their obligations to the Crown and it was evident that if in consequence the Indian States became separate independent entities, there would be a serious administrative vacuum not only with regard to the political relationship between the Central Government and the States, but also in respect of the co-ordination of all-India policies in the economic and other fields.

**States Department.** On 13th June, 1947, the Viceroy called a meeting of the Congress, League and Sikh representatives and reached to a conclusion that a new department--called the "States Department" should be set up to deal with Indian States. The department was set up on 25th June, 1947.

**Necessity of a Common Centre.** The decision to partition India was a severe blow to the political and geographical integrity of India. The first task before the newly created States Department was the conserving of the heart of India. This required a common centre for the whole country including the Indian States, able to function effectively in the Provinces and States alike in matters requiring all-India action.

**Sardar Patel's Statement.** On the day i.e., 5th July, 1947, the Hon'ble Sardar Patel, Member for States Department, issued an important statement in which he assured the States that no more was asked of them than accession on the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, in which the common interests of the country were involved and that their autonomous existence would be scrupulously respected. There was no dominating authority of one over the other. The alternative to co-operation was anarchy and chaos and common ruin, if the States and Provinces were unable to act together.

This statement of Sardar Patel was favourably received in the Princely circles and the Instruments of Accession and standstill agreements were the outcome of it. With the valuable assistance and cooperation of the Princes and the helpful efforts of Lord Mountbatten, negotiations were concluded in a week's time and barring Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh, all the States in the geographical limits of India acceded to the Indian Dominion.

The Instrument of Accession executed by the Rulers provided for the accession of States to the Dominion of India on the three subjects, namely, Defence, External Affairs and Communications, their content being as defined in List I of Schedule VII to the Government of India Act 1935. The Instrument of Accession formulated as a result of the discussions with the Princes was accepted only from the States which exercised full jurisdiction. The States, in respect of which the Crown Representative exercised certain powers and jurisdiction, signed Instrument of Accession which provided also for the exercise of similar powers and jurisdiction by the Dominion Government.



Standstill agreements were also entered into between the Dominion Government and the acceding States. Its acceptance was made by the Government of India conditional on accession by the states concerned. The standstill agreements provided for the continuance for the time-being of all subsisting agreements and administrative arrangements in matters of common concern between the States and the Dominion of India or any part thereof.

The accession of the Indian States to the Dominion of India established a new and more organic relationship between the States and the Government of India. The constitutional link thus forged proved strong enough to bear the stress of the upheaval through which the country had to pass and enabled the Government of India and Governments of the States and the Provinces concerned to take concerted and co-ordinated action in relation to matters of common concern. It was a momentous event in India's history. For over half a century, the States had been a sealed book so far as the leaders of public opinion in British India were concerned. High walls of political isolation had been reared up and buttressed to prevent the infiltration of the urge for freedom and democracy into the Indian States. Disruptive tendencies had been cultivated and encouraged and proposals for not only one but several Rajasthans were in the air. There were not a few who nursed the hope that, overwhelmed by the combined weight of the partition of India and the disruption of the States, the Government of India would go under. For the first time, after hundreds of years, India became welded into a constitutional entity.

**Integration and Democratisation of States.** The accession of the Indian states to the Dominion of India was the first phase of the process of fitting them into the constitutional structure of India. The second phase which has rapidly developed recently has involved a process of two-fold integration : (1) external integration, that is, consolidation of small states into sizeable administrative units ; (2) the inner integration, i.e., the growth of democratic institutions and responsible Governments in the States

**Merger.** The small states were the vulnerable link in the chain of the Indian states. With the advent of Independence, the popular urge in the states for attaining the same measure of freedom as was enjoyed by the people in the provinces gained momentum and unleashed strong movements for the transfer of power from the Rulers to the people. The Rulers, who were quick to appreciate the legitimate aspirations of their people gave them responsible Government. So far as the larger states were concerned, the democratization of administration could be satisfactory solution of their constitutional problems ; however, in the case of small states which were inherently incapable of survival as separate autonomous units, responsible government would only have proved a farce. They could not have maintained law and order. The law and order situation in small states was so bad that it threatened the peace and tranquillity of the adjoining provinces. The National Government of free and democratic India could not temporize or tinker with an issue having so direct a bearing on the unification and planned economic progress of India. The Hon'ble Sardar Patel had long discussion with the Rulers of these states and



it was eventually decided to integrate these small states with the adjoining provinces. The agreements signed by the Rulers of many states on 14th December, 1947, and subsequent dates, gave the Dominion Government full authority to govern their states.

These as well as similar other agreements subsequently entered into, whether providing for the merger of states into the provinces of India or for the integration of the territories of states into larger units, guarantee to the Rulers concerned their succession, civil list, personal property, rights, privileges, dignities and titles. The Civil list is generally less than the award given by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Shankar Rao Deo and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya. It is calculated on the basis of 15% on the first lakh of the average annual revenue of the state concerned, 10%, on 2 to 5 lakhs, and 7½% above 5 lakhs, subject to a maximum of 10 lakhs.

Thus Orissa and Chattisgarh States merged with Orissa and C. P. Provinces respectively. The Deccan States and Gujrat States merged with Bombay Province. Other small states merged with neighbouring Province—Loharu, Dujana and Pataudi merged in the East Punjab. Banganapalle and Pudukkottai merged with the Madras Province. Kutch merged in the Dominion of India.

Some states like the East Punjab hill States were consolidated into one unit and became centrally administered unit known as "Himachal Pradesh." Thus a new province came into existence.

**Formation of Unions.** The integration of the states is not alike in all regions. There were several groups of states, which with due regard to the geographical, linguistic, social and cultural affinities of the people, could be consolidated into sizeable and viable units. In such cases, the Government of India extended full support and co-operation to the Rulers concerned in uniting and integrating the territories of their states in reasonable administrative units on the basis of full transfer of powers from the Rulers to the people.

As a result of this policy there were formed the United State of Kathiawar; of Matsya; of Vindhya Pradesh; of Rajasthan; of Gwalior; Indore and Malwa; and the Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Discuss the relations between the paramount power and the Indian States from 1858 onward. (P.U., B.A. '35)
2. Classify the Indian States, and give the distinguishing characteristics of each class. (P.U., B.A. '35)
3. In what respects is the sovereignty of a ruler of an Indian State limited? (P.U., B.A. '36 Sept.)
4. Critically examine the principles that have regulated the relations of the Indian princes with the Crown since the Queen's proclamation of 1858. (P.U., B.A. '39)
5. Examine the force and factors that have been at work since 1914 to bring the Indian States into closer co-operation and partnership with British India. What is the net result? (P.U., B.A. '40)
6. What, according to Sir William Lee Warner, are the three epochs in British relations with the Native States? When and why was the epoch of 'subordinate' isolation superseded by that of "subordinate union and co-operation"?



Common language  
Patriotic impulse aroused

V.V. Gup

## CHAPTER LXII

### GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDIA

**Nature of Political Development of India.** "No reformation," remarks Hegel very rightly, "is possible without renaissance," and it may be added that no revolution in policy can be effected except on the basis of socio-religious reformation and a wide cultural renaissance. The different phases of the Indian life were during the nineteenth century permeated with the spirit of a renaissance, a great awakening; the efforts of men began consciously to be directed towards the redemption of India from the state of all round degradation to which she had been reduced during a long process of decline and fall, the depth of which had been reached in the 18th century. This spirit of revival and recreation spread from sphere to sphere of the national life, and while deeply affecting society, religion and literature passed on into the field of politics and produced a commotion there as well. The earlier renaissance of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, though rich in cultural and religious achievement, had on the political side led only to the rise of independent nation-states like those of the Sikhs and Marathas and could not, for various reasons, evolve one national movement embracing the whole of India, Hindu as well as Muslim, orthodox as well as the reformed. In the 19th century certain factors combined to produce a real Indian National Movement.

**The Causes of the rise of Indian National Movement.** (1) The first place, among the factors that gave rise to the Indian national movement, must be given to the inspiration derived by the Indians from the study of the works of western writers and their contact with the west. Western education brought Indians in touch with the best English thought—with the works of Milton, Burke, Mill, Macaulay, Herbert Spencer and others—and instilled in them the life-giving conception of liberty, nationality and self-government. Besides inculcating the love of liberty, nationality and independence, western learning conferred on Indians another very important benefit. It gave them—what they had never had before—the valuable gift of common language—Lingua Franca—which made it possible for them to come together to commune with one another, and to plan a common programme of action. English became the common language of new India. (2) The second factor which helped to make Indians discontented with the then existing conditions was the work of the European scholars in ancient literature and their praise of old Indian culture and civilization. Renowned European scholars like Max Muller, Monier Williams, Roth, Sasson, Burnouf and others "revealed to India herself scarcely less than to the western world the majesty and the wealth of the Sanskrit language.....and the historical as well as the literary value of the great body of Hindu literature which is the key to India's civilization." In this connection the work of various religious reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Debendranath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Justice Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and others deserves special attention. Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj,—all these reform movements, though primarily religious, were at the same time national. They made the people aware of their great heritage and aroused in them patriotic impulse. Religion inspired nationality. (3) The third factor in the rise of the Indian



national movement was economic. India was being impoverished by the destruction of her industries which could not stand the competition of foreign, machine-made goods. The Government instead of protecting, and rendering, aid was helping their extinction by adopting, not only a policy of *laissez faire*, but of deliberate free trade in the interests of England. The controversies over the cotton duties had alienated the sympathies of the commercial and industrial classes. The pressure on land was increasing daily owing to the destruction of handicrafts and agriculture was suffering from various defects. The system of administration was hopelessly expensive. The poverty of the people both chronic and grinding had led to famines in years of monsoon failure. The position of educated classes was gradually becoming unsound. High hopes had been raised by promises of racial equality made in the Queen's proclamation and other documents. There was bitter disappointment at the non-fulfilment of promises and the exclusion of Indians from higher posts. It is significant to note that the first organized agitation in India was in connection with the Indian Civil Service question in 1877-78 when the maximum age limit for the open competitive examination was reduced from twenty-one to nineteen years. (4) The fourth factor which is of great importance in the creation and development of national consciousness among the people is the Indian owned and edited press, both English and Vernacular. The Indian Press is on the whole nationalistic and critical of the measures of the Government and advocates full racial equality and the claim of Indians to manage, control and run the government of the country. It is true that there are a number of communal and even pro-government papers; but even they promote often unconsciously the cause of Indian advancement. (5) The fifth factor in the quick growth of national movement was modern transport. Lines of communication knit up the vast country and turned geographical unity into a tangible reality. It became possible to carry on propaganda on a national scale and to arouse a sense of oneness and nationality among the people separated by vast distances. (6) The last factor, which played an important part in uniting Indians together and in making them organize throughout the land, was the widening of the gulf between Indians and the Englishmen in the country and an unfortunate increase in feelings of racial bitterness between the rulers and the ruled. The Mutiny marks a turning point in the history of British India. Whether we view it as a national or military rising, this much is certain that it served to engender a feeling of distrust of Indians in the minds of Englishmen. The whole of the British policy in India has been coloured by distrust of the Indians, which untold acts of Indian loyalty have been powerless to remove. The exclusion of Indians, even the most loyal of them, from all places of real power or involving important state secrets, as in the case of army, police, foreign and political department; the disarming of the whole population and the working of Arms Act in the most niggardly fashion; the overawing of the masses by strong military action; are all results of the policy of distrust engendered by the Mutiny.

**The Growth of the Indian National Congress.** All the above-mentioned factors were responsible for the rise of the Indian national movement. Indian associations had been founded in the three Presidencies but these



associations confined themselves to criticism of the legislative and administrative measures of the Government. Moreover, these associations were provincial in their character and with the exception of the British Indian Association and the Indian Association, shortlived. The controversy over the Ilbert Bill, the attitude of Europeans and the Indian defeat convinced the politically-minded Indians of the necessity of having a more powerful association for national work. Mr. Hume's open letter to the graduates also produced a deep impression on the educated Indians. The Indian National Congress consisting of 72 delegates from different parts of the country held its first sitting on 27th December, 1885, under the presidency of Umesh Chandra Banerjee (better known as W.C. Banerjee). "Never before," said the President, "had so important and comprehensive an assemblage occurred within historical times on the soil of India."

**Government Attitude at first friendly.** The official attitude towards the Indian National Congress was at first friendly. Many liberal-minded Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials like Hume, 'the Father of the Congress,' Sir Willam Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, George Yule, Eardley Norton and others attended the meetings of the Congress and took an active part; while Lord Dufferin, who called the congress 'a microscopic minority' in 1886, and Lord Connemare in 1887, actually invited the members of the Second and Third Congress held respectively in Calcutta and Madras as "distinguished visitors" to garden parties at Government House. But soon a change took place in the attitude of the Government. In 1890, the Government officially declared that the Congress belonged to that class of conferences which private individuals might attend, but from which "Government officials" are necessarily debarred.

**Attitude of the Mohammadans.** Muslim attitude towards the Congress deserves special attention. Sir Syed Ahmad (1817—1898), an eminent leader and reformer of the Muslim community in India and the founder of the Aligarh Muslim College which has since developed into the Aligarh Muslim University, held himself aloof from the Congress and went so far as to start a counter organization of ultraloyalists with the help of Raja Shiv Prasad of Banares. It cannot, however, be said that the whole Muslim Community was opposed to the Congress; there were from the very beginning some who associated themselves with the Congress. Justice Badr-ud-Din Tyabji of Bombay was Congress President in 1887, and Rahamatulla Mohammad Sayani, (1847—1902), another prominent Muslim of Bombay, presided over the Twelfth Congress held in Calcutta in 1896, and in that capacity declared: "It is imagined by some persons that all, or almost all, the Muslims of India are against the Congress movement; this is not true. Indeed by far the largest part do not know what the Congress movement is."

**Its Resolutions.** The First Indian National Congress passed many resolutions. One of these resolutions asked for a considerable proportion of elected members in the existing councils, for the creation of new councils in the North Western Provinces and Oudh (now the United Provinces) and in the Punjab, for the right to discuss the budget and to put interpellations on all branches of the administration and for the



formation of a standing committee of the House of Commons to consider protests by legislative councils if they were over-ruled by the executive. The Congress also desired to abolish the Council of the Secretary of State, to have simultaneous examinations in India and England to admit candidates for the Indian Civil Service, the age being raised, and to limit military expenditure. It deprecated the annexation of Upper Burma on the score of expense, and suggested, that, if annexation took place, the whole of Burma should be administered separately from India, as a Crown Colony.

As a result of the agitation carried on by the Congress, the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed. The number of additional members both in the Supreme and the Provincial Councils was increased. The functions of the Council were also enlarged and members were given the right of asking questions on matters of public interest. Although the Act was criticized by the Congress of 1892 for not containing an explicit recognition of the right to elect, the regulations made under it had the practical effect of instituting an elective system. The reforms of 1892 did not satisfy the section of Congressmen and they thought that the mild methods of the Congress—its moderation and loyalty—were insufficient for securing the political freedom of their motherland. It was at Poona that this extreme section of the political workers found a field for work ; later on it spread to Bengal and the Punjab. The extremist section was led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a man of remarkable intelligence and culture.

Certain acts and utterances during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty caused intense dissatisfaction. The Partition of Bengal in 1905, caused great commotion among the Bengali politicians. A vigorous Anti-Partition and Swadeshi movement was launched in Bengal. Surendra Nath Banerjee and Bepin Chandra Pal were the moving spirits of these movements. The Anti-Partition and Swadeshi movements were sanctioned by the Congress sessions of 1905 as all-India political weapons of great economic value.

**The Factors which led to the Rise of Extremism and Terrorism** in India have been thus summarized by G.N. Singh :—(1) The influence of certain external factors like the defeat of Italy by Abyssinia in 1896 and more particularly of Russia by Japan in 1905, the achievement of national unity and independence of Italy under the inspiring leadership of Mazzini, and Cavour Garibaldi and the nationalistic attempts in Egypt, Russia, Persia, and Turkey : (2) The unpopular acts of the British administration in India, especially under Lord Curzon, such as the passing of the Age of Consent Act 1891, the Calcutta Corporation Act 1899, the Indian Universities Act 1904, the Official Secrets Act 1904, the carrying out of the Partition of Bengal in 1905, the undertaking of a costly expedition to Tibet and the search for the scientific frontier in the North West involving difficulties with Afghanistan and a substantial increase in military expenditure, the despatch of Indian troops to South Africa and China etc. (3) The visitation of natural calamities like famine and the inadequate measures taken to meet them : (4) the anti-national outlook shown by the Government in dealing with economic questions, such as the exclusion of Indians from higher appointments in their own country, the levying of countervailing excise duty on Indian cotton



goods, and the manipulations of the exchange policy. The display of racial arrogance, insolence and bad manners by Anglo-Indians leading to unfortunate conflicts and murders and the miscarriage of justice in such cases. (6) The unjust and the humiliating treatment meted out to Indians in the colonies, especially in Transvaal and Natal. (7) The awakening of the people caused by the new intellectual and religious forces, by education in schools and colleges, by propaganda and agitation through the press and the platform, by personal contact at congresses and conferences and by the work of religious reforms and associations. (8) The failure of the Indian National Congress in getting Indian wrongs redressed and Indian demands fulfilled by old methods, i.e., by holding annual sessions, delivering reasoned speeches, passing resolutions and addressing petitions to the House of Commons and appeals to the British nation.

**The Split of 1907 and the Rise of Moderate and Extreme Parties.** The extremist section led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B. C. Pal was gaining strength. The gulf between the two sections had been widening and an open split occurred at the Surat Congress of 1907. The Extremists, however, failed to capture the Congress. The period intervening between 1905-10 was one of great unrest and political turmoil. Anarchism and revolutionary theories soon spread from Bengal to the other provinces of India. This unrest necessitated the adoption by the Government of strong and repressive measures, like the deportation, on the 19th May, 1907, of Sardar Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai, under Regulation III of 1818, to Mandalay; promulgation by the Viceroy on 11th May, 1907, of an ordinance, called the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance; the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act on 1st November, 1907, the Explosive Substances Act and the Newspapers (Incitement) to Offences Act on 8th June, 1908, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, the imprisonment of Tilak at Mandalay and the deportation of Bengal leaders.

**Muslim League Started in 1906.** The leaders of the Muslim community started in December, 1906, the All-India Muslim League under the presidentship of H. H. Aga Khan, who retained that position till 1913. The League was an association of the loyalist members of the Muslim community.

**The Congress and the Muslim League Combined (1916).** In the midst of this political stage came the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. The reforms were at first welcomed by the Moderate leaders of the Congress as "an instalment of what India was entitled to claim." But in actual working the Reforms were found to be unsatisfactory. The Great War produced a great psychological effect in the country. It brought to her a new sense of self-respect and self-reliance, and hastened enormously the development of consciousness amongst the people. This led the Hindus and Mohammadans to think and act often in terms of a united India, and the Moderates and the Extremists to merge their differences in a more or less common political programme. A new generation of educated Muslims had now grown up and they came to realize that their true interests were identical with those of the Hindus. In 1916, the Congress and Muslim League formulated a joint scheme of



reforms and the two communities thus united themselves in their political demands.

**The Rise of the Liberals.** From 1908 to 1916 the Congress was under the control of the Moderates, but their leadership passed away after the death of Gokhale and Feroz Shah Mehta. Tilak now came into power. Sharp difference between the Extremists and the Moderates on the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms led the latter, in 1918, to secede from the National Congress and found a separate body known as the Indian National Liberal Federation. The Muslim organization also supported the Reforms on the whole. Thus on the Reforms question was broken up the union of the political parties in India which had been secured during the first year of war.

**Non-Co-operation Movement started (1920-24).** The Rowlatt Act and the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of March 1919, the tragedy at Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar, and the proclamation of martial law in the Punjab by its Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer,—all aroused a "vehement opposition" against the Government. The Khilafat question agitated the minds of the Muslims in India and once again brought about a temporary Hindu-Muslim unity fostered by Mr. Gandhi, on the one hand, and the Ali Brothers on the other. Thus instead of being content with the Reforms, the post-war India was ruffled by a great unrest, in the midst of which Mr. Gandhi started the Non-Co-operation Movement, which was supported by a majority of votes at a special session of Congress held in Calcutta 1920 under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai. The movement remained vigorous till 1924.

**The Swarajists (1924-27).** Many Congressmen disapproved the Congress attitude of absolute non-co-operation. A new party called the Swaraj party was formed under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. N. C. Kelkar for the purpose of capturing legislatures. The years 1924—27 were marked by communal riots and political activity was at its lowest ebb.

**Nehru Report (1928).** The appointment of All-White Simon Commission, composed of representatives of the three chief political parties in England, proved a blessing in disguise. It once more brought about political unity. An All-India Parties Conference was called at Delhi in 1928 and this Conference appointed a small Committee under the chairmanship of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru to frame a constitution. The Committee framed a constitution known as the Nehru Report. This report recommended 'Dominion Status' for India and advocated joint electorates with reservation of seats for minority communities and was accepted with certain amendments by the next All-Parties' Conference held at Lucknow in August, 1928. The Report, however, did not find favour with the majority of Muslims and Sikhs, because of Jinnah's fourteen points and the opposition of Extremists in the Congress, but it excited communal suspicion and divided important communities into hostile camps.

**Lord Irwin's Declaration of Dominion Status.** In the Calcutta Congress of 1928, Mahatma Gandhi by his personal influence did not allow the resolution of complete independence as the goal of India



proposed by Subhash Bose to be passed on the assurance that he himself would lead the campaign for independence if by the midnight of 31st December, 1929, the Government did not offer to confer Dominion Status on India. In October 1929, Lord Irwin after his return from England, where he had gone to consult the Cabinet, made a public pronouncement declaring Dominion Status to be the goal of India in order to satisfy the moderate politicians and to meet the Congress Resolution of 1929. But Lord Irwin's declaration did not give any definite idea as to the period when India would attain the Dominion Status. Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Moti Lal Nehru interviewed the Viceroy to have assurance that Dominion Status should be immediately granted. The latter failed to give any definite promise.

**Complete Independence for India declared as the goal by the Congress (1929).** The Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress, held in December 1929, under the presidency of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru therefore declared that the goal of the Congress is "the attainment of complete independence and refused to participate in the Round Table Conference". The All-India Congress Committee was authorized to launch a programme of Civil Disobedience. The Indian Liberals, the Indian States, and the Indian Muslims under the leadership of the Ali Brothers with Khilafat organizations co-operated with the Government and stood against the Civil Disobedience Movement which was formally launched by Mr. Gandhi on 6th April, by starting the illegal preparation of salt at the Dandi beach. This movement was withdrawn under the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on 5th March, 1931, through Sapru-Jayakar negotiations.

**Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931).** By the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, truce was declared between the Government and the Congress. Lord Irwin declared that the safeguards in the new constitution would be demonstrably in the interests of India. The Civil Disobedience prisoners were released, the right of manufacturing salt in the salt areas was conceded, the right of peaceful picketing was recognized and confiscated properties were returned. The Congress, on its part, suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement, and the Mahatma agreed to and did attend the Second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress but he was not satisfied with the Government proposals. On his return to India he was detained as a state prisoner for expressing his intention of taking up civil disobedience once again. Thus the country was again in the midst of turmoil and disorder for the great part of 1932. The question of communal representation and of the place to be given to the depressed classes in the new constitution aggravated the agitation after the publication of the Prime Minister's Communal Award in August 1932. The situation improved after the formal acceptance of the Poona Pact, an agreement under Gandhi's influence between the caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes, by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government. The Congress then withdrew the Civil Disobedience Movement and lifted the ban from Council entry; but the Congress remained unrepresented in the Third Round Table Conference of 1931.

**Bombay Session, 1934.** Lord Willingdon thought, when the Satyagrah was suspended by the A.I.C.C., that he had crushed the



Congress and, therefore, held the Election to the Central Assembly in November, 1934. The congress decided to accept the challenge at the Bombay Session (Oct. 1934). The results were a triumph for the Congress. From 1934 to 1945, the Congress Party in the Central Assembly worked with unity and in spirit of resistance to the bureaucracy. It threw out all budgets whenever it cared to attend the session.

**The Era of Responsibility.** Being assured of non-interference in the day-to-day administration by the Governors, Congress formed ministries in July 1937 in 6 out of 11 provinces on the basis of the Government of India Act 1935. Thus agitation gave place to responsibility. The Congress Governments, while in office for two years and three months, made legislation and reforms dealing with—Prohibition, Agricultural Debt Relief, Agrarian Reforms, Zamindari, village reconstruction, illiteracy, promotion of Khaddar. The Congress Governments were criticised both ways—as attempting too much and as doing too little. The Socialist and Communist elements were turbulent.

**The Era of War.** On September 3, 1939, the II. World War started. The A.I.C.C. asked the British Government what their war aims were and how they were going to apply them to India. British reply was that they have not settled their own war aims. This made Congress Ministries to resign in November 1939. British Government declared that more seats in the Executive Council of the Governor-General will be given to Indians and that Federation could not be implemented as 90 millions of Muslims object to it. The Congress started the Individual Civil Disobedience as a protest—that India is being dragged into war against her will. After, a year's campaign the Civil Disobedience prisoners were released.

In 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps came with an offer. During those days Japanese were knocking at Vizagapatam. Cripps proposal was to establish an Indian Cabinet similar to that of British Cabinet, and Viceroy like nominal head as King in England. Gandhi looked down upon Cripps' Scheme for it provided for any province to cut itself out of the Indian Union. A constitution-making body was to be formed after the war. In return the Indians should co-operate in war effort. Cripps' mission failed.

**The Era of Mass Revolt.** Cripps' departure created a vacuum. Gandhi realised that so long as the British held power there was no salvation for this country. He reversed his slogan of "comunal unity first and Swaraj next" into its opposite, and demanded that the British should Quit India. On August 8, 1942, the All India Congress Committee passed the Quit India resolution. There followed the wholesale arrests of Mahatma Gandhi, the members of the Working Committee and many others. This arrest of national leaders infuriated the masses. They gathered in thousands in different cities and were dispersed at the point—not merely of the lathi or the bayonet but of the rifle and the machine gun. A vicious circle was established in which brickbats and bullets was repeated by Government and of looting and arson was repeated by the people. British Parliament was divided as to the opinion about Indian National Congress. Conservatives denouncing it as an outlaw body, Liberal and Labour pressed for the release of the Congressmen. On 10th February, 1943, Gandhi went on a twenty-one



days fast. British conscience was not moved to a sense of justice.

Gandhi's serious illness made his release inevitable which took on 6th of May, 1944. Here in India Lord Wavell, who succeeded Linlithgow, suggested to Gandhi on the eve of his talks with Jinnah, that it was not enough if the League and the Congress joined hands and agreed, but that the agreement of the various important groups in the country should be simultaneously secured for any progress to be achieved. The failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, which took place in September 1944, on the issue of Pakistan, added another forceful weapon to the British logic which emphasised that without unity in India no progress could be contemplated.

World events compelled Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery and Lord Wavell to release the members of the Congress Working Committee on 15th June 1945 and open negotiations with the representatives of the various parties including the *outlawed* Congress for the formation of a National Government.

**Compromised Efforts.** Out of the events of the troubled years one thing emerged clearly—the stiffening of the demands of the Muslim League and the desire of the Congress to conclude a compromise with the League and solve the pressing problem of power. The Rajgopal-chari formula failed to prepare the ground for a Congress-League understanding.

Gandhiji being released on May 6, 1944 ; an attempt was made in 1945 to resolve the political deadlock. A provisional agreement was reached in May for the formation of a Provisional National Government on the basis of parity between the Congress and the Muslim League (40 per cent Congress, 40 per cent Muslim League and 20 per cent other groups). The proposal was placed before the Viceroy. Lord Wavell, who flew to London for advice, returned with a new statement of policy of the British Government (June 1945) which put forward a plan for a Provisional National Government with a subtle change in the formula for representation. In place of Congress-League parity the British plan laid down "Caste Hindu-Muslim parity"—thus forcing the issue back to a communal plane. The change meant that either the Congress would have to accept relegation to the status of a Hindu organisation, or, by claiming one of the Muslim seats for a Congress Muslim violate the basis of parity with the League.

**Cabinet Mission.** The Simla Conference called to consider the new proposal ended in a break-down. Then came the Cabinet Mission in 1946. The main reasons of the coming of the Mission were—firstly, the end of the war brought a new popular upsurge in India as in other parts of the world. In this new world situation it was impossible to maintain unchanged the old autocratic and bureaucratic regime in India. Secondly, the British Empire was basically weakened despite the victory over Germany. On every side the British Empire was assailed by the challenging pressure of the peoples of Egypt, Palestine, Burma and Malaya and Indonesia, not to speak of India. Thirdly, change in the world position of Britain was reflected also in the internal position in Britain. The Labour Government had to make some fresh departure in policy in relation to India. Finally, the rising popular upsurge within India and the demand for immediate independence.



The popular upsurge was as spectacular as it was intense. There were widespread strikes in the armed forces and especially in the Air Force and Navy revealing the disintegration of British authority in the very basis and machinery of its power. The rising of the India Navy in February 1946, had been an historic event in the life of our nation. For the first time the blood of men in the services and men in the streets flowed together in a common cause. The Union Jack was removed from the ship's masts in the harbour.

There was the revolt of the Indian police in Daryaganj in Delhi when the V Day was being celebrated. The achievement of the I.N.A. under the leadership of Subhash Chandra Bose could no longer be concealed. When the I.N.A. trials were being held in the Red Fort at Delhi a sort of Gallup poll was taken of the views of the Indian personnel in the Indian Army. It showed 84% of the Indian personnel of the army held the view that the I.N.A. trial should not be held. Some of them also added that had they been placed in a similar situation they also would have behaved in a manner similar to the I.N.A.

**The Recommendations.** The Cabinet Mission's Declaration of May 6, 1946, put forward the following proposals :—

**I. Recommendations for the Future Constitution :—**

(1) There should be a Union of India embodying both British India and the States, which should deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and should have the power necessary to raise the finance required for these subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and Legislature constituted from British India and State representatives.

Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as the majority of all members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces.

(4) The states should retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) The provinces should be free to form groups with Executives and Legislatures and each group would determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any province could, by majority vote of the Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after the initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter.

A British India Treaty was to be negotiated between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom.

**II. Recommendations for the establishment of an "Interim Government having the support of the major political parties" to be formed by the Viceroy on the basis of reconstitution of his Executive Council.**



The Cabinet Mission left India on June 29 and before leaving India made it clear that the "Scheme stands as a whole," i.e., to be accepted or rejected as a whole.

**League's Direct Action.** On June 6, Muslim League, while repeating that, "the attainment of the goal of a complete sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India," announced their acceptance of the plan as a whole, both the long term and the interim proposals, "inasmuch as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in Mission's Plan." On June 19, the Congress announced rejection of the plan for the Interim Government, but followed this up by accepting participation in the Constituent Assembly. After the elections to the Assembly the Muslim League suddenly withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

The Viceroy announced that an Interim Caretaker Government of officials would be established pending further negotiations for a Provisional National Government.

The negotiations dragged on during the summer of 1946 when suddenly across the sky flashed the red meteor of massacre and arson demonstrating that the brute in man had not been eliminated by centuries of civilisation.

It was a most painful chapter of India's struggle for freedom—with its pages blotted with tears and blood. In Bengal and the Punjab Muslim League Ministries were in power. The League declared 16th August, 1946, as "Direct Action Day" and arson, loot, murders and abduction of women began in Calcutta.

From Calcutta the scene shifted to East Bengal with its majority of Muslims. It is sad to recall the conditions created by the Muslims :

"The desecrated shrine, the  
trampled year,  
The smouldering homestead, and  
the household flower  
Torn from lintel."

The horrors of peace were worse than the horrors of war.

**India Divided.** In spite of this orgy of violence Lord Wavell admitted four nominees of the Muslim League into the Interim Government formed by Mr. Nehru, and the British Government approved the League interpretation of the Cabinet Mission Plan. Even then the League boycotted the Constituent Assembly which met for the first time on December 9, 1946.

Lord Mountbatten succeeded Lord Wavell in February 1947, and began negotiations with the Congress and the League. An agreed solution was discovered on the basis of the partition of the country. The Mountbatten plan was announced on June 3, 1947, and legislative effect to it was given by the Indian Independence Act of July 1947.

**Dawn of Freedom.** On August 15, 1947, truncated India became a fully self-governing Dominion within the British Commonwealth.

Then followed the horrors of the Punjab. The Great Calcutta killing "was bad, the East Bengal atrocities were worse, and the West Punjab horrors were the worst."



Divided India set down to rebuild her administration, economy and security. But peace was not secured because of various factors in the situation.

From August 1947, to December 1949 India had a period of experiment under new and unexpected conditions. It would be idle to say that the experiment has been free from faults, errors and omissions. But our self-rule is a gigantic experiment, it cannot be studied critically at present.

The Constituent Assembly finally accepted the Constitution on November 26, 1949. On the 26th January, 1950, India declared herself a Republic within the Commonwealth.

**Q. 225. "The Indian National Congress was at first ignored, then played with, then threatened, then listened to but now it has become a factor to be seriously reckoned with." Discuss and elucidate these remarks.** (P.U., B.A., 1932)

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. In the first session it was attended by about 80 delegates. The Government of Lord Dufferin therefore ignored it, and did not listen to the views formulated by the Congress. But the Congress gradually became very popular, and under the leadership of men like Mr. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn and Dadabhoi Naroji it carried on agitation in England. The Indian Council Act of 1892, was an attempt to stop the agitation. The Government played with the Congress by making trifling concessions. The public opinion was not satisfied and the agitation became bitter. The officials could not bear the criticism. Therefore they put obstacles in its way. At Allahabad the Government would not allow the Congress to hold its sittings in a place selected by the organizers. A circular was issued forbidding the Government servants to attend as visitors. The threat, however, proved ineffective. The Congress organised the public opinion in an effective manner. The resolutions of the Congress were read with care by the Government, and some of them were given effect to. The reforms of 1909 were the distinct outcome of the Congress activities. The Presidential addresses were carefully read. The announcement of 1919, was the result of the demands made by S. P. Sinha as President of the Congress. Since then the Congress has become a really representative body. The common people follow its lead, and therefore, it has become a factor to be seriously reckoned with. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact is the evidence of the influence of the Congress. It was declared an illegal body, but the Government ultimately realized the necessity of consulting it as the only means of restoring peace in India. Under the Constitution Act of 1935, the Congress Ministries were in charge of seven provinces in India. This fact goes a long way to prove the important position that the Congress is at present holding in the country. Even in the new elections in February 1946, the Congress got a majority in all the provinces except Bengal, Sind and the Punjab.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

### The Muslim League

The Indian National Congress, of which we have spoken above, had for its object the establishment of Home Rule in India. It appeared to be a purely



Hindu body with very few Muslim members. The Muslim League had been established some years later by the Muslim leaders at Aligarh to safeguard Muslim rights. In the autumn of 1919, Italy with the consent and support of England, attacked Tripoli, then a province of the Turkish empire. It was a sudden, unexpected and unprovoked attack and was rightly designated as brigandage. Popular feeling was aroused to its deepest depths by a massacre of the peaceful population of Tripoli by the Italians and Lord Kitchener, who was then British High Commissioner in Egypt, blocked the way of the Turkish army through Egypt. Egypt was then nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey and Turkey had every right to take her army through Egypt. The so-called British neutrality was in fact a moral and almost material support to Italy. This was followed in December by the Royal pronouncement of the repeal of the partition of Bengal. Eastern Bengal being a predominantly Muslim province, the Muslims had gained greatly from the partition. Its repeal was a direct attack on their well being. The repeal was condemned by the Muslims, Nawab Vagar-ul-Mulk, the valiant old Secretary of the then M. A. O. College, Aligarh, took the lead in its condemnation. This was followed in autumn of 1912 by the sudden interruption of the Balkan War and England was not at all friendly towards Turkey. The English Cabinet gave their moral support to the Balkan States and threatened the Turks with the power of their fleet if they tried to recover their lost possessions. The then Prime Minister of England, Mr. Asquith (later Lord Oxford and Asquith) openly rejoiced at the Turkish discomfiture. All these years the Liberal Party was in power in England and carrying on the traditions of bitter hatred of the Turks created by Gladstone, who advised his fellow countrymen that the Turks should be turned out of Europe "bag and baggage." In 1913, a portion of a mosque at Cawnpore was demolished for widening a road by the orders of Sir James (now Lord) Meston, then Lieutenant-Governor of U.P. A Muslim crowd was fired at, numbers perished and the rest were clapped into prison. Lord Hardinge saved the situation by giving free pardon to all.

All these events following one upon the other in such quick succession could not fail to stir the Muslims of India most deeply. The Muslim League, therefore, modified its traditional policy of devotion and loyalty and declared Home Rule as its ultimate goal. A few years later as a result of the Great War and the Turkish entry into it, the League joined hands with the Congress and almost merged itself in the latter body. In 1928, the Muslims under Mr. Jinnah became separate. They demanded Pakistan and claimed themselves as the sole representatives of all the Muslims in India.

### The Round Table Conference

The Simon Commission whose recommendations we have noticed elsewhere in the book had been boycotted by all the parties in India. The Labour party in England had come to power and it was pledged to help India in her aspirations. So the Labour government in order to give an opportunity to both Indian and British politicians to discuss and solve the political problems of India, convened a conference and thus Indian political leaders were called upon to participate in the discussions about the future constitution of India. But the Indian National Congress boycotted it. The Congress party and the Moderates demanded in its place a Round Table Conference and promise, if not the immediate offer, of Dominion Status. Before the Simon Commission had published its report, the Viceroy not only announced that the goal of British government in India was Dominion Status but invited representatives of India to join the Round Table Conference in London. In spite of this in January 1922—Mahatma Gandhi announced that if India was not given Dominion Status within a year, he would lead the campaign for independence and true to his word the Lahore Congress in 1929 voted in favour of independence. The new struggle began in right earnest in March 1930 by the breaking of the Salt Laws. There were numerous arrests and before the year closed there were no less than fifty thousand people incarcerated for political offences. The Simon Commission had published its report which was condemned by practically every party in India. It was practically a still-born report. The Round Table Conference, however, proved to be the culminating point of world-wide interest in the Indian political struggle.

In February 1932, the Round Table Conference delegates returned to India on the understanding that there would be a Second Round Table Conference. The first thing they did was to attempt to persuade the Congress to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement and participate in the Conference. A number of feverish conferences were arranged between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jayakar



and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent leaders of the Congress were released from prison, especially to confer with Government officials. The result of which was the signing of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact at Delhi in March, 1921, which provided on the one hand for the Congress to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement, the no-tax campaign, the boycott of British goods and on the other hand for the Government to extend an amnesty to political prisoners and to permit the manufacture of salt on the coast. Lord Willingdon arrived in April and his first few months were spent in preparing the way for the Second Round Table Conference. Mahatma Gandhi after much higgling sailed for England at the end of August. The Conference broke down over the communal problem. Early in January 1932, Mahatma Gandhi again began the struggle.

**First Round Table Conference.** At the first Round Table Conference, unanimous decision of the Indian delegates—both from the Indian States and British India—in favour of an All-India Federation so altered the situation that the British Liberals were able to advance beyond the Simon Report to a position in which they could agree to a large measure of responsibility being vested in the central government—with minimum safeguards in certain vital matters. The establishment of safeguards was agreed upon in principle and the details were left to be worked out.

**Second Round Table Conference.** The Round Table Conference, was meant to fill in the details in the great picture outlined above. Among these details were the exact terms on which the Princes were to enter the Federation, the electoral system, the distribution of seats in the central and provincial legislatures and the important question of “safeguards.” But the communal question overshadowed the scene so much that it was not at all surprising that the Second Round Table Conference proved almost barren of result. At the end of the Second Round Table Conference in December 1931, the Premier reaffirmed the statement he had made at the end of the first session, that the view of His Majesty's Government was that responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon legislatures, central and provincial, with such temporary safeguards as might be necessary to guarantee the observance of certain obligations and the rights of minorities. During the interval between the second and the third session of the Conference, the Lothian, Davidson and Percy Committees visited India to enquire into and report on the future federal finances. The most striking and important developments during this interval were the decision of His Majesty's Government otherwise known as the Communal Award with regard to the allocation of seats in the provincial legislatures among the various communities and the subsequent modification of this Award, so far as it effected the caste Hindus and Depressed classes, as a result of the Poona Pact between Mahatma Gandhi and certain Hindu leaders and Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Depressed Classes.

**Third Round Table Conference.** The main task before the Third Round Table Conference, consisted of two important problems: (a) that of safeguards—both of British responsibilities and interests and of the minority communities, and (b) that of the conditions on which the Princes were to enter the Federation.

It has been pointed out that the safeguards necessary to ensure the fulfilment of British responsibilities relate to (1) Defence, (2) the Foreign Relations, (3) Finance, (4) Commercial legislation and discrimination, and (5) the reserve power: to be vested in the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors.

The minority safeguards include such thorny subjects: as (1) The division of seats in the central and provincial legislatures, (2) location of residuary powers: for the Hindus naturally wanted the residuary powers to vest in the centre; whereas the Muslims would place them in the central legislature is bound to be Hindu if the seats are allocated on a population basis. Further it was to be decided on what terms should the Princes enter the Federation. The British Indian opinion wanted to make as many subjects Federal as possible which was opposed to the interests of the Princes. The Conference could not come to any agreement on many important matters and so these matters were left to His Majesty's Government. Further on many important issues the Government unanimously agreed that the Governor-General should have a “special responsibility” affecting these issues. The Conference further recommended the creation at the earliest possible date of a Reserve Bank, free from political influence to be entrusted with the management of currency and exchange.



**Q. 226. What are the chief causes which have led to the unification of India since the rise of the British power ?**

**CAUSES OF THE UNIFICATION OF INDIA  
SINCE THE RISE OF BRITISH POWER**

(1) **Political Unity.** Allegiance to a common sovereign and laws, and the consciousness of a common political destiny is a great unifying force. People begin to treat the country as one unit.

(2) **Continued Peace.** Continued peace has helped the growth of a better understanding among the peoples by increased intercourse, and realization of the community of interests.

(3) **English Language, the Press and the Platform.** English language enabled the people to exchange ideas in a language that they could all understand. Various parts of the country have thus a common language. It has yielded its harvest mainly through the press and the platform. They are in themselves also great unifying forces.

(4) **Unity of Economic Life.** This unity expresses itself in common currency, fiscal policy, and taxes, etc.

(5) **Progressive Reforms and other unifying factors such as Railways, Education, etc.** They bring different classes close together and foster toleration, mutual understanding and sympathy, and thus clear the way for unification before the removal of differences.

(6) **Political agitation.** It is as much a result of unity as it is a unifying force in itself.

**QUESTIONS FOR REVISION**

1. Discuss the causes of political awakening among the people of India under the British rule. (P.U., B.A. 1935)

2. Describe the various measures by which the Indian National Congress has been trying to create a united India naturally. How does the work of the Congress stand in comparison with that of Akbar the Great ? (P.U., B.A. 1940)

3. Discuss the factors that have led to the growth of nationalism in India. (P.U., B.A. 1940 Sept.)

4. Write notes on :—The Congress Split of 1907, Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the Muslim League, Non-Co-operation Movement.



## CHAPTER LXIII

### INDIA OFFICE OR THE HOME GOVERNMENT

#### 1. INDIA OFFICE OR THE HOME GOVERNMENT

**The Home Administration of Indian Affairs before 1858.** Down to 1784 the affairs of the East India Company were managed in England by the Court of Directors and the General Court of Proprietors of the Company. But Pitt's Act of 1784 established what might be regarded as the dual system of Government which lasted till the year 1858. This Act created a Board of Control, with full power and authority to direct all operations and concerns relating to the Civil and Military government and revenues of India. The Board was to consist of one of the Secretaries of State for the time being, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and four other Privy Councillors. The members of the Board were to have access to all papers of the Company. The Directors were required to pay due obedience to, and to be bound by, such orders and directions as they would receive from the Board, touching the Civil and Military government and revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies. The President of the Board of Control representing the British Government was always a member of the Cabinet and occupied in the Government a position corresponding, to some extent, to that of Modern Secretary of State for India. It should be clearly borne in mind that it was subject to the superintendence of the Board of Control that the Directors conducted the correspondence with the Company's officers in India, and exercised the rights of patronage in regard to appointments.

**The Changes Introduced by the Act of 1858.** The Double Government of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control with its division of powers and responsibilities gradually proved to be cumbrous, anomalous and unsuited to the changed conditions, and the Mutiny gave it the death-blow. The Government of India Act of 1858, therefore, abolished the aforesaid system of government prevailing from the year 1784, by transferring the administration of India from the Company to the Crown and, among other things authorized the Crown to appoint a fifth Secretary of State to be placed in charge of Indian governance, but who was to be paid out of Indian revenues. The Secretary of State was empowered to exercise, except where otherwise provided, the powers formerly exercised by the Court of Directors, the Proprietors, or by the Board of Control in relation to the Government and revenues of India. Besides, it created a Council of India consisting altogether of 15 members, 7 of whom were to be elected by the Court of Directors and the remaining 8 were to be appointed by the Crown, provided in each case, that more than half—in all at least nine—were to be persons, who shall have served or resided in India for 10 years at least, and shall not have left India more than 10 years next preceding the date of their appointment.

**The Secretary of State for India.** Let us now discuss the status and functions of the Secretary of State for India with regard to (a) his relations with the Parliament, (b) his relations with the India Council, and (c) his relations with the Government of India.

(a) **His relations with the Parliament.** The Secretary of State for India is one of the principal Secretaries of State of His Majesty. As such he is one of the Ministers of Cabinet rank, a member of one or the other House of the Parliament



or must become one, if he is not so already, immediately after his nomination to the post, and also party leader with some influence. His tenure of office is linked with the rise and fall of the party to which he belongs, and like other members of the Cabinet he is responsible to Parliament for his policy and actions. His selection is usually made by the leader of the party in power, the Prime Minister. The members of the Parliament may put to him questions and supplementary questions regarding the department and may disapprove of his actions by passing a vote of censure. *Thus the Secretary of State for India is thoroughly subordinate to the Parliament.* Annually, the East India Revenue Accounts are submitted to the Parliament, with a report on the Moral and Material Progress of India during the year and the opportunity is taken by the Secretary of State or his Deputy to inform the House of important matters of administration. Adjournments, resolutions, motions of censure, questions and supplementary questions or instruments which can all be utilized by the members of Parliament to exercise a check over the Secretary of State's doings. As a member of the Cabinet, the Secretary of State for India is primarily responsible for this body. Any scheme that he wants to initiate or any line of policy that he wants to adopt concerning the wider aspect of the administration of India must first be placed before his colleagues to obtain their support. It is only after such support is assured that he can announce it as a decision of His Majesty's Government. The responsibility then becomes the collective responsibility of the whole Cabinet and the proposals are described as being the proposals of His Majesty's Government. In case of disagreement with the Prime Minister and his colleagues, the Secretary of State for India has no alternative but to resign, as happened in the case of Mr. Montague. The Secretary of State has two assistants, the Permanent Under-Secretary and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary. The former being a member of the British Civil Service is neither a party official nor a member of the Parliament and thus enjoys a Permanent tenure. He is the executive head of the India office bureaucracy and supplies to the Secretary of State for India all information that is required by him for the enlightenment of Parliament or his own personal guidance. The latter belongs to the party in power, is a member of the Ministry, though not of the Cabinet, and he vacates his executive office with the fall of his party. It must be clearly understood that the Parliamentary Under-Secretary is usually selected from the House other than the one in which the Secretary of State himself occupies a seat, so that he can give replies to questions or to criticisms and supply information on behalf of his chief to the members of that House.

**(b) His relations with the India Council.** The Secretary of State for India, ex-officio, is the President of this Council, members of which, whenever vacancies arise, are also nominated by him. He is bound to call a meeting of the Council at least once a month. The Secretary ordinarily abides by the decision of the majority of the members on questions put before them and is bound to do so in the matter of expenditure of the revenues of India and the regulations of the services. He has the power of over-riding his Council and placing on record, on all such occasions, the reason why he set aside their opinion. He may issue orders on urgent matters without calling together a meeting of the Council, but is required to place all such matters before it at its next meeting. He may send out orders and instructions in urgent and secret matters without informing the Council, in subjects like war and peace, defence, relations with Indian States. The Council is, however, given what is described as the financial veto. By the Act of 1935 the financial veto of the Council has been taken away. The consent of the majority of its members is declared necessary for taking any step in matters affecting the appropriation of the revenues of India.

**History of the India Council.** By the Government of India Act 1858, the India Council was instituted. It consists of 15 members, of whom 8 were to be appointed by the Crown and 7 to be elected by the Directors of the East India Company. The majority of both appointed and elected members were to be persons who had served or resided in India for 10 years at least, and had not left



the country more than 10 years before their appointment. Future appointments or elections were to be so regulated that 9 at least of the members of the Council should hold these qualifications. Future vacancies in crown appointments would be filled by crown nominees. Vacancies among the 7 members elected by the Directors would be filled by persons co-opted by the Council. No member of the India Council could sit or vote in Parliament. All would hold office during good behaviour and could be removed only on petition by both Houses of Parliament. Their salary was fixed at £1,200 per year. The Secretary of State was to be the President of the Council with power to over-rule and was empowered to appoint any member of the Council as Vice-President from time to time. The Secretary of State was to arrange for the meetings of the Council provided that at least one meeting was held in every week. The quorum consisted of 5 members. The Council would conduct Indian business transacted in the United Kingdom and would correspond with the Government of India. In urgent and secret matters, the Secretary of State has the power to despatch orders without reference to the Council.

**Changes made in the India Council up to 1919.** Mr. Palande writes as follows regarding the changes made in the constitution of the Council: "The Government of India Act of 1869 vested in the Secretary of State the right of filling vacancies in the Council; it also reduced the term of its tenure 'during good behaviour' to a definite period of 10 years. At the same time special power was given to the Secretary of State to re-appoint old members for a further period of 5 years for special reasons of public advantage. In 1889, the Secretary of State was allowed to abstain from filling vacancies in the Council till its number was reduced from 15 to 10. The Act of 1909 fixed the number of members at not less than 10 and not more than 14 and reduced the term of office from 10 to 7 years. The salary of a member was reduced from £1,200 to £1,000 per annum. From this year, two Indians were included in the Council as members."

**Changes introduced by the Act of 1919.** The Act of 1919 introduced the following changes: The Council of India shall consist of such number of persons, not less than 8 and not more than 12, as the Secretary of State may determine. The right of filling any vacancy in the Council remained as before with the Secretary of State. Half the number of the members must be persons, who have served or resided in India at least for 10 years and have not last left India more than 5 years before the appointment. The term of office was reduced from 7 years to 5 years. The Secretary of State retained the power of re-appointing a member of the Council for a further term of 5 years, the reasons for which he was to place before the Parliament. Each member was to receive an annual salary of £1,200 and the salaries and allowances might be paid either out of the revenues of India or out of money voted by Parliament. The Indian element in the Council was increased from 2 to 3 members. All the agency work of the Secretary of State in Council is henceforth to be transferred to a High Commissioner for India. The concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council is required for the following purposes: (1) grants or appropriations of any part of the revenues of India which means practically expenditure of Indian revenue; (2) making of contracts for the purpose of the Government of India Act, 1919; and (3) making of rules and regulations for the services in order to fix the conditions of their employment and their position. After the Reforms, the Council's control over expenditure on transferred subjects is almost wholly withdrawn.

**Changes introduced by the Act of 1935.** The Secretary of State shall have a body of advisers, not less than three and not more than six in number, the actual number being from time to time fixed by the



Secretary of State. Appointments are to be made by the Secretary of State, provided half of them are persons, who have served the Crown in India for 10 years. They are to remain in office for 5 years and are not eligible for re-appointment. No adviser while in office can be a member of either House of Parliament. The Council of India shall be dissolved. All powers vested in the Secretary of State in Council of borrowing on the security of the revenues of India shall cease. The salary of the Secretary of State, the salaries of the advisers and the expenses of his department and staff shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.

### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

**1. Causes of the Centralization of Power by the Secretary of State over the Government of India.** Mr. Palande's note on the causes of centralization may be summarized as follows :—Three factors have directly contributed for the enhancement of the power of the Secretary of State for India over the Government of India, viz., (i) The assumption of the authority by Parliament. (ii) The creation of the India Council. (iii) The Suez Canal and Electric cable.

(i) **The assumption of authority by Parliament.** The Company used to make very little interference in the affairs of India. After its abolition in 1858, the Parliament assumed direct responsibility for the Government of India. The dual control exercised by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control was brought to an end and in its place was substituted the new office of the Secretary of State for India who was vested with powers of both of them.

(ii) **The Creation of the Council of India.** The members of the Council of India, unlike the Court of Directors, were men fully conversant with the Indian affairs and as such they exercised a more stringent control over the actions of the Indian authorities because of their intimate personal knowledge. Supervision over the management of Indian finance and a close scrutiny into expenditure and income now formed the important duty of the Secretary of State, and thus only enhanced his control.

(iii) **The Suez Canal and Electric Cable.** The impediment of geographical isolation and distance was annihilated in 1869 by the construction of the Suez Canal and in the subsequent year (1870) by the completion of a direct telegraph line between India and England by submarine cable through the Red Sea. Distance and time having now been annihilated, the Secretary of State henceforth issued detailed and positive orders. He began to claim the entire guiding and controlling authority. Friction naturally arose between the two parts under Lord Mayo (*vide* protest against Contract and Evidence Acts), Lord Northbrook and Lord Ripon. Of course it should be admitted that "the intensity of control must vary with the interest shown by Parliament on whose behalf the Secretary of State exercised his powers. The relations between Simla and Whitehall vary also with the "personal equation." Some of the Secretaries have treated the Viceroys as mere agents of the British Government. On the other hand, some of the Viceroys have almost made some of the Secretaries of State mere convenient mouthpieces of their policy in Parliament. In short, it all depends upon the quality of men, their capacity of action, their strength of will and the reputation and confidence which they enjoyed.

**2. Utility of the Council of India or why it was created.** As stated above the India Council was created by the Act of 1858. The Act entrusted the supreme control over the administration of India to one single person known as the Secretary of State for India, a cabinet minister; he was responsible for all his actions to the British Parliament and not to India. The Secretary of State for India was not selected to hold his office because of his special knowledge of Indian affairs. More often than not, he was totally ignorant about them. He therefore required considerable assistance and guidance in the discharge of his duties. Moreover, the absence of any effective popular check upon the powers of the bureaucracy in India itself necessitated an active control over its actions from above. The Secretary of State was, therefore, called upon to superintend the details and the policies of Indian administration. Every important item of legislation, executive action, and finance was required to be submitted for his previous approval and sanction. To entrust all this important task to the Secretary of State—a parliamentary official who was a curious combination of power and



ignorance—was not desirable. Hence it was considered necessary to create a new body to take the place of the old Directors and the body so created was designated as the India Council.

The Earl of Derby was of opinion that 'the Council of India was created not to be a screen between the Minister and the Parliament as the Court of Directors might have been, but to give the Minister advice which, on his own responsibility, he would be at liberty either to accept or reject.' In order to achieve this object, it was provided by the Act of 1858 that the major part both of the appointed and of the elected members of the Council must be persons who have served or resided in India for not less than 10 years and, with certain exceptions, who had not last left India more than 10 years before the date of their appointment. And it was further provided by the same Act that future appointments or elections to the Councils should be so made that 9 at least of the members out of 15 must possess these qualifications. Although the Council was established primarily with the object of providing a Minister of the Crown, usually without personal knowledge of India, with experienced advice upon Indian questions, yet it was given a special function to act as a counterpoise to the centralization of powers in the hands of the Secretary of State, such as no grant or appropriation of any part of the revenues of India should be made without the vote of a majority in Council. But still the Council has been an influential consultative body having no power of initiative.

**Its Abolition.** Many prominent Indian politicians including the late Mr. Gokhale had been of opinion that the India Council served no useful purpose and demanded its total abolition. Mr. Palande writes, "It is feared that, more often than not, the Council serves as a reactionary drag on the progressive impulse of a Secretary of State, consisting as it does of retired members of the Indian Civil Service whose notions have been incurably hardened into a crust under the burning skies of India. The Crewe Committee of 1919, appointed to consider plans for the reorganization of India office, also shared the same opinion. But the writers of the Montague-Chelmsford Report and the Joint Parliamentary Committee commended its retention with certain changes in the composition and functions narrated already. "Though in recent years the number of Indian members have been raised to 3, and for their convenience the term of office has been reduced from 7 to 5, years the Indian opinion is strongly against the Council. The other members, it is pointed out, from the very nature of their training and association, are politically unfit to shape India's destinies. The Council is considered as superfluous, reactionary and a drag on the progress of India." Mr. Banerjee calls the Council, an anachronism and writes, "The Council seems to us to be an anachronism at present, the sooner it is got rid of the better for the Government of India. Now that the Dominion Status has been promised to India, it should be abolished as soon as possible. Let us hope that the day is not far distant when the office of the Secretary of State for India will be merged in that of the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs."

**Critical Notes :—**Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in his book '*Indian Constitutional Problems*' also advocates the idea of the abolition of the India Council as follows :—

'The abolition of the India Council will do no harm to any interests except those of the High European officials who after retirement from service in India look forward to membership of the Council as a pleasant sinecure with *orium cum dignitate*' (ease with dignity).

The verse of Thomas Love Peacock about the India Office quoted by Sir Malcolm Seton in his book, "*The India Office*," are not too gross a caricature of the day's task of the members of the Council at the present time :—

"Eleven to noon, think you have come too soon ;  
Twelve to one wonder what's to be done ;  
One to two, find nothing to do ;  
Two to three, begin to see ;  
'T will be a great bore to stay till four !"

(c) **His relations with the Government of India.** The control which the Secretary of State exercises over the Governor-General and the Government of India is threefold: (1) Administrative, (2) Financial, (3) Legislative. (1) *Administrative Control.* Secretary of State advises the Crown in appointing the Governor-General, the members of his



Executive Council, the Governors of Provinces, the members of their Executive Councils, the Lieutenant-Governors, members of the Public Services Commission, the Auditor General in India, the Chief Justices and Judges of High Courts, Advocates-General and the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. He makes appointments to the All-India Services. There are certain things which cannot be done without his previous sanction, others are referred to him. If the Governor-General wants to pass or reject a resolution placed before the Governor-General-in-Council, and if the Council is against it, two members of the Council, may require it to be forwarded to the Secretary of State. War and peace cannot be declared without the express order of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State has a great share in framing rules determining the relation of the Government of India to the Local Governments. The Secretary of State demands obedience from the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governor-General-in-Council is required to pay due obedience to such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State in regard to the civil and military government of India. (2) *Financial Control*. In regard to financial matters the Secretary of State exercises control indirectly, but his powers are large. The finance department in a province must always be in charge of a member of the Executive Council assisted by a financial secretary, both of whom are members of the Indian Civil Service. The ministers cannot propose an increase or reduction of taxation without their schemes being previously examined and approved by the Finance Member. So the latter is a power to be conjured with. And, it is to be remembered, that these officers of the Civil Service in India, are under the direct control of the Secretary of State. It is in this manner that the Secretary of State exercises substantial control over the Indian finance, both central and local, though through an indirect process. The revenues of India cannot be applied to defraying the expenses of any military operations carried on beyond the external frontiers of India, except with the consent of both Houses of Parliament. This consent presumably would depend upon the view taken of the matter by the Secretary of State. Ordinarily the Secretary of State can enter into contracts on behalf of the Government of India. (3) *Legislative Control*. There are only a few sections in the Act of 1919 which directly vest in the Secretary of State some power of control over the Indian legislature. And yet this control is very large in practice. Every piece of important legislation whether in the Indian or provincial legislatures is previously reported to the Secretary of State either by despatch or cablegram. The Indian legislatures cannot abolish any High Court nor can create a Court, which can sentence to death a European, without the previous approval of the Secretary of State. Every Act of the Indian legislature has to be sent by the Governor-General, after he has given assent to it, to the Secretary of State, and then His Majesty may signify his disallowance of it. An ordinance issued by the Governor-General himself requires the approval of the Secretary of State. To sum up, it may be said that the Government of India Act of 1919 gives the Secretary of State powers of superintendence, direction and control over the Government of India, its revenues and over all its affairs. He is not responsible to the people of India but to the Parliament. The extent of his indirect control is very large.



## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

**The Act of 1935.** By the Government of India Act of 1935, Secretary of State has not remained an all-pervading shadow. Although the shadow of the Secretary of State has shrunk, the substance of his functions and powers remains very much the same as it was before. The Secretary of State exercises a general control over the administration and can issue particular directions to the Governor-General, who in succession can issue the same to the Governors in so far as he acts in his discretion or exercises his individual judgment. Thus indirectly the Secretary of State controls every Governor. In short, the Secretary of State seems to have left the stage and has, become the wire-puller in the wings.

**The India Office and its Organization.** "The establishment of the Secretary of State in Council is commonly known as the India Office. It was originally created by the Act of 1858. The officers on the Home establishment both of the East India Company and of the Board of Control formed the establishment of the first Secretary of State in Council. He was authorized by the Act to submit within six months of its commencement, a scheme for his permanent establishment. The Secretary of State is assisted in his work by two secretaries, one of whom is permanent and the other Parliamentary. Some of his minor duties are delegated to these officers. There are besides, one Deputy Under-Secretary, and two Assistant Under-Secretaries, one of whom is also the Clerk of the Council. There are in the India office now several departments: (1) Finance, (2) Military, (3) Political and Secret, (4) Public and Judicial, (5) Economic and Overseas, (6) Services and General, and (7) Public Works. Some of its previous functions have been transferred to the High Commissioner for India. For each department in the office there are a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary, with a staff of clerks. All appointments to the India Office are made by the Secretary of State in Council; but 'junior situations' in it must be filled in accordance with the rules relating to appointments to similar situations in the Home Civil Service. No addition may be made to the establishment of the Secretary of State in Council, or to the salaries of the persons on it, except by an order of the Crown in Council, to be laid before both Houses of Parliament within 14 days after the next meeting of Parliament. The Secretary of State in Council may, however, remove any officer or servant belonging to his establishment. The Crown may by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, grant to any officer in India office such compensation, superannuation or retiring allowance, to his legal or personal representative such gratuity, as may respectively be granted lawfully to persons on the establishment of a Secretary of State, or to be personal representatives of such person." (*Banerjee*).

**The Indian High Commissioner and His Functions.** Another important functionary closely connected with the Government of India in England is the High Commissioner for India, whose appointment was provided for by Section 29 of the Act of 1919. He is the agent of the Government of India and in his person appropriates the commercial or agency functions of the Secretary of State, leaving the latter free in the discharge of his political and administrative functions. The Governor-General appoints the High Commissioner with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council. The High Commissioner draws a salary of £5,000 a year out of the Indian revenues, is appointed for 5 years and is eligible for re-appointment. His duties are the following: (1) He is an agent of the Governor-General in-Council in the United Kingdom. (2) He acts as agent of the local Governments in India for such purpose as the Governor-General may prescribe, with the permission of the Secretary of State in Council all those businesses which hitherto had been conducted by the Secretary of State in Council. (3) He appoints his own staff and can enter into contracts on behalf of the Secretary of State. (4) The Indian Stores Department and the Indian Students Department have been transferred to him. (5) He also supervises the work of the Indian Trade Commissioner in India.

**The Act of 1935.** By the Government of the India Act of 1935, the High Commissioner, with the approval of the Governor-General and on agreed terms, may perform duties on behalf of a Province, or a Federated State or of Burma. In the Act of 1919 it was laid down that his work was essentially non-political, but



recently his office had become an economic-political one. The Governor-General shall appoint him and prescribe the salary and conditions of his service without consulting the Secretary of State. Indian traders view this appointment with suspicion and feel it harmful to the economic interests of India.

**Audit of Indian Accounts in the United Kingdom.** Another officer, who does not exactly belong to the establishment of the Secretary of State in Council, audits the accounts of the Secretary of the State in Council. He is appointed by the Crown by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and holds office during good behaviour. He is empowered to appoint and remove his assistants. He examines and audits the accounts of the receipt, expenditure and disposal in the United Kingdom of all moneys, stores and property applicable for the purposes of the Government of India Act. The Secretary of State-in-Council must, by the officers of his establishment, produce and lay before him all such accounts accompanied by proper vouchers, and submit to his inspection all books, papers and writings having relation thereto. He must report to the Secretary of State-in-Council his approval or disapproval of those accounts with such remarks in relation thereto as he thinks fit ; and he must specially note in his reports if any money arising out of the revenue of India has been appropriated to purposes other than those to which they are applicable. Moreover, he must specify therein any defects, inaccuracies or irregularities which may appear in those accounts, or in the authorities, vouchers or documents relating thereto. Finally, he must lay all his reports before both Houses of Parliament, with the accounts of the year to which they relate. The auditor and his assistants are paid partly out of the revenues of India and partly out of the money provided by the Parliament as directed by the Crown.

**The Act of 1935.** By the Government of India Act of 1935, an Auditor of India Home Accounts shall now be appointed by the Governor-General, and not by the Crown. He shall submit his report to the Auditor-General of India, his immediate officer. His salary, allowance and pension and those of his staff shall be chargeable on the revenues of the Federation. Appointments to his staff shall be made by him subject to the approval of the Governor-General.

**Abolition of the Home Government.** The Independence Act 1947 has abolished the office of the Secretary of State for India and thereby the Home Government came to an end.

**Q. 227. Give an account of the powers exercised by the Crown over India.**

The Crown in whose name India is governed, possesses the following powers and exercises them with the advice of the Secretary of State for India. (1) He can remove from office any member of the Council of India on an address of both Houses of Parliament. (2) He makes appointments to all the high offices in India such as Governor-General, Governor, Executive Councillors both for the Governor-General and the Governor's Council, Chief Justices and Judges of the High Court, etc. (3) The assent of His Majesty is necessary to enable an Act, which has been certified by the Governor-General to have effect. (4) Bills may be reserved for his Majesty's pleasure and may be vetoed by His Majesty. (5) A Bill passed by the certification of a Governor cannot have effect without the significance of the assent of His Majesty in Council. (6) He has the power to *annul rules*.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Explain the organization, powers and functions of the Secretary of State for India in Council under the Act of 1858. (P.U., B.A., '39 Sept.)
2. Carefully explain the powers and functions of the Secretary of State in Council till the Act of 1919. (P.U., B.A., '38 Sept.)
3. What changes have been effected in the position of the Secretary of State and his Council by the Government of India Act of 1935 ?
4. Describe the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General.



## CHAPTER LXIV

### THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND HIS COUNCIL

**History of the Office of the Governor-General.** Until 1773, the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were, in each case, under a President or Governor and a Council composed of servants of the East India Company and were independent of one another. The Regulating Act of 1773, provided for the appointment of a Governor-General and four Councillors of the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and declared Warren Hastings to be the first Governor-General. Moreover the Governor-General and Council were given by this Act powers of control and superintendence over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Governor-General and Council were required to obey the orders of the Court of Directors and to inform them constantly of all matters concerning the interests of the Company. In spite of the provisions of the Regulating Act, the Provincial Governments continued to take important decisive steps which involved the Company in the currents and cross-currents of contemporary Indian politics without any reference to or sanction from the Governor-General. The defiant insubordination of theirs plunged Warren Hastings into embarrassments and complications from which he could not easily get out. This unsatisfactory state of things was rectified by the Pitt's India Act of 1784, which emphasized and enlarged the Governor-General's supreme power and control over Presidencies in all matters of war and peace and administration. The Charter Act of 1793 distinctly enunciated the powers of the Governor-General over the whole of British India. After the vigorous march of British imperialism under Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings, the Charter Act of 1833 converted the Governor-General of Bengal in Council into the Governor-General of India in Council and vested in the latter the superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military government of the Company's territories and revenues in India. But it was not until 1854 that the Governor-General was relieved of the direct responsibility for the Government of Bengal in the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor for that province by the Charter Act of 1853. The same Act also empowered the Governor-General-in-Council, with the sanction of the Home authorities to take by proclamation under his immediate authority and management any part of the territories for the time being in possession of or under the government of the East India Company, and then give all necessary orders for its administration. This led to the establishment of Chief Commissionerships for Assam, Burma and Central Provinces. From that time onwards the Government of India has ceased to be connected with any particular province. In 1858, when the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, the Governor-General became known as the Viceroy, but in parliamentary documents the term Governor-General is still used.

**The Position of the Governor-General.** Originally the Governor-General was appointed by the Directors, but since 1813, with the approval of the Crown, acting on the advice of the Prime-Minister ; and the term of office is 5 years. The office, however, is essentially a non-party office. The Governor-General does not change with a change in the Ministry in England. The Governor-General occupies a unique position. To quote Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, he is the 'Crown visible in India, the ceremonial head of the sovereignty, the great lord. He is surrounded by pomp and awe ; ceremony walks before and behind him and does obeisance to him.' Both his arrival and departure from India are invested with special dignity and display. His maximum annual salary is not to exceed Rs. 2,56,000. He is not subject to the original jurisdiction of any High Court for any of his official actions. He cannot be arrested or imprisoned in connection with any suit in a High Court, nor, save in case of treason or felony, is the subject to the original jurisdiction of any High Court. He also possesses the power of granting pardon.

**Powers of the Governor-General.** To discharge all duties and



responsibilities, which are numerous and varied, the Governor-General wields great powers—*administrative, legislative, financial and judicial* :

(1) *Administrative Powers.* As regards his administrative powers, he is authorized under exceptional circumstances to over-ride the decision of his Council and act on his own responsibility with regard to any measure whereby the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, or of any part thereof, are or may be, in his judgment, essentially affected. This power is rarely exercised. It was under this provision that Lord Lytton acted in March, 1876, when in opposition to the decision of the majority of his Council, he exempted from import duty the coarse kind of English cotton goods, so that imports of all those qualities which could at that time be manufactured in India might be left free. He can exercise his casting vote if there be an equality of votes in the Council on any particular question. He appoints the Vice-President of his Council, who presides in his absence, makes rules and orders for the convenient transaction of Council's business. He appoints the President of the Council of State, is consulted by His Majesty in the appointment of the Governors and the members of their Executive Councils. He may dissolve either one or both the chambers of the Indian legislature before the expiry of the term or may keep it alive even when its term has expired or after such dissolution to call for a general election. He can grant pardon as the Viceroy or the representative of the Crown to any offender convicted by any criminal court of justice having jurisdiction in India.

(2) *Legislative Powers.* His legislative powers are very wide. In cases of emergency he has power to issue Ordinances which can remain in force for 6 months, (e.g., Irwin's Ordinance embodying the Public Safety Bill). Without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, no measure can be introduced in any chamber of the imperial legislature affecting (a) the public debt, or public revenues of India, or (b) the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of British subjects in India, or (c) the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's military forces, or (d) the relations of this Government with foreign princes or states. Apart from these limitations, if any member introduces any other Bill in any chamber the Governor-General may stop its further progress in the interests of public peace and tranquillity. He possesses the positive and negative power of certification. During recent years the powers of certification have been taken recourse to by the Viceroy on several occasions—as in the case of the Princes' Protection Bill, the doubling of salt tax, and the Finance Bill of 1924. In its *positive aspect* the power of Certification means that if one or both the chambers of legislature refuse to pass a Bill, which is necessary in his view for public safety, he may get it passed by certifying it. *Negative Certification* means that if both chambers pass any Bill which according to him, is against the interests of the public peace, he may declare it null and void. Again, when a legislative measure has been enacted by both the chambers it cannot have the force of law until he gives his assent to it. He may disallow an Act passed by any Provincial Legislative Council by withholding his assent even though the Governor may have signified his assent thereto.



(3) *Financial Powers.* In financial matters also he exercises certain powers. No proposal for the appropriation of any revenue or moneys for any purpose shall be made except with the recommendation of the Governor-General. If any demand is refused by the Legislative Assembly which he considers to be essential to the discharge of his responsibilities, he may act as if it had been assented to. If the Assembly makes any cut in the demand proposed by the Government, the Governor-General may restore it. In emergency cases, the Governor-General has power to authorize such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety and tranquillity of British India.

(4) *Judicial Powers.* If any office of a Chief Justice or a Judge of the Calcutta High Court falls vacant, the Governor-General-in-Council can appoint for the *interim period* any other judge to act for that court. As a Governor-General-in-Council, he is also given power to appoint additional judges of High Court for a period not exceeding 10 years. If a Bill giving power to High Court to have an original jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue is to be introduced, the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council is necessary. The Governor-General-in-Council may alter the local limits of the jurisdiction of any High Court. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of Advocate General of Bengal or in his absence, he may appoint a person for the period.

**Powers as Viceroy.** As Viceroy, he is the representative of the sovereign in India and as such he enjoys all the dignity and prestige and special privileges which the sovereign himself would enjoy if he chose to stay in India. He has the prerogative of pardon and mercy. The Indian princes pay homage to him and the Viceroy can hold an inquiry and dethrone a prince in case of misrule. He deals with the foreign powers as a representative of the Crown. He exercises complete control over the civil and military affairs of India. All responsible appointments such as those of Governors and Executive Councillors etc., are made with his consent.

**Powers under the Act of 1935.** The Viceroy exercises the following powers under the new Act: No Bill can become an Act without his consent. No bill can be introduced without his consent. He can over-ride any financial decision of the legislature. He can at any time issue an Ordinance having the force of law. Under the Governor-General's Act, he can make a law quite independently of the legislature. The power to summon, prorogue and dissolve the legislature lies with him. He can finally assume all powers in case of complete breakdown of the constitutional machinery.

**Duties.** Whereas the Governor-General enjoys multifarious powers, he has at the same time many irksome duties also to perform. He stands responsible to the Parliament through the Secretary of State for India for the good government, peace, and order in India. He is to look after the moral, intellectual and material progress of the people of India placed under his control. He is to protect the rights and interests of the Indian princes, and to safeguard the commercial and industrial interests of the British in India. The rights of the minorities are to be protected by him. He is expected to protect the rights of the members



of the public services in the country. The financial stability of the country is to be maintained. It is a part of his duty to deal with foreign powers and to supervise the work of his Executive Council.

His office has been abolished since 26th January 1950, when Indian Dominion was declared a sovereign democratic Republic.

#### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give an account of the powers and responsibilities of the Governor-General of India.
2. What changes have been made by the Government of India Act of 1935 in the powers of the Governor-General ?



## CHAPTER LXV

### THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

**The Central Executive Council and its Evolution.** Before the Regulating Act of 1773 the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal consisted of a Governor and ten Councillors. The Act of 1773 placed the control over the Company's affairs in India in the hands of the Governor-General and a council of 4 members whose terms of office was definitely stated to be five years. The whole civil and military government of the Presidency of Bengal, including Bihar and Orissa was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, who was bound by the vote of the majority of those present at the meeting, the Governor-General having a casting vote in case of an equal division of opinion. But the quarrels between Hastings and his hostile colleagues rendered a reform necessary. Therefore the constitution of the Council, imperfect as it proved to be, had to be modified in the light of the experience of the first Governor-General. A clause was inserted in Pitt's India Act, 1784, to the effect that as soon as the office of any one of the councillors was, for any reason rendered vacant, the vacancy should not be filled and the number of the members of the Governor-General's Council should be reduced from 4 to 3, of whom the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India for the time being, was to be one and to have precedence in Council next to the Governor-General. In 1786, before Lord Cornwallis accepted the office of the Governor-General, he was empowered to over-ride his Council on extraordinary occasions when he felt the use of this power justified in the interests of peace, tranquillity and good government in India.

The Charter Act of 1793 fixed the number of councillors at three and provided further that, if the offices of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were not united in the same person, permissible under an Act of 1786, the Commander-in-Chief might be a member of Fort William, if specially appointed by the Court of Directors, and that if so appointed, he should have rank and precedence next to the Governor-General. The Charter Act of 1833 added to the Council a fourth ordinary member, known as the Law Member to be appointed by the Directors, with the approval of the President of the Board of Control, from amongst persons who are not servants of the Company. This Law Member was not entitled to act as member of the Council except for legislative purposes. By the Act of 1853 the Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General was made a full member of the Council and was given the right to sit and vote in its executive meetings as well.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 increased the number of ordinary members from 3 to 5. Three of them were to be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and must have served at least for 10 years in India under the Crown or the Company. The remaining two, one of whom was required to be a Barrister of England or Ireland or an Advocate of Scotland of not less than five years' standing, were to be appointed by the Crown. It was lawful for the Secretary of State to nominate the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member. It further enacted that whenever the Council would meet in Madras or Bombay, the local Governor would be another extraordinary member of the Council. At this time Lord Canning introduced the *portfolio system* in the Government of India by which the ordinary work of Departments was distributed among the members, the Governor-General himself holding charge of the foreign department, and matters of greater importance were referred to the Governor-General or dealt with collectively. Further modifications were introduced by the Government of India Act 1869, which transferred from the Secretary of State the power of filling in the vacancies among the members of the Council and also by the Indian Council Act of 1874, which made provision for the appointment of a sixth member for Public Works. In 1904, the clause specially appointing him for that particular department was repealed. The



Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 in order to associate the Indians in the administration of the country provided for the appointment of one qualified Indian in the Executive Council. Since 1909, therefore, the Governor-General's Executive Council had invariably contained at least one Indian. The Government of India Act 1919 fixed the maximum number of the ordinary members at six to be appointed by the Crown and provided for the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member by the Secretary of State for India. It also re-enacted that whenever the Council would assemble in any province having a Governor, the latter would be another extraordinary member of the Council. Thus the Council before the reforms consisted ordinarily of six ordinary members and the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member thereof.

**The Constitution of the Central Executive before 15th August 1947.** The Government of India Act, 1919, introduced a few important changes which run as follows:—The statutory limitation on the number of members of the Executive Council which existed previously, was now removed. Indian High Court pleaders of 10 years standing were qualified to be admitted. Governors of provinces were disallowed to sit as extraordinary members when meetings of the Executive Council were held in their territory. All the members were to be appointed by His Majesty by warrant. Three of them must have served in India for at least 10 years. One must be a Barrister of England or Ireland or an Advocate of Scotland or a Pleader of Indian High Court of not less than 10 years' standing. As for the qualifications of the remaining members, rules might be laid under the Act to determine and define them. If any member of the Council other than the Commander-in-Chief is at the time of his appointment in the Military service of the Crown, he must not, so long as he continues to be a member hold any military command or be employed in actual military duties. If the Commander-in-Chief is a member of the Council, he must have, subject to the provisions of the Act, rank and precedence in the Council next to the Governor-General. Provision was also made to enable the Viceroy to appoint Council Secretaries from among the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State to assist the Executive Councillors in their work. Steps were taken to introduce a large Indian element in the Council. A practice was introduced in 1921, to increase the Indian members from one to three and it had since continued. Of the three Indian members one was generally expected to be a Mohammadan.

The Council as at present constituted, consists of 8 members including the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief who is no longer to be regarded as an extraordinary member, since the classification of members, as ordinary and extraordinary, which existed formerly, has been abolished. There are now three Indian members on the Council. The members of the Council are appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Secretary of State and usually hold office for a term of 5 years. Every member of the Council other than the Commander-in-Chief is paid a salary of Rs. 80,000 per annum. The salary of Commander-in-Chief is Rs. 100,000 a year. Their salaries are paid out of the revenues of India.

**The Chief Executive Departments.** The Chief executive departments of the Government of India include the following:—

(1) *The Foreign and Political Department.* It deals with questions relating to external politics, frontier tribes and Native States in India. It also exercises control over the general administration of Ajmer-Merwara, the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan. The Viceroy himself is in charge of this department. This department is the most important and perhaps the most laborious of all owing to the varied nature of the work usually done by an officer of this department.

(2) *The Home Department.* It deals with all business connected with the general internal administration of British India in matters affecting the Indian Civil Service, internal politics, law and justice, jails and police. As most of the subjects have now been delegated to provincial Governments, the work of the Department is, to a large extent, the work of supervision, direction and control.

(3) *The Legislative Department.* The member in charge is known as the Law Member. He presides or at least takes part in the deliberation of all select committees of the Central legislature. The chief functions of this department are to prepare the drafts of all Government Bills, introduced into either chamber of the



Indian Legislature, advise Government on all legal matters, and to examine the projects of legislation of Local Governments when they are referred to the Government of India, or the Acts passed by local legislature. The department is also consulted before any statutory rules having the force of law are issued.

(4) *The Department of Railways and Commerce.* It deals with all work connected with railways, shipping, trade and commerce, including tariffs, import and export regulations, statistics, life insurance and actuarial work.

(5) *The Department of Industries and Labour.* It is concerned with labour legislation, inter-provincial migration, Factories Act, International Labour organization, patents, designs and copyrights, stores, geology and minerals, printing and stationery, civil aviation, meteorology, developments of industries, Posts and Telegraphs, Public Works, and Irrigation.

(6) *The Department of Education, Health and Lands.* It deals with education, land revenue, civil veterinary, agriculture, forests, central research on above subjects, botanical survey, famine, control of food-stuffs, external emigration, survey of India, medical services and public health, zoology, local self-government, libraries and records, archaeology and museums.

(7) *The Finance Department.* The Finance Member of the Government of India is in charge of the Finance Department. This department is mainly concerned with the general administration of central finance; with some supervision of provincial finance; with questions relating to the salaries, leave and pensions of public officers; and with auditing and accounts, currency, banking, exchange, mints and the public debt of India. A separate branch of this department known as the Military Finance Department deals with all matters relating to the financial administration of the Army. Subjects like customs, salt, opium, excise and stamps are administered by a Board of Revenue working as a part of this department. It is the duty of the Finance Member to keep expenditure within legitimate limits. The Finance Member is the guardian of public revenues. He presents the annual financial statement, known as the Budget.

(8) *The Army Department.* This department transacts all business connected with the administration of army, the formulation and execution of the Military policy of the Government of India, the responsibility of maintaining every branch of the army, combatant and non-combatant, in a state of efficiency, and the supreme direction of any military operations based upon India. The Commander-in-Chief has a two-fold function in India; he is both the chief executive officer of the army, and by custom, the Army Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He is thus the sole Military adviser of the Government of India. Besides, he administers the Royal Indian Marine and the Royal Air Force in India.

**The Government of India Act of 1935.** The Government of India Act of 1935 has set up under the Governor-General a Federal Executive, which will consist of councillors and ministers, a sort of dyarchy. The ministers will aid and advise the Governor-General in the exercise of federal functions except those relating to ecclesiastical affairs, defence and foreign affairs. These latter are reserved subjects and the Governor-General will appoint councillors, not exceeding three in number who will be responsible to the Governor-General alone and will share none of the responsibility of the Federal Ministers to the Federal legislature. There will be not more than 10 ministers to be chosen by the Governor-General holding office during his pleasure. No person can remain a minister without being a member of either chamber of a Federal legislature for more than 6 months. It is inferred from the above that the Federal Executive will be a dyarchical, not a unitary government. The Governor-General's Ministers will have the right to advise him on the administration of a part of the Federation, while the administration of the other part (reserved part) will remain the exclusive responsibility of the Governor-General. He will have two sets of advisers—Councillors and Ministers, both of whom, it is expected, should resort to mutual consultation for the smooth conduct of the executive government.

**Secretariate Officials.** A member presides over each department and is assisted by a Secretary, one Under-Secretary and an Assistant Secretary. The Secretaries are all members of the Indian Civil Services. The Secretary resembles a Permanent Under-Secretary of state in the United Kingdom with this difference



that in India, the Secretary is allowed to be present at the meetings of the Executive Council to furnish any detailed information that might be required regarding his own department. Besides he is required to attend on the Viceroy usually once a week and to discuss with him all matters of importance arising in his department. He has the right of bringing to the Viceroy's special notice any case in which he considers the concurrence of the Viceroy with the Members action or proposal necessary. His tenure of office is usually three years. This system has its merits and demerits. Its utility lies in the fact that the Viceroy thus keeps a check over the actions and the departmental independence of the Executive Councillors. But this system is condemned as it is likely to encourage mistrust and misunderstanding particularly when the Indians become members of the Executive Council.

**Executive Council Expanded.** After the Government of India Act of 1935, the Viceroy's Executive Council has been enlarged by the addition of 5 more Indian members. The portfolios have been reshuffled.

**Present arrangements :—**With the coming of the Cabinet Mission the Executive Councillors have resigned. The Interim Government proposal has failed. Members of the Constituent Assembly are being elected for framing the constitution of a free and Independent India within or without the British Commonwealth. In the meantime, the work of the administration has been entrusted to a Caretaker Government consisting of eight members only two of whom are Indians. (See chapter on constitutional development.)

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Trace the growth and development of the Central Executive.
2. Point out the various departments of the Central Executive.
3. What changes have been proposed for it by the Government of India Act of 1935 ?
4. What proposals are under consideration for the extension of the Central Executive ? How far have they been met with ?



## CHAPTER LXVI

### FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

#### 1 . FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION BEFORE THE REFORMS

**Financial Administration before 1858.** Up to 1833 although Bengal was in charge of Bombay and Madras yet, as far as finances went, there was complete freedom in the subordinate Presidencies. They were at last brought by the Charter Act of 1833, under the supreme authority of the Governor-General of India in Council in matters of finance and legislation. The Act enacted that "no Government shall have power of creating any new office or granting any new salary, gratuity or allowance without the previous sanction of the Governor-General." Even after the Acts of 1853 and 1858, finance was centralized in the hands of the Government of India, which treated the revenues of India as one fund and applied them to the purposes of the Government of India as a whole. The provinces were denied any inherent legal right to the revenues which they raised and revenues from all parts of the country converged into the Government of India's treasury, from which place money flowed back in large or small amounts to serve the diverse needs of the administration, including expenditure of the provinces. It is obvious from the aforesaid account, that the provinces were mere managing agents for the Government of India. The sources of taxation, the amount of taxation, the manner of collection, and the authority for expenditure were all dictated from headquarters. The provinces had no interest in the collection of taxes. To fulfil their obligation money was sanctioned for the provinces. Sir William Hunter writes : "Towards the end of every year, each Local Government presented to the Governor-General in-Council its estimates of expenditure during the coming twelve months. The Governor-General-in-Council, after comparing these aggregate estimates with the expected revenue from all India, granted to each Local Government such sums as could be spared for its local services." Another distinguished authority has depicted the position occupied by the Provincial Governments under the aforesaid arrangement as follows :—"The whole of the revenues from all the provinces of British India were treated as belonging to a single fund, expenditure from which could be authorized by the Governor-General in Council alone. The Provincial Governments were allowed no discretion in sanctioning fresh charges. They could order, without the approval of the supreme Government, and without its knowledge, the adoption of measures vitally affecting the interests of millions of people ; they could make changes in the system of administration that might involve serious consequences to the state ; they could, for instance (and this is a case which actually occurred), alter the basis on which the assessment of the land revenue had been made, but they could carry out no improvements, great or small, for which actual expenditure of money was required. If it became necessary to spend £20 on a road between two local markets, rebuild a stable that had tumbled down, or to engage a menial servant on wages of 10 shillings a month, the matter had to be formally reported for the orders of the Government of India." (Strachey.)

**Lord Mayo's Scheme of Decentralization in Finance (1870).** The evils of such a system had attracted the attention of several officers. The attempts of General Dickens and those of Mr. Lating, the Finance Member, did not prove fruitful. A scheme to remedy the above-mentioned state of affairs and also to secure a more economical financial administration was devised by Strachey in 1867. The underlying principle of the scheme was that each Provincial Government must be made responsible for the management of its own local finances. In accordance with this scheme, Lord Mayo's Government made the first



attempt at decentralization in 1870. "The Resolution of 1870," says Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, "transferred to the control of the Provincial Governments, the following heads of expenditure, with the revenue accruing from them, and in addition, a fixed annual Imperial grant for the purpose :—Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Medical Services, Printing, Roads, Miscellaneous Public Improvements and Civil Buildings. The deficit, if any, was to be met either by local taxation or by reduction of expenditure ; and any portion, that may be unspent at the end of the year was not to lapse to the Imperial Revenues, but to remain at the disposal of the Local Government. Provincial Governments were given power, subject to certain conditions, to create appointments provided the salary in each case did not exceed Rs. 250 a month, and the amount could be met out of assigned grants."

**Lord Lytton (1877).** In 1877, a further advance was made by Lord Lytton's Government in the direction of the system of financial decentralization initiated by the Government of Lord Mayo. Several new heads of expenditure such as land revenue, excise, stamp, general administration, law and justice were transferred to the Provincial Governments. It had been found, as pointed out above, that under the arrangement of 1870 while the Local Government took a considerable interest in the receipts under the transferred heads, an equal amount of diligence was not shown in the collection of other revenues. Lord Lytton's Government, therefore, to meet the additional charges, instead of raising the fixed Imperial grants, transferred certain new heads of revenue. It was also laid down that any surplus above the estimated income was shared to the extent of half with the Government of India ; the latter also undertook to meet deficits to the same extent if and when they occurred.

**Lord Ripon and the Evolution of the System of 'Divided Heads' (1882).** The aforesaid settlement was revised in 1882 by Lord Ripon. The system of giving a fixed grant was abolished and the Provincial Governments were assigned certain sources of revenue and a share from certain other sources of revenue. He introduced the system of *Imperial, Divided and Provincial Heads of Revenue* by which revenue from all sources was divided into three classes. The income from the Imperial Heads of Revenue was to go to the Central Government ; the provinces were to get all the income from the departments under their control ; and the income from the divided heads was shared, mostly in equal portions, between the Provincial and the Imperial Governments. The deficit in the Provincial Budgets was to be made good by the Imperial Government by giving a fixed percentage on the land revenue, which was included among the Imperial heads. "The advantage of this system," says Mr. Anand, "over the one which had hitherto generally prevailed was that it gave the Provincial Governments a direct interest, not only in the provincialized revenue, but also in the most important items of Imperial revenue realised within their own revenue."

**Quinquennial System (1887).** Another important change made by the system was the introduction of quinquennial settlements. Under



this system the Provincial Governments were assured an independent income. Of the four sources of danger in the Indian revenue, the war, exchange, opium and famine, the provinces were to be affected only by the last. The system introduced in 1882 was renewed, without any modification of the principles involved, in 1887 and again in 1892 and 1897.

**Lord Curzon's Quasi-Permanent Settlement (1904).** Lord Curzon's Government in 1904 tried to remove the defects of the quinquennial system. The old division into Imperial, Divided and Provincial heads was, of course, continued, but the respective shares of the two parties were revised. Expenditure on purely imperial heads was to be incurred as before entirely by the Government of India. Expenditure incurred on the divided heads was to be divided between the central and provincial administration. The settlements were declared to be quasi-permanent and were to be revised only if found to be grossly unjust or in extremely difficult circumstances.

**The Decentralization Commission (1907).** The Royal Commission on Decentralization appointed in 1907, enquired into the relations between the Central and Provincial Governments; it submitted its report in the following year with three recommendations: (1) The Governor-General should not interfere with the revenues assigned to the provinces. (2) Distribution should be fixed according to the needs of the provinces. (3) The residue available for the Viceroy should be taken in the shape of a fixed fractional share from a few of the main heads of revenue.

**Hardinge's Permanent System (1912).** Lord Hardinge's Government took the final step in the development of this system. The quasi-permanent settlement was declared to be permanent in 1912. It was laid down that the Provincial Governments were not to budget for a deficit except under abnormal conditions. The Government of India curtailed their intervention in the making of provincial budgets. The unseemly quinquennial conflicts, which punctuated the relations of the Government of India with provincial administration up to 1904 and which had practically ceased after the introduction of the semi-permanent settlement of that year, were now given a decent burial.

## 2. AFTER THE REFORMS OF 1919

**Provincial Autonomy with regard to Finance.** After the Reforms, circumstances changed. The authors of the Montford reforms recommended that the provinces should have their independent sources of revenue. This meant the abolition of the system of Divided Heads and the separation of the provincial finances from those of the Central Government. With the idea of giving effect to this new principle of bifurcation, the two separate lists were prepared in such a way that the Central and Provincial Governments should have the least possibility of clash. In case of any doubt as to whether a particular matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject, the final decision rested with Governor-General-in-Council. "The principle of discrimination between central and provincial subjects is that where extra-provincial interests predominate, the subject is treated as central, while, on the



other hand, all subjects in which the interests of a particular province predominate are provincial." Accordingly the central subjects of all-India importance numbering 47, comprise, among others, the following :—defence ; external relations with the Native States ; railways, shipping and navigation, posts and telegraphs, income tax, currency and coinage, All-India Services, opium, etc. Among provincial subjects, numbering 52, are—education, local self-government, medical administration, public health and sanitation, irrigation, land revenue, famine relief, agriculture, forests, excise, industries, police and justice, etc.

**The Meston Award (1921).** However, certain restrictions and limitations still continue to be exercised over provincial expenditure. The Government of India was faced with a big deficit at the beginning of the reforms and it was decided that the provinces should pay contributions in proportion to their increased revenues so that the budget of the Central Government might be balanced. A Committee known as the Financial Relations Committee, was appointed with Lord Meston as its President, and it settled the share of each province. The total amount of such a deficit was estimated to be 10 crores. The Committee distributed this sum among the provinces according to their capacity of payment and recommended two schedules. (1) One provided for a transitional period of 7 years and suggested definite sums to be collected from every province in each of the seven years. This period was regarded as necessary for equalizing provincial conditions and correcting diversity. (2) The second schedule gave the permanent and standard ratio at which each province should be taxed in order to wipe out the central deficit.

The scale shows the contribution made by the provinces to the Central Government in 1921-22.

Provinces	Contributions in lakhs of rupees
Madras.....	348
Bombay.....	56
Bengal.....	63
United Provinces.....	240
Punjab.....	175
Burma.....	64
Central Provinces and Bihar.....	22
Assam.....	15

**Its abolition.** Every province complained against the inequality of the Meston Award and officials and non-officials condemned with equal severity the unwisdom of the contributions. The Reforms Inquiry Committee also wrote against the arrangements. A revision of the Meston Settlement, if not its complete abolition, was unanimously and persistently demanded by the official and non-official opinion throughout India. It is gratifying to record that Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member, announced in the budget speech for 1928-29 the complete and final remission of Provincial contributions.

**The Restrictions in the way of Complete Autonomy.** After the Reforms, the position of the Provincial Governments in matters of finance had considerably improved, but a number of restrictions exist even



up to this day. (1) The Provincial Governments have still to maintain the All India Services as directed by the Secretary of State. They do not enjoy any freedom in this matter. (2) The Provincial Governments should be vested with far more extensive powers of taxation and with a more unfettered authority to borrow money on the security of their revenue. The existing restrictions on the borrowing powers have been imposed in order, it is said, to prevent harmful competitions with the Government of India in the loan market. But such restrictions are incompatible with provincial autonomy. There should be independent provincial department of accounts and auditing.

**The Constitution Act of 1935.** Under the Government of India Act of 1935 the sources of revenue remain the same. The Scheduled taxes are included in the Provincial Legislative list. Hence they would no longer be called by that name, and the legislature will be free to levy them at will. According to the Niemeyer Report, the Provinces are to receive financial assistance from the centre to meet the deficit. The Niemeyer Report also recommended the distribution among the provinces of half of the Income tax receipts.

**After the Partition.** During the two years following the end of World War II the economic policy of the Government of India was opportunistic and inconsistent. The shifting political scene in the country was partly responsible for this.

The partition of India on 15th August, 1947, involved a division of resources and peoples and had some far-reaching economic consequences. An interim budget was presented by Mr. Chetty on 26th November, 1947. He disclosed a deficit of Rs. 26.24 crores. The Finance Minister said that this was the result of the abnormal conditions in the country. Measures for securing co-ordination of the activities of the different Ministries concerned with economic matters are under consideration.

The partition of the country brought new heads of expenditure, like Food procuring, Rehabilitation and Economic planning.

It has also been decided to bring the Unions of the Indian States on equal financial footing with the Provinces (States).

The Financial adjustment in a number of cases remains the same as according to the Government of India Act 1935.

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Give the history of Provincial Autonomy in matters of finance.
2. What restrictions do you come across nowadays towards the full realization of this financial autonomy?
3. Write a note on the Meston Award. How was it received by the Indian Provinces?
4. What changes were made in the Finance Department from the days of Ripon to the days of Lord Hardinge?



# CHAPTER LXVII

## LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT

### 1. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT

**Under the Company.** The origin of the legislative power of the provinces goes back to the year 1797 when the Presidency of Bengal was authorized to issue independent regulations for its jurisdiction. The Presidency of Bombay got this power in 1833. The Act of 1833 deprived the Provincial Governments of their independent law-making power. The provinces were now asked merely to submit drafts to the Central Governments of whatever legislation they wanted to be passed. The over-centralization of all legislative powers in the hands of the Governor-General-in-Council was full of defects. The Governments of Bombay and Madras constantly complained that their claims and needs were not properly considered because of the preponderance of authority exercised by Bengal civilians. The Act of 1833 partly tried to remove this grievance of the provinces by allowing Bombay, Madras, Bengal and the North-West Provinces' representatives to hold seats in the Governor-General's Council for legislative purposes.

**Under the Crown.** The Indian Council's Act of 1861 under Lord Canning introduced decentralization in legislation and thus the power of legislation was restored to the provinces of Madras and Bombay. The Councils of Bombay and Madras were expanded for legislation by the addition of the Advocate-General of each Presidency and other nominated members, not less than four and not more than eight, at least half of whom were to be non-officials. No line of demarcation was drawn between the jurisdictions of the Central and the Local Legislatures. All laws passed by the Councils were required first to receive the consent of the Governor and subsequently the assent of the Governor-General. Moreover these laws were made subject to disallowance by the Crown. The Governor-General was directed to establish a Legislative Council for Bengal and was empowered to establish subsequently similar councils for the North-Western Provinces and for the Punjab. In exercise of this power, Legislative Councils were established in Bengal in 1862, in the United Provinces in 1892, in the Punjab and Burma in 1898, in Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905, and in Central Provinces in 1913. The North-West Frontier Province was made a Governor's Province in 1932. However, despite limitations, the Provincial Legislatures were competent to enact laws for the peace and good government of the provinces, subject to the restrictions imposed upon them, and subject to the general supervision of the Central Government.

**The Evolution of Provincial Legislature.** This measure was soon found to be inadequate. The Indian National Congress, which had been established in the eighties of the last century, exposed the inadequacy of the Act of 1861, and the Government passed the Indian Councils act of 1892, by which the Legislative Councils were enlarged, an elective element was indirectly introduced, and the Councils were given the limited rights of questioning the Executive and of discussing budgets. The functions of the Councils were thenceforward to be more than merely legislative or merely advisory. This was an advance over the earlier measure of 1861 which had expressly confined the legislatures to strictly legislative business. Events were moving fast in India. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 could not cope with the growth of political consciousness in the country and thus the Indian politicians demanded greater administrative reforms.

**Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) and the Provincial Legislatures.** Then came the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, which effected



important changes in the composition and functions of the Provincial Legislatures. In the first place, the total number of members of each of the Provincial Councils was considerably increased, the new figures in some cases being more than double the figure of 1892. The maximum limit of 50 additional members was fixed for the larger provinces and of 30 for the smaller ones. Secondly, the proportion of officials to non-official members was modified so as to bring about a majority of non-official members in the Provincial Councils. Thirdly, the principle of indirect election was accepted. Fourthly, the Mohammadans were given separate representation (except in the Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces). Thus was introduced the principle of the communal representation based upon the vote of a separate electoral roll. Moreover, the functions of the Council were enlarged. Mr. Palande writes :—"The right to hold a general discussion of the budget, which had been conceded in 1892, was further augmented by the right to move resolutions in a definite form upon matters pertaining to the budget, and to divide the Council on them. The power of expressing opinion in the form of a definite resolution was not confined only to matters connected with the budget, but was extended to all questions of general public importance. Certain subjects were of course excluded : for example the army, sovereign relations and other cognate matters. On these subjects no resolution could be moved. The Governor's permission was necessary for the introduction of a resolution. Lastly, the power of asking questions, which had been conceded by the Act of 1892, was increased by allowing the member who originally put the question to put further supplementary questions if he was dissatisfied with the reply given by the Government Member." But it should be clearly borne in mind that Lord Morley had no desire to establish parliamentary and responsible government in India, and the Act of 1909 left the legislature as essentially consultative committees attached to the Executive.

**Criticism of the Morley-Minto Reforms.** The Morley-Minto Reforms Scheme had many obvious defects and 'turned out to be only a half-way house.' It was condemned as inadequate by the Montford Report of 1918. "Narrow franchises and indirect elections failed to encourage in members a sense of responsibility to the people generally, and made it impossible, except in special constituencies, for those who had votes to use them with perception and effect." Moreover, while the administration was now far more exposed to examination and criticism than had hitherto been the case, the activities of non-official representatives were uninformed by that sense of responsibility which can only arise from the prospect of having to assume office in turn. The result is that "Parliamentary usages have been initiated and adopted in Councils where they cause the maximum of friction, but short of that at which by having a real sanction behind them they begin to do good." In other words the Morley-Minto Reforms led directly to a situation in which an irremovable executive was confronted by an irresponsible legislature.

**Restrictions on the Provincial Legislatures before 1919.** The constitutional position of the Provincial Legislatures before the Government of India Act of 1919, was as follows :—(1) The Provincial Legislatures were prohibited from attempting to affect an Act of Parliament or from altering or repealing, without previous sanction, any Act of the Governor-General's Legislative Council or of any Legislature but themselves. (2) All-India questions like those of the public debt of India, or customs, or other taxes imposed by the Central Government, or coinage, currency, posts and telegraphs,



the army and the navy, were absolutely excluded from the provincial sphere. (3) The previous sanction of the Governor-General was made necessary before the provinces gave consideration to any measure affecting the religion or the religious rites of British subjects, the regulation of patents and copyrights or the relations of the Government with foreign princes or Indian States. (4) The Provincial Governments were required to submit for the previous sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State all projects for provincial legislation before they were introduced in the Councils. (5) All Acts passed by the Provincial Legislatures and assented to by the Governor could not have the force of law without the consent of the Governor-General. (6) In matters of finance, the Provincial Legislatures were subordinate to the Central Government as already discussed.

**After the Reforms of 1919.** The growing discontent of the Indian people brought home to the British Government the necessity of making some concessions to their roused political consciousness. This was all the more necessary in view of the great services rendered by the Indians to the cause of the allied powers in the Great War of 1914. Moreover, the Government wanted to rally the moderate opinion as the late repressive measures had driven many moderates to the extremist camps. All these causes combined led Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, to make a momentous declaration of British policy with regard to India on August 20, 1917.

**Preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919.** The preamble was based on the announcement of the Government made on 20th August, 1917. It speaks of the goal of British rule in India and consists of the following principles :—(1) The policy of His Majesty's Government is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the country with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. The aforesaid responsible government means representative legislatures and ministers chosen out of people. This does not mean that the British Parliament would surrender its right to govern India. To achieve this policy, substantial steps would be taken and the Reforms of 1919 was the first step in this direction. (2) The British Government and the Government of India alone must be judges of the time and measure of each advance. The right of self-determination was denied to the Indians. (3) This advance to be judged by the co-operation of Indians and their successfully working the institutions set up amidst them. This clause was humiliating for the Indians. (4) The Provincial Governments should be made as independent of the Government of India as possible, provided they discharged their duties well. But the idea of provincial autonomy is not complete. The Government of India Act of 1935 has now introduced provincial autonomy with some safeguards.

**The Act of 1919 and the Provincial Legislatures and their Composition.** The Act of 1919 made important changes in (1) the composition, and (2) functions of the provincial legislatures. The legislative council for each province was now to consist of members of the executive council, and of members either elected or nominated ; 70%



of the members being elected members, and not more than 20% official members. The number of members of each Council became much greater than that of the old legislative councils, and these numbers may be increased by statutory rules, provided that the statutory proportion between official and elected members is maintained. The constituencies are divided into two categories, general and special ; the former includes non-Mohammadan, Mohammadan, Indian Christian, European or Anglo-Indian or Sikh (in the Punjab), and the latter includes Land-holders, Universities, Planters, Mining and Commerce and Industries. The principle of communal electorates was introduced. Separate electorates were provided for Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. In certain provinces, certain seats were reserved for minorities. Thus, remarks Prof. Kale, "instead of national and provincial or local politics, we now have communal politics". The governor nominates the representatives of the backward classes and also of organized industry. Besides general and special constituencies, there is another division between 'urban' and 'rural' constituencies. The franchise for the councils has been lowered and the normal qualifications of a voter are based on (i) community, (ii) residence, (iii) occupation of a house, (iv) assessment of income tax, (v) receipt of a military pension and (vi) the holding of land. Woman suffrage was not directly established by the Electoral Rules ; but the legislative councils were given the power to remove the sex barrier, and this has now been done in every province, though the number of women voters is very small.

The President of the Council was to be a nominated non-official for the first four years after the introduction of the Reforms, and thereafter to be elected by the Council itself from among its own members. His election has to be approved by the Governor. A deputy president to preside in the absence of the President has to be elected by the Council from the very beginning.

**The Voting Qualifications Under the Act of 1935.** By the Government of India Act of 1935, the qualifications of a voter in the Punjab are (1) that he has a place of residence in the constituency, which he has not let on rent during the twelve months previous to the prescribed date of registration. (2) That he is assessed to income tax, or pays municipal or cantonment tax of not less than fifty rupees, or is assessed to *haisiyat* or profession tax of Rs. 2 a year, or District Board tax of not less than Rs. 2. (3) That if he is an owner he pays land revenue of not less than Rs. 5 per annum, or if he is an occupancy tenant he pays land revenue of not less than Rs. 5. (4) That he is an assignee of land revenue of not less than Rs. 10 per annum. (5) That he is a tenant of not less than six acres of irrigated land. (6) That he owns immovable property of not less than Rs. 2,000, or of an annual rental of not less than Rs. 60. (7) That he is a zaildar, inamdar, sufedposh or lambardar in the constituency. (8) That he has attained the primary or an equivalent or higher standard of education. (9) That he is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier in His Majesty's regular military forces. In the case of a member of the scheduled castes, a person is entitled to vote if he is literate or owns immovable property of not less than Rs. 50, or is the tenant of an immovable property of an annual rental of not less than Rs. 36.



**The Government of India Act of 1935 and the Provincial Legislatures.** The Government of India Act has enlarged the provincial legislatures. The official block has been removed and in 6 provinces out of 11, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U. P., Bihar and Assam, provisions have been made for bicameral system, i.e., Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council, both enjoying co-ordinate authority, while in the other provinces there will be only one chamber, i.e., the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly shall continue for 5 years while the Legislative Council shall be a permanent body whose members shall hold office for 9 years, one-third of its members retiring after every third year.

**Their Functions.** The functions of the Councils have been enlarged. They are divided as usual into legislative, administrative, and financial functions. (1) *Legislative.* Every Bill intended to have legal application within the jurisdiction of the province has to be passed by the Council whether it pertains to the one or the other half of the Government. (2) *Administrative.* The control over the administration is exercised in four ways: (i) *By moving resolutions* : the Provincial Council can discuss any matter of public interest by moving resolution on it; permission for moving it has to be granted by the Governor (some subjects are excluded from the exercise of this power); (ii) *By putting questions and supplementary questions* ; permission is now given to any member of the Council, not necessarily the one who originally put the question, to put a supplementary question if he is dissatisfied with the reply given by the Government member; (iii) *By moving adjournment of the House* when the House is in session on an important matter of recent occurrence, and (iv) *By moving votes of censure* in order to express disapproval of the policy of the Government. (3) *Financial.* The budget of the whole provincial administration, reserved and transferred has to be put for the vote of the Council and passed by it. Formerly there was only the power of discussing the budget and moving resolutions; but there was no control over expenditure or income. This is a very important concession granted by the Reforms. Leaving aside the non-votable items, all proposals for taxation and appropriation are put before the Council and discussed and sanctioned by it; so are all proposals for public loans.

**Duties and Responsibilities of the Governor.** The Governor of a province is charged with various heavy duties and responsibilities. Mr. Banerjee writes as follows :—(1) To further the purposes of the Government of India Act to the end that the institutions and methods of Government provided therein are laid upon the best and surest foundations, that the people of his province acquire such habits of political action and respect such conventions as will best and soonest fit them for self-government, and that the authority of the Crown and the Governor-General is duly maintained. (2) To see that whatsoever measures are in his opinion necessary for maintaining safety and tranquillity in all parts of his province, and for preventing occasions of religious or racial conflict, are duly taken and that all orders issued by the Secretary of State or by the Governor-General-in-Council on behalf of the Crown, to whatsoever matters relating, are duly complied with. (3) To take care that due provision is made for the advancement and



social welfare of those classes of people committed to his charge, who, whether on account of the smallness of their number, or their lack of educational or material advantages, or from any other cause, specially rely upon his protection and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon just political actions, and that such classes do not suffer or have cause to fear neglect or oppression. (4) To see that every order of Government and every act of the legislature are so framed that none of the diverse interests of, or arising from, race, religion, education, wealth, etc., may receive unfair advantages or may unfairly be deprived of privileges or advantages which they have heretofore enjoyed, or be excluded from the enjoyment of benefits which may be conferred on the people at large. (5) To safeguard all members of the services employed in his province in the legitimate exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of all recognized rights and principles, and to see that his Government order all things justly and reasonably in their regard and that due obedience is paid to all just and reasonable orders and diligence shown in their execution. (6) To take care that no monopoly or special privilege, which is against the common interest, is established in his province and no unfair discrimination is made therein in matters affecting commercial interests.

**His Powers.** The Governor exercises legislative, administrative and financial powers :—(1) *Legislative* :—He can dissolve and extend for one year the legislative council and can prorogue it, if necessary. His assent is necessary for every Bill to become an Act. He can certify a Bill on grounds of safety and tranquillity of the province. Without his recommendation no money or revenue can be appropriated. His approval is necessary if a member wants to introduce any measure affecting the revenue. (2) *Administrative* :—He can appoint and dismiss a minister. He makes rules and orders for regulating the relations between his Executive Council and his Ministers. He has a casting vote in his executive council. He can over-ride both his Council and his ministers on grounds of safety and tranquillity of his province. He appoints council secretaries. (3) *Financial* :—The Governor-in-Council may restore any grants refused or reduced by the Local Council if it relates to a reserved subject, and if he considers it necessary for the proper discharge of his responsibility.

**Inequality of their Status.** The Governors of the Presidencies and those of the Provinces do not enjoy the same status. The inequality in their status is four-fold ; (1) The Governors of the Presidencies are appointed by the Crown after consultation with the Governor-General. (2) The Presidency Governments enjoy the privilege of direct correspondence with the Secretary of State on certain matters, and can appeal to him against the orders of the Government of India, but such an appeal must pass through, or be communicated to the latter. (3) If a vacancy occurs in the office of Governor-General when there is no successor in India to fill the vacancy, the Governor of a presidency, 'who was first appointed to the office of Governor of a presidency,' is to hold and execute the office of Governor-General until a successor arrives or until some person in India is duly appointed thereto. (4) There are differences in the maximum annual salaries payable to the Governors under the Act—Rs. 128,000 per annum in the case of Presidencies and Rs. 100,000, in the case of the Punjab, Burma, Bihar and Orissa, etc.



**Dyarchy : Its Origin and Definition.** The Reforms of 1919 have introduced the system of dyarchy or dual government in the provinces. The Governor with his Executive Council dealing with '*Reserved subjects*' and the Governor acting with his Ministers in relation to '*Transferred subjects*.' This dualized or bifurcated form of government is known to political scientists as dyarchy. According to Mr. Curtis, the word '*dyarchy*,' was first applied to this form of Government by Sir William Meyer, Finance Member of the Government of India. But this word was coined by the historian Mommen to describe the dual government which existed in certain provinces of the early Roman Empire, where the emperor required the concurrence of the Roman Senate for some of his acts but not for others.

**Its Defects.** Many a competent authority state that dyarchy has failed for the following reasons:—(1) In some provinces, the relation between Ministers and officers of the public services working under them, particularly the secretaries, have not been what they should have been. Orders passed by the ministers were challenged by their subordinates. It was due to this fact that ministers have practically no authority over the members of the All-India Service, from amongst whom the secretaries and under-secretaries are generally recruited. In some provinces, the Governors have tried to control their ministers, to reduce them to the position of mere advisers, and to concentrate power in themselves even in respect of the administration of the transferred departments. (2) The presence of the official bloc in each legislative council has tended to obscure the responsibility of the ministers to the council. Ministers get all their demands passed despite the opposition of the elected members with the help of this official bloc. It is a fact that the official bloc and ministerial responsibility are irreconcilable. (3) The relations between the Finance Department controlled by a member of the Executive Council and Ministers have not been happy. (4) The principle of the collective responsibility of ministers was not recognized. The ministers were dealt with by their governors individually and not collectively. In other words, in actual practice there were ministers but no ministries. (5) The principle of joint deliberation between the two halves of the provincial government under the chairmanship of the Governor had not been uniformly followed in practice in some of the provinces. (6) As Banerjee writes dyarchy has not had a fair trial since introduction. "The atmosphere created by the non-co-operation movement; the spirit of hostility to the reforms engendered by it; the open preaching of the boycott of first elections held under the Reforms; the emergence of the Swarajist Party with the destruction of the reforms as its creed; the financial difficulties of the provincial Governments; some of the measures, both administrative and legislative, adopted by the governments, central and provincial; the attitude of some members of the civil services towards the reforms and Ministers in some provinces; and the policy pursued by some of the Governors—all these conspired as it were to make the smooth and successful working of the dyarchical system of Government practically impossible."

**The Government of India Act of 1935 and the Introduction of Provincial Autonomy and its Main Features.** By this new Act, the Provincial Governments became independent units free from control by



the Central Government and Legislature in the exclusively provincial sphere. The subjects of government have been divided into three lists. There is an exclusively provincial list in which the Central Government will not interfere. The second list contains exclusively central subjects. The third list contains subjects of common jurisdiction.

**The Powers of Governors.** Each province is now an independent unit and the Governor is appointed by His Majesty to act as his representative. In the exclusively provincial sphere his authority is supreme. There shall be a council of Ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, but the Governor possesses the power of over-riding their decision. Whenever the Governor exercises his discretion or individual judgment his decision shall be final. The validity of his action cannot be called in question. The Governor shall choose his ministers from among the members of the Provincial Legislature. The salary of ministers once fixed cannot be altered during his term of office. The Governor will determine the number of Ministers he will like to appoint and the departments to be allocated to each of them. He will frame rules for the conduct of the business of the Ministry and he will have to make arrangements for the transmission of information to him by the Ministers and Secretaries. The Ministers will hold office during the pleasure of the Governor and the Governor may, in his discretion, preside at the meetings of the Ministers. (For new status of the Governors see chapter on new Constitution.)

**The Powers of the Provincial Legislatures.** A local legislature can make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being comprised in the province. It can, subject to certain limitations, repeal or alter in that Province any law made before or after the commencement of the Government of India Act by any authority in British India other than the Local Legislative Council. It cannot make any law affecting in any way the authority of the British Parliament. It cannot without the previous sanction of the Governor-General take into consideration or enact legislative measures affecting (a) the Public Debt of India or any duty or tax imposed by the Governor-General-in-Council for the general purposes of the Central Government ; (b) maintenance or discipline of any part of His Majesty's forces ; (c) foreign relations ; (d) any central subject ; (e) any provincial subject which has been declared to be either wholly or in part subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature ; (f) any power expressly reserved to the Governor-General-in-Council by any law for the time being in force ; (g) any law enacted by any authority in British India (excepting that local legislature) which is declared to be a law that cannot be altered or repealed without previous sanction and so on.

Besides these restrictions the Governor of the Province may withhold assent from any Bill or may return it for reconsideration by the legislative council or reserve it for consideration by the Governor-General. Unless the Governor-General has declared his assent to it, no Act of the Provincial Legislature can have any validity whatsoever. In certain cases the Governor-General may neither give his assent nor withhold it but reserve it for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon. His Majesty-in-Council may also disallow any Act. Again, in regard to



reserved subjects, the Governor has power in exceptional cases to pass legislation even when the local council is not in agreement with him. The Governor may say that for the discharge of his responsibility the passage of a Bill thrown out by the local Council is necessary and thus may enact it into a law by using his power of certification. But such an Act has no validity unless it is assented to by His Majesty-in-Council. In the same way the Governor may certify that a Bill is detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of his province and thus prevent it from proceeding any further.

The Provincial Legislative Councils exercise now a large control over the finance of the province. In the provinces the estimated annual expenditure and revenue are presented every year in the form of a statement before the local council which examines it. The council may refuse its assent to a demand or may reduce the amount given under any item of expenditure. The Governor-General-in-Council may restore any grant so refused or reduced by the local council if it relates to a reserved subject, and if he considers it necessary for the proper discharge of his responsibility.

**The Criticism of Provincial Autonomy as provided by the Act of 1935.** The perusal of the Act of 1935 tells us clearly the hollowness of the so-called provincial autonomy. *In the first place*, the independence given to the provinces is not real, because the Central Legislature still exercises great control over the Provincial Legislatures as they are not empowered to pass any laws they like. Even the laws passed are subject to two-fold sanction, viz, that of the Governor and the Governor-General. *Secondly*, it is alleged that the Executive should be subordinate to the Legislature. The Executive means the Governor and his Ministers. The Governor exercises special powers which means that the Legislature has no control over him. The autocratic and dictatorial powers enjoyed by the Governors amply bear out the facts. *Thirdly*, it is laid down that the Provincial Legislature should be a representative body of the largest number of people, but the franchise rules are so narrow that only 15% of the population of British India exercise the right of voting. *Fourthly*, the provincial autonomy is merely a farce as the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General have large powers to interfere in the provincial affairs. In the words of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, it may be said that "we are provided with a car, all brakes and no engines."

**How a Bill becomes an Act.** For the introduction and passage of a Bill in a local council practically the same procedure is adopted as in the Central Legislature to be described later on. The only modification is that the local council being simply a one-chambered body, the Bill after being passed is sent by the Speaker with his signature directly to the Governor for his assent instead of being referred to a Second Chamber as is the case in the Central Legislature. Having received the assent of the Governor, it is then sent to the Governor-General for his assent, which having been given, it becomes an Act.



QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Do you think that 'Dyarchy' has failed in India ? Give reasons for your answer.
2. Write the history of the evolution of Provincial governments in India ?  
(P.U., B.A., 1934)
3. Discuss the salient features of the Minto-Morley Reforms and discuss the composition and power of the new legislative councils. (P.U., B.A., 1937 Sept.)
4. What do you understand by Dyarchy ? Give some account of its working under the Act of 1919. ((P.U., B.A., 1939 Sept.)
5. Describe the administrative machinery of a Governor's Province before and after 1919, and point out the outstanding changes introduced therein by the Government of India Act, 1935. (P.U., B.A., 1941)
6. Give an account of the powers and duties of the Governor of a Province. What difference do you find in the social status of these governors ?



## CHAPTER LXVIII

### GROWTH OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

**The Central Legislature before 1833.** The legislature in India has grown out of the Executive in India. For many years the latter was practically the legislature as well. The germ of the legislative powers of the Government of India can be traced back to the charter granted by Elizabeth to the East India Company. The Montford Report writes that "the germ of legislative power of the Government of India lies embedded in Elizabeth's Charter, 1600, which authorized the E. I. C. to make responsible laws, constitution, orders and ordinances, not repugnant to English law, for the good government of the Company and its affairs." But no copies of any laws made under the early charters are known to exist. This power of making rules and regulations was later on renewed and increased by later charters. George I's Charter of 1726 empowered the Governors-in-Council of the three Presidencies to make laws, ordinances and regulations in their respective jurisdictions. With the grant of the Diwani rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orrisa 1765, the Company inherited the powers of the Mughal *Subedars* which were exercised by Warren Hastings by making rules and regulations and setting up courts of law. The Regulating Act of 1773 subordinated the Presidencies and Councils of Bombay and Madras to the Governor-General and Council of Bengal and required the Madras and Bombay Governments to send copies of all their Acts and orders to Bengal, the government of which had no power of modifying them. The Amending Act of 1781 definitely empowered him to frame regulations from time to time for Provincial Courts and Councils. The Act of 1797 expressly sanctioned a local power of legislation in Bengal. The Act of 1807 gave to the Governors-in-Council in Madras and Bombay similar power of making regulations as were possessed by the Governor-in-Council in Bengal. Thus during this period, as stated above, the legislative powers were lodged in and were exercised by the Executive governments in the three Presidencies.

**Between 1833-58.** The gradual growth of the Company's power and territorial dominion in India made more systematic legislation necessary. It was the Act of 1833 that laid the foundations of an All-India legislature by taking away the law-making powers of the Provincial Governments and granting them to the Governor-General-in-Council, who was to be helped by a newly appointed extraordinary member, viz, the Law Member for framing laws and regulations for all persons (British, Foreigners or Natives) and for all courts (the Court of the Company and the Supreme Court). Laws made by the the Governor-General were liable to be vetoed by the Court of Directors or the Board of Control. This reform proved inadequate. The Charter Act of 1853 made the legislative member, an ordinary member, and the Executive Council was enlarged for legislative purposes by the addition of six new members, called legislative members—the Chief Justice and one more judge of the Bengal Supreme Court, and four officials of not less than 20 years' standing appointed by the provincial Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Agra. Therefore, in all, for legislative purposes, there were to be 12 members including the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief and four ordinary members. The Governor-General, as President, retained the power of veto over legislative proposals. The proceedings of the legislative sessions were made public. This was the first recognition of the principle of local representation in the Indian legislature. A new phase was opened in 1858. The Mutiny had come and gone. The E. I. C. was abolished and with it the Double Government introduced by Pitt's India Act of 1784. The Crown and Parliament directly undertook the responsibility of the Indian Government and entrusted the affairs of India to a Secretary of State assisted by a Council of 15.

**The Central Legislature after 1858 : Indian Councils Act of 1861.** To remove the aforesaid defects, the Indian Councils Act of 1861 was passed under which the Central Legislature was reconstituted. Six additional members of whom not less than half were to be non-official, were added to the Council. They were to take



seat for two years. The function of the Council was limited to legislative work, rather than interrogative and deliberative. Measures relating to the public revenues of India or public debt, religion, military and naval matters, foreign relations, were not to be introduced without the Governor-General's previous sanction. To every Act passed by the Council the Governor-General's consent was necessary.

**Critical Note.** Sarkar and Dutt write: "The Act of 1861 restored the two Governments of Madras and Bombay the legislative powers which the Act of 1833 had withdrawn, but with this important reservation that the previous sanction of the Governor-General was made necessary for legislation by the local councils in certain cases, and all Acts of the local councils required the subsequent assent of Governor-General in addition to that of the Governor. But it should be clearly borne in mind that the legislative councils as established under the Act of 1861 contained the germs of responsible government."

**Indian Councils Act of 1892.** The spread of western education created discontent among the people and the Indian National Congress gave a lead to the organized public opinion of the educated community. Some political concessions became imperative. As a result of it, came the Councils Act of 1892. This Act made some advance in the direction of representation. By this Act number of additional members was increased from 12 to 16, out of whom 10 were to be non-officials. A system of *indirect election* was introduced, and the functions of the enlarged councils were also increased. Mr. Palande writes, "The annual financial statement or the budget had henceforth to be regularly placed before the legislature, members were allowed to discuss it generally, and express their opinion on it as a whole. However, power was not given to move any resolution or divide the council on any matter concerned with the budget. Asking of questions was authorized by this Act. The power of supplementary questions was, however, not conceded."

**Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.** Mr. Chattejee writes, "Educated India was smarting against a system of political subjection and the toy constitution could not give any satisfaction. The partition of Bengal by flouting the unanimous verdict of the people of the province roused a great discontent and the feeling of helplessness that it engendered against an unsympathetic bureaucracy, led to great political restlessness which ultimately took a wrong turn and manifested itself in revolutionary activities. At this time the Conservatives who were in power for two succeeding decades in England were swept away by the liberal victory of 1905. The old policy of repression, however, continued but it seemed not to pay. John Morley became the Secretary of State for India, when the Viceroyalty in India was held by Lord Minto. A committee was appointed to explore and suggest means by which the legislatures can be liberalized but on a safe foundation." The result was the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.

**Its Results.** The Morley-Minto Reforms raised the number of additional seats in the Council to 60. Out of these 27 additional members were to be elected and 32 along with one ex-officio members were to be nominated. A system of direct election was introduced. The powers of the Council were increased. Besides discussing the budget, the Council was given the power to move resolutions and divide. The right of asking supplementary questions was also granted to the Council. Certain subjects could not be discussed by it at all, and any resolution could be disallowed by the Governor-General, who was to be the ex-officio President of the Council. But it should be noted that the Morley-Minto Reforms did not claim to introduce responsible government in India, but was only intended to associate Indian public opinion with the administration of the country.

**The Reforms of 1919.** The objects of the Reforms of 1919 was to make a beginning of responsible government in India. This was to be done in the first instance in the provinces, but certain important changes were also made in the Central Legislature. By this Act, the old Supreme Legislative Council was replaced by two bodies, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, each having a President of its own. The principle of direct election was introduced. In the Legislative Assembly elected members were to be in majority. The election was to be carried on communal basis.

**Indian Legislature and its Powers.** Subject to certain limitations the Indian Legislature exercised considerable powers of legislation. It was empowered to make laws for all courts, for all places and things within British India. It could make laws also for those subjects of His Majesty and servants of the Crown who resided in other



parts of India. The statutory limitations on its powers were the following :—Unless Parliament itself authorized by further enactment, the Indian Legislatures could not make or repeal any laws affecting (a) any Act passed by Parliament after 1860 and extending to British India, (b) any Parliamentary Act enabling the Secretary of State to raise money in the United Kingdom for India ; (c) the written constitution of Great Britain whereon may depend the allegiance of any person to the Crown : (d) the arrangement made to pass death sentence, i.e., it could not empower without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State any court other than a High Court to pass a sentence of death on any of his Majesty's subjects born in Europe or the children of such subjects, nor could it abolish any High Court. (e) Without obtaining the previous sanction of the Governor-General, it could not introduce any measure affecting (a) the public debt or public revenues of India, (b) the religion or religious rights of British subjects in India : (c) the relations of the Government with foreign states ; (d) the discipline and maintenance of His Majesty's subjects. To these were added measures (i) regulating any provincial subject or part of which had not been declared by rules to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature ; (ii) repealing or amending any Act of a local legislature ; (iii) repealing or amending any Act or Ordinance made by the Governor-General.

### 1. THE COUNCIL OF STATE

**Its Composition.** The Council of State in India corresponds to the upper chambers of other countries. The total numbers of its members is 60. Out of these, 33 are selected by the different constituencies and 27 nominated by the Government. Of the nominated members, not more than 20 are to be officials. The normal duration of this Council is 5 years but it may be extended or shortened by the Governor-General. The President is appointed by the Governor-General from among its members. The electoral area created for the Council of State is very wide. The whole province of Madras for example forms one single electoral area. The franchise is based not merely on a high property qualification but on status, such as past and present tenure of office of a local authority, past or present university distinction, the tenure of office in a Co-operative Banking Society or the holding of a title conferred for literary merit. The authors of the Montford Report intended it to be "the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential," and therefore wanted to have government majority in it. The Joint Select Committee did not approve of the suggestion and thus the Council of State was constituted as a true second chamber. The members of the Council are designated "Honourable."

**Its Functions and Powers.** The Council of State exercises three-fold powers, viz., Legislative, Administrative, and Financial. (1) *Legislative* : The Council of State has been given full legislative powers. Every Bill which has to be passed into an Act must receive its assent. In this respect it enjoys the same powers as are enjoyed by the Legislative Assembly. (2) *Administrative* : It can exercise control over the administration by moving resolutions or adjournments or votes of censure, or by putting questions and supplementary questions. Fifteen days' notice is required for a resolution. But the Governor-General can disallow any resolution if he feels it necessary to do so for the public interests. (3) *Financial* : In practice the part played by the Council of State in matters of the budget and financial legislation is very feeble. The statement of the estimated annual expenditure and revenue is presented to it as to the Assembly, the Council can modify or reject it but it cannot discuss it nor can it vote upon particular grants demanded by the heads of various departments :—this power belongs exclusively to the Assembly. The Council cannot initiate money Bills.



**The Changes made by the Government of India Act of 1935.** The Federal legislature is to consist of His Majesty represented by the Governor-General and two chambers to be respectively known as the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. The Council of State is to be composed of 156 representatives of British India and not more than 104 representatives of the Indian States. Out of 156, six persons are to be nominated by the Governor-General. From among the members a President is to be elected. The Council of State is to be a permanent body, not subject to dissolution, but one-third of its members are to retire every third year.

## 2. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

**Its Composition.** The Legislative Assembly is the Lower House or the first chamber of the Indian Legislature, having a clear elected majority. It now consists of 145 members, of whom 105 are elected by the people, 26 are official members and 14 are nominated non-officials. The normal duration of its life is 3 years subject to earlier dissolution or extension by the Governor-General. The Assembly elects its own President though during the first term of the Assembly under the Reforms the President was a nominee of the Governor-General. The Deputy President is elected by the House from among its members. The members of the Assembly are designated as M.L.As. The salaries of both of them are voted by the House and both of them cease to hold office when they cease to be members of the House. The Franchise for the Assembly varies from province to province, though the qualifications for the vote are lower than those for the Council of State.

**The Changes made by the Government of India Act of 1935.** The Federal Assembly is to consist of 250 representatives of British India and not more than 150 representatives of Indian States, the latter seats are to be distributed among the states according to their population. The British Indian representatives are to be elected by the Provincial Assembly and not by the primary voters from territorial constituencies. The majority of the seats are distributed on a communal basis. The Assembly is to last for five years. The President of the House elected from among the members will be called the Speaker.

**Its Functions and Powers.** The *legislative powers* of this body are co-ordinate with the powers of the Council of State. No Bill can be deemed to have been passed into an Act having force of legality unless it is passed by both bodies and has received the Governor-General's assent. The *Administrative powers* of the Assembly are that it can also move resolutions, votes of censure, motions of adjournment and any of its members can put questions and supplementary questions in the same manner as the members of the Council of State. *Financial* :— The Assembly has, however, a wider power in the domain of finance than that passed by the Council of State. The budget is presented to it by the Finance Member. It can discuss the budget as well as the financial policy of the Government as before. But for the first time the Assembly is empowered to vote the grants demanded in the budget. In view of this power, the money required for certain items cannot be spent unless it is voted by the Assembly or is permitted to be spent by the certificate of the Governor-General. The proposals of the



Government for the appropriation of revenues and moneys are divided into two parts, *votable and non-votable*. Grants under the latter head are not put for the Assembly's vote, the grants under the former head are submitted to the vote of the Assembly, which may assent to or reduce or refuse a grant. Besides, the Assembly appoints two Committees, *viz*, the Standing Finance Committee and the Committee on Public Accounts. The former assists the Finance Member with advice for retrenchment and economy in expenditure, while the latter scrutinizes the audit and appropriation accounts of the Government of India and satisfies itself that the money voted by the Assembly has been properly spent.

**The President of the Assembly.** The qualities that are likely to make a successful President of a deliberative body like our Assembly are many and of a varied character. The President must combine strict impartiality with courtesy, and firmness with tact. Besides, he must have the gift of humour and possess an impressive personality. While in office, he can have no politics, nor should he belong to any party. In the discharge of his duties he can have no political opinions of his own to guide him. On his way to the chair he must, like the Speaker of the English House of Commons, doff his party colours and wear instead the white flower of a neutral political life. The President is the custodian of the rights and privileges of the House. He has to regulate the business in the House in accordance with the Standing Orders. He decides points of order. Questions are admitted with his permission. He can allow adjournment motions. The President has only a casting vote which he must exercise in the case of an equality of votes. Ordinarily all questions are determined in the Assembly by a majority of votes of the members present other than the person presiding. Like the Speaker in England, the President must not take part in debate like any other member.

**Conflict between the two Chambers.** The Chambers of India's legislature may sometimes differ in view. After a Bill is passed by either of the chambers it is sent to the other chamber for its assent without which the Bill cannot become an Act. Now the other chamber might accept the Bill without modifications in which case there is no hitch. But if it introduces any amendment, the Bill is sent back to the originating chamber with the amendment. If the latter is acceptable to the former matters pass off smoothly. The real conflict arises on occasions when a Bill passed by one chamber is totally rejected by the other or is so altered by it as to prove unacceptable to the originating Chamber. The Government of India Act has, therefore, provided three methods for avoiding or composing such differences: (1) *Joint Committee*, (2) *Joint Conferences*, and (3) *Joint Sitings*. Sarkar and Dutt write that "the first means requires a formal resolution in each chamber and each nominates an equal number of members, and it is intended to forestall differences and to expedite the passage of a particular Bill; the second measure is adopted when a difference of opinion has already arisen and in the joint conference each chamber is represented by an equal number of members but no decision is taken; thirdly, when the originating and the revising chambers have failed to reach agreement within six months of the passing of the Bill by the originating chamber



it rests with the Governor-General, in his discretion, to convene a joint sitting of both chambers, at which those present deliberate and vote upon the Bill in the shape given to it by the originating House and on the outstanding amendments. The decision there taken is deemed to be the decision of both chambers. Lastly, it should be noted that when there is a conflict between the chambers which is further complicated by the disagreement of the Governor-General with either chamber, the Governor-General may prevent the deadlock by using his extraordinary *power of certification*. For instance the Princes' Protection Bill was disallowed by the Assembly, but was passed by the Council of State as amended by the Governor-General. This amended Bill, too, was not accepted by the Assembly. The Governor-General in this deadlock did not resort to any of the aforesaid three methods, but exercised his certifying power and the measure was taken to be legally passed.

**The Relations of the Executive to the Legislature.** The Central Executive is not responsible to the Central Legislature. The latter, however, directly exercises a good deal of influence over its work by moving censure motion and putting questions, and through its financial power and the work of Standing Committees. Besides, it exercises indirect influence on the Government by bringing together the elected representatives and the officials. "But in strict theory," as Mr. Palande writes, "the Governor-General-in-Council continues even after the Reforms to be as autocratic as he was before. Neither he nor his colleagues are called upon to resign even after a regular vote of censure is passed upon them by the legislature. Their salaries and rules of service are beyond the reach of the people's representatives. They may not accept any recommendation made to them by the legislature. Their responsibility is only to the British Parliament and they hold office during the pleasure of the sovereign. The extraordinary legislative veto that is now given to the Governor-General, otherwise known as the *power of certification*, is intended to prove as a corrective to any persistent obstruction on the part of the legislature. In short, the citadel of bureaucratic authority, so far as the Central Government in India is concerned, continues to be as strongly fortified as before according to the strict letter of the constitution."

**How a Bill becomes an Act.** Laws are made in the following ways: All Bills, government or private, have to go through *three stages* before they can be declared to have been carried by the House. A member, official or non-official, who wants to introduce a Bill, shall give one month's notice and together with the notice shall submit a copy of the Bill and a statement of objects and reasons. If the particular Bill is such that it requires previous sanction, then a copy of such sanction should also be annexed to the notice. Then, if the motion is accepted by the majority, it is published in the Gazette. The Governor-General may order the publication of any Bill without any notice having been given before and he may even extend the period of notice to two months. After its publication, a day is fixed when the member-in-charge of the Bill reads it out and explains it to the House clause by clause. No discussion takes place at this preliminary stage, only the main principles embodied in the Bill are made clear by the mover. If the majority take it up, any member may move that the Bill be referred



to a Select Committee. *This is called the first stage or first reading of the Bill.* In the Select Committee it is fully scrutinized and thrashed out and the draft as amended is again placed before the House. The Committee may even consult experts at this time. If the member-in-charge of the Bill finds that by the amendments his original purpose is defeated, he may withdraw it otherwise the second reading of the Bill will take place. At the *second stage* the members find full opportunity to discuss, criticize and, if they like, to move further amendments. And with additions, subtractions or alterations the draft is finally re-written and is presented to the House for the *third reading*. Now the motion is made that the Bill as amended be passed. When the Bill is passed by a House, the President of the House signs a copy thereof. It is then sent up to the other chamber where the same procedure is adopted. If the other chamber passes it, it is submitted to the Governor-General for his assent. If the Governor-General gives his assent to it the Bill becomes an Act. If the other chamber makes any amendments, the originating chamber is informed. In case the amendments are agreed to, it is well and good, but if some dispute arises between the two chambers, the Governor-General, as stated above, will avoid the conflict by means of *joint committees, joint conferences, joint sittings* and lastly, by *the power of certification*.

**The Relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Government or The Growth of Provincial Autonomy.** The Government of India has continued up to this day to be a Unitary Government with entire responsibility to the Parliament of England for its works and the provinces have been created not so much for administrative efficiency but to remain dependent on the Government of India. The authors of Montford Report also call these provinces as mere agents of the Government. The provinces have no inherent powers of their own and, therefore, nothing to surrender in *foedus*. The Government of India must give and the Provincial Governments must receive. The bonds that connect the Government of India with the Provincial Governments can best be studied under three heads :—(1) *Finance* ; (2) *Legislation* ; (3) *Administration*. The Government of India exercises control on all the three counts, but it should be remembered that on all the three heads, the Government of India as one indivisible whole owes entire responsibility to the Parliament of England for the proper discharge of this task. Let us consider each of these heads separately :—

(1) **Finance.** The relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have already been discussed in a previous chapter. It has been pointed out that in 1870 under Lord Mayo, the process of decentralization in matters of finance was begun and the Government of India gave annual grants to the Provinces. Lord Ripon introduced the system of 'Divided Heads' which was made quasi-permanent by Lord Curzon and permanent by Lord Hardinge. By the Montford Reforms, the sources of revenue were made either Central or Provincial. By this arrangement, the Government of India became in deficit and the Provinces by the Meston Award were made to pay some share for seven years. In 1928, this contribution was stopped and the provinces were made free in this respect.



(2) **Legislation.** By the Charter of 1807, the Presidencies were given the power of legislation, but this power was withdrawn in 1833 and the laws passed by the Governor-General-in-Council were made binding upon the whole of India, including the provinces. In 1861, the provinces were given back the right of independent legislation, but the Government of India's legislative authority continued concurrently to extend to the whole of India as before. In local matters, freedom began to be allowed to the provinces to pass their own legislation. Yet till the Reforms of 1919, the legislative councils were only enlargements of the executive government for purposes of law-making and they did not possess any real independence. By the Government of India Act, subject to certain restrictions which have already been dealt with under "The Powers of the Legislative Councils," local legislatures in the provinces were allowed to make laws for the peace and good government of the provinces, because the central legislature could not efficiently administer to the needs of distant provinces. A careful perusal of the various restrictions, the outstanding among them being the consent of the Governor-General to every Act and the submission of all projects for legislation by the local governments to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for approval, shows that the Provincial legislatures were still in theory only "enlargements of the executive government for the purpose of law making."

(3) **Administration.** The Montford Report has pointed out that the administrative control exercised by the Government of India over the provinces is too general and extensive to admit of any analysis. "The Government of India have regarded themselves in the past as distinctively charged with the duty of framing policy and inspiring reforms for the whole of India." They are responsible to the Parliament for the administration of the country, considered as one '*single and undivided*' whole and, therefore, they kept administrative functions with regard to defence, diplomatic relations with the frontier states and the foreign nations, political relations with the Native States, tariff, currency and exchange, post office, railways and other heads of all-India concern, in their own hands. On the other heads authority and responsibility were shared by the Government of India with the Provincial Government in a varying degree. "In the case of such departments, the Government of India functioned, not as a first hand initiating authority, but as a revising and appellate power." Lastly, it was the consciousness of the moral responsibility for the good government of the whole country and for the maintenance of the high standard of public and personal conduct that led the Government of India to exercise close supervision and control over the provinces. After the Reforms of 1919, the old state of things has been considerably modified by the Devolution Rules approved by both Houses of Parliament. According to these the subjects were classified for administrative and legislative purposes as "Central Subjects" and "Provincial Subjects." So far as administrative control is concerned, it has been restricted in the transferred subjects but there is no restraint upon the Central Government's power of intervention in the reserved subjects.

**Classification of Subjects for Administrative and Legislative purposes.** Accordingly the central subjects numbering forty-seven,



comprise, among others, the following :—Defence ; external relations ; relations with the Native States ; railways, shipping and navigation ; posts and telegraphs ; customs ; cotton excise duty ; salt tax ; currency and coinage ; public debt of India ; opium ; copyright ; inventions and designs ; emigration and immigration ; archæology ; zoological survey, meteorology ; botanical survey ; ecclesiastical affairs ; the Public Services Commission ; All-India Services ; census and statistics, criminal law ; territorial change ; trading companies and other associations etc., etc. Among provincial subjects, numbering fifty-two, are,—education (with certain exceptions) ; local self-government ; medical administration, public health and sanitation ; irrigation ; land-revenue ; famine relief ; agriculture ; co-operation ; forests ; excise ; industries ; police and justice ; weights and measures, etc., etc.

**Devolution Rules.** The Devolution Rules consist of *five* parts. The *first* part relates to the division of subjects into 'central' and 'provincial' and into 'reserved' and 'transferred'. The *second* divides the source of the revenues of India into two branches, Provincial and All-India, and provides for provincial contributions to the central exchequer. The *third* part refers to the organization, powers and duties of the Finance Department of provincial Governments. Rules in the *fourth* part regulate the employment of the agency of Provincial Government by the Central Government for the administration of central subjects. And the *fifth* part limits the control of the central government over transferred subjects.

**Decision of Doubtful Points.** Under the Devolution Rules, if *any* doubt arises as to (1) whether a particular matter does or does not relate to a provincial subject, the decision of the Governor-General-in-Council thereon will be final ; or (2) whether any matter relates to transferred subject, the decision of the Governor thereon will be final. (For new changes see chapter on new Constitution.)

### QUESTIONS FOR REVISION

1. Trace the evolution of the Central Legislature of British India 1833-1921. (P.U., B.A., )
2. Describe the relation in outline of the Governor-General-in-Council to the Provincial Governments from the Indian Councils Act of 1861 to 1909. (P.U., B.A., 1939 Sept.)
3. Give some account of the Legislative and administrative relations of the Indian Provinces and the Governor-General-in-Council from the Charter Act of 1853 to that of 1892. (P.U., B.A. 1938 Sept.)
4. State how a bill becomes an Act.
5. What means are adopted to bring to an end the deadlock between the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State ?



## CHAPTE LXIX

### HOW INDIA WAS DIVIDED

**The Two-Nations Theory.** "Muslims are a nation," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, "according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State." He said that "Islam and Hinduism are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian Nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together the two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State."

This two nations theory though wrongly hatched was not an unconscious contrivance. It was given birth and shape by the cunning devices of the foreign rulers. Divide and Rule—is a maxim hoary with age and has been adopted by all conquerors in all countries and in all ages.

Started by the East India Company, the maxim worked till L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India. The communal question between the Hindus and Mussalmans who could have solved it as they liked, was intersected by a third party, the British Government. And therefore it could not be solved amicably. We had thus what had been termed a communal triangle, with Hindus and Muslims as its two sides and the British Government as the base. As this base had grown in size it had simultaneously widened the angle of difference between the two sides.

**Divide and Rule and E. I. Company.** It was one of the objectives of the Company's officers to prevent a combination between the Marhattas, the Nizam, and the Nawab of Carnatac and later with Hyderabad and Tipoo Sultan.

The Indian army of the British before the revolt of 1857 had been a cosmopolitan army in which Hindus and Mussalmans, Sikhs and Poorbiahs were mixed up. Its common efforts in 1857 which had resulted from a growing sense of national unity against the foreign rulers opened their eyes and the subsequent policy was directed towards



breaking up this solidarity. Sir John Lawrence wrote : "Among the defects of the pre-mutiny army, unquestionably the worst, and one that operated most fatally against us, was the brotherhood and homogeneity of the Bengal Army and for this purpose the remedy is counterpoise of the Europeans, and secondly of the native races." The result was a reorganization of the army based on tribal, sectarian and caste distinctions.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who in his early days was a nationalist, could only a few years later advise the Mussalmans to keep away from National movement which founded its expression in the Indian National Congress in 1885. Why ? The answer lies in the tactics of the English Principals of Aligarh M. A. O. College. The History of Muslim Politics of the next 15 or 20 years is a history of the activity of these shrewd Englishmen who managed to create the gulf, which had grown wider ever since.

**Aligarh College and Aligarh Politics.** Mr. Beck, an Englishman, was the Principal of Muslim University of Aligarh from 1883 to 1899. He had come in right good time because English education had awakened Hindus and Nationalism was growing apace. The British had realised that the time had arrived to draw the Muslims under their protecting wings to counteract this growing nationalism. Mr. Beck carried this policy through with missionary zeal.

Securing the control of the Institute Gazette, and association of the District officers, Mr. Beck brought open conflict between Sir Syed Ahmad and the Bengalis who had been admiring so far their national views, by writing in Sir Syed's name articles directed against the Bengalis. In this atmosphere the first session of the Congress in 1885 was held under the Presidency of Mr. W. C. Benerji, a Bengali gentleman. There was nothing to oppose the Muslim interest in the resolutions passed by the Congress and therefore, there was no reason why Sir Syed Ahmad should oppose Congress. But some officials regarding Congress as a revolutionary movement advised Sir Syed to keep Musalmans away from the movement lest they may express their discontent in the way it had done in 1857. Mr. Beck could not tolerate a joint action of Hindus and Muslims even in strengthening British Rule. A Defence Association was established at Simla to separate Musalmans from other communities.

After Beck, Mr. Theodore Morrison continued the policy of winning away the Muslims. In 1900 Urdu-Nagri agitation in U. P. brought about a conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims. The different Muslim associations started opposing the Congress and introduction of parliamentary institution into India.

**The Origin of Separate Electorate.** The British Parliamentary system was much appreciated by the Indian leaders. The rising Bengali spirit was given a set back by the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, who said that one of his purposes to divide Bengal was to create a Muslim Province, in which they will have a prepondering voice. Lord Curzon left India the legacy of bitter controversy.

The correspondence between Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Mr. I. Morley, the Secretary of State for India show the agitating mind of the



two British officials over the nationalist movement in India. The result was the encouragement of separate electorate for the Muslims. A muslim deputation headed by H. H. Aga Khan decided with the Viceroy the claim of the Muslims for a separate electorate and reservation of seats in any constitutional set up in the country.

**The Muslim League Founded and the Lucknow Pact.** In the year 1906 the Muslim League was founded, with Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk as its first President. In its annual session were passed the resolutions supporting the partition of Bengal, the representation of the Muslims in Legislative Councils, in provincial and Local bodies. Some differences arose between the President of the League and the English Principal of the Aligarh College, consequently the office of the League was removed to Lucknow, which thereafter became the point of gravity of Muslim politics.

By the year 1913 the Muslims were becoming more and more nationalist in their outlook and at their Lucknow session they had the following as their objectives—self-government, by reforms in the administrative system and by promoting national unity; to foster public spirit among the people of India; to co-operate with other communities. This League was in line with the Congress, which paved the way for Hindu-Muslim unity. In the year 1916 League and Congress in their annual sessions at the same time and place arrived at an agreement. The system of separate electorate was accepted and Congress allowed the muslims representation much in excess of their proportion.

**Montagu Chelmsford Reforms 1917.** By the time the next session of the League met in December 1918 in Delhi where the Congress also held its session, much had happened in the country and in the world.

In 1917 the reforms were reported by the joint action of Montagu, the Secretary of State for India and Mr. Chelmsford, the Viceroy. The world war had also ended by the time 1918. But the Muslim community was much affected by the defeat of Turkey. The Indian Muslims clearly saw the falsification of the promises given to the Muslims about Khilafat by the British authorities. Khilafat agitation coincided with the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. And the hands of repression fell heavily and the Jallianwalla tragedy was enacted.

Though Congress was supported by many other muslim groups in its non-violent non-co-operation movement, but the Muslim League was unable to keep pace either with the Congress or the Khilafat Committee. It did not adopt any resolution in favour of civil disobedience.

Hindu-Muslim unity was going to be strengthened up to 1921 but certain events created a rift in the flute. The murder of Swami Shradhanand by a muslim created thrill and horror throughout the country. But on the introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1920 the Congress and Khilafat Committee boycotted the Legislative Council and took no part in elections. The Swarajist section of the Congress which was in the legislation demanded reforms and revisions of Constitution. Muslims joined Congress members in this. The Government in England resolutely resisted all proposals for any advance in constitutional matters. The Congress was devising means to settle



communal problem. Whereas the League put forward in 1927—'the Muslim proposals'; demanding—Sind as a separate province; giving N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan equal status with other provinces; in Punjab and Bengal muslim representation to be increased; and in central legislature not to be less than one-third. Congress Committee accepted the Muslim proposals.

The British Government appointed a Statutory Commission under the Leadership of Simon. The Congress boycotted the Commission. League was divided over it. The Simon Commission brought about a joint action to draw a constitution which may be acceptable to all. As a result of it Congress produced the Report of the Nehru Committee. But the League was divided over seats in central legislative: seats on population basis in Punjab and Bengal if adult franchise is introduced: and the residuary powers. The All India Muslim Conference at Delhi in 1928 passed a resolution demanding Federation based on residuary powers in the hands of provinces; communal matters to be decided by 3/4th majority; Sind, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan to be made as full provinces. And emphatically declared nothing to be acceptable short of this.

Then appeared the 14 points of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on the line of special regard to the Muslim population.

**Round Table Conferences.** In 1929, Lord Irwin announced the possibility of Round Table Conference in London. As a result of the Round Table Conferences a system of Federal government was to be constituted wherein full play of British tactics was apparent. Giving the decisions in the form of white paper India was tantalized for political reforms.

In the new constitution a Federation was to be installed giving responsible governments in the provinces hedged inside the special responsibilities of the Government and the Governor-General looking after the legitimate interest of the minorities in India, pointing towards the Muslim minority. A further obstacle was avoided by Poona Pact over the Scheduled Class people, as awarded by the Communal Award 1932.

The Government of India Act was passed in 1935 and applied in 1937. But the full Federation could not come into existence due to the strong opposition of the Muslim League, and they entered the legislations on the following grounds—that the present provincial constitution and the proposed central constitution should be replaced immediately and full self-government to be introduced; secondly, in the meantime to utilize the legislations to exact out maximum benefit for the muslims.

The Muslim League ministries wherever they were formed created atrocities and looked after the Muslims' interests alone. By the time the new world war started there were a number of events showing the misrule of the muslim ministries. The Bengal famine was a result of it. In other provinces communal riots were more in league-ministered areas than in Congress-governed provinces. It was only the Congress which resigned as a protest against the forceful entanglement of India in the War. But the league ministries were working as usual. The subsequent



events in the national History were the struggle between the Indian National Congress and the British authority. Muslim League could only coerce a non-violent Congress and win whatever it could from backdoor. The demand of Pakistan was fostered and promoted by the British authorities themselves and the different proposals coming in the form of Cripps' proposal and Cabinet mission plan etc. clearly indicated a Pakistan to be carved out of the two wings of the country. The Muslim Statesmen were cunning enough to increase their demand at every concession granted by the Congress. The Division of the country was ultimately caused by the same policy of the Britishers termed as—*Divide at impera*.



## APPENDIX

1. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIMON COMMISSION
2. THE WHITE PAPER
3. THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE REPORT
4. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

### I. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIMON COMMISSION

**Summary of Recommendations.** The recommendations of the Simon Commission may be summed up as follows :— (1) It found strong reasons for reconstituting the constitution on a federal basis. (2) Dyarchy to terminate in the provinces. The provincial cabinet to be chosen by the Governor from the elected members. It should be unitary and there should be joint responsibility for its acts and policies. The Governor can also nominate an official or non-official minister. Under such conditions law and order can be transferred. As regards Executive, the rigid division of subjects into Reserved and Transferred must disappear as it hinders the growth of real responsible government. The Ministry should be responsible to the Provincial Legislature. The Governor's over-riding powers as they are to-day should be allowed to continue. If there be a change of ministry, the official ministers may continue to be ministers even in the new ministry. The life of the Provincial Legislature should be 5 years. The number of members should vary from 200 to 250. No recommendation was made with regard to the establishment of a Second Chamber in the Provinces. The Governor's present extraordinary and over-riding powers should be maintained. (3) To forthwith separate Burma from India and to take up the question of constituting Sind and Orissa into separate provinces. The N. W. F. P. to have a separate legislature. (4) In the absence of agreement between Hindus and Muslims as to the adoption of joint electorate, separate electorates are to continue. (5) Depressed classes are expected to maintain their ground in joint electorates without special representation. (6) Ten per cent of the total population to be immediately enfranchised. (7) The lower house of Indian Legislature is to be called the "Federal Assembly," elected by the provincial councils on a population basis, consisting of members varying between 250 to 280. The Federal Assembly will last for 5 years. The Executive Councillors would be members ex-officio. The Council of State is to continue to be composed of elected and nominated members in the same proportion as at present. (8) The Central Executive will continue to be the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governor-General should select and appoint members of his cabinet instead of their being appointed under the Royal Sign Manual as at present. The Commander-in-Chief should neither be a member of the Executive Council nor of the Legislature. Though election of some members of the Executive Council from among the elected members of the 'Federal Assembly' be introduced in practice, yet in fact the Executive Council should not be made responsible to the Legislature. The Secretary of State is to continue to superintend, direct and control the Indian Government. The India Office should be retained and the position of the High Commissioner for India to remain unaffected. (10) The defence of India should be an Imperial concern under the Viceroy acting in concert with the Commander-in-Chief. The Government of India should pay an annual total sum to the Imperial Government for undertaking military expenditure which will necessarily vary from time to time. The rights of the Civil Service must be maintained, i.e., the Indian Civil Service should continue to be recruited by the Secretary-of-State-in-Council. The rate of Indianization as recommended by the Lee Commission should be maintained. A Public Services Commission should be established in the provinces to recruit Provincial Services. Their members should be entirely free from political influences.

### II. THE WHITE PAPER

**Introduction.** The White Paper was committed to the Joint Select Committee for further examination after a three days' debate in the House of Commons. The



Labour party was opposed to the appointment of a select committee to carry out a policy that had not in their view, the support of the people of India. In India men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote that "India has given a hostile reception to the new constitution. That it is not a constitution for a self-governing Dominion requires no argument. Its outstanding feature is that it has laid far more emphasis on safeguards and reservations than on central responsibilities and the possibilities of its early growth and expansion."

In 1933, the Government issued the White Paper embodying the proposals of the British Government on the subject of Indian Constitutional reforms. We reproduce below a synopsis of the proposals from Mr. Chatterjee :—

## 1. THE FEDERATION

The Federation of India will be a union between the Governor's Provinces and those Indian States whose rulers signify their desire to accede to the Federation. The relations of the States will be with the Crown represented by the Viceroy and with the Governor-General as the Executive head of the Federal Government. The Federation is to be brought into existence by a Proclamation when with the eleven Governor's Provinces (including Sind and Orissa), the Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the Indian States and entitled to not less than half the seats to be allowed to the States in the Federal Chamber signified their desire to join the Federation.

**The Federal Legislature.** All executive acts will run in the name of the Governor-General. He will himself direct and control the administration of such 'reserved' subjects as Defence, External Affairs and Ecclesiastical Affairs, and to assist him in their administration he can appoint three Councillors. For the administration of other subjects he will be assisted and advised by a Council of ministers who are to be members of the legislature and should be able to command its confidence collectively. He will have "special responsibility" in respect of (a) peace and tranquillity of India, (b) financial stability and credit of the federation, (c) interests of minorities, (d) the Public Services, (e) prevention of commercial discrimination, (f) protection of Indian States, and (g) management of reserved subjects. In the discharge of his special responsibilities he will have full discretion to act as he thinks fit by setting at naught his ministers' advice.

**The Federal Legislature.** It will consist of the King represented by the Governor-General and two chambers to be styled the Council of State and the House of Assembly. The former is to continue for seven years and the latter for five years and to consist of 250 (150 elected from British India, 100 by appointment of the Rulers of States and nominated) and 375 members (250 elected from British India and 125 appointed by the Rulers) respectively. The Governor-General shall have power to withhold his assent or reserve a bill for the signification of the King's pleasure even when it has been passed by both Houses of the Legislature. The Governor-General in discharge of his Reserved Subjects or "special responsibilities" after sending a message to both the chambers may declare a bill to have become law. It is to be known as the Governor-General's Act. The Governor-General has been endowed with special powers to interfere with the financial administration of the country. He can by proclamation assume to himself all powers vested by law in any Federal authority whenever he is satisfied that the constitution is in danger of breakdown.

## 2. THE PROVINCES

There are to be eleven Governor's Provinces including Sind and Orissa. Burma is to be separated from India.

**Provincial Executive.** All executive acts will run in the name of the Governor who is to be aided and advised by a Council of ministers responsible to the legislatures. A Governor has the same "special responsibilities" as the Governor-General. In addition to them he is to administer areas declared to be partially 'excluded areas.' There will be no reserved subjects in the Provinces.

**Provincial Legislature.** In Bengal, United Provinces and Bihar there would be bicameral legislatures, and unicameral in the rest. The Governors shall have the power of enacting Governors' Acts and with regard to financial proposals a recommendation of the Governor will be required, e.g., for imposition of taxation, for the appropriation of public revenues, etc. As it is proposed to remove the



present control of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State in provincial administration, the Governor has been clothed with wide powers. All emergency powers have been conceded to him in case of breakdown of the constitution.

**Allocation of Revenues.** Revenues are to be distinguished as Federal and Provincial. The Federal legislature may assign to provinces the whole or any part of such revenues as salt, federal excises, export duties, etc. ; Bengal shall be entitled to at least 50 per cent, of the export duties on jute produce. Bengal is to get along with other provinces, not less than 50 per cent. and not more than 75 per cent. of the net revenue from taxes on income (other than agricultural income) except taxes on the income or capital of companies. Subventions of prescribed amount have to be paid to certain Governor's Provinces out of Federal revenues and for prescribed periods. Borrowing power has been conceded to the provinces with certain limits.

**Judicature.** The Federal Court which is ordinarily to sit at Delhi shall consist of a Chief Justice and several judges. It will have exclusive jurisdiction in (a) interpreting the Constitution (b) any matter or agreement entered into after the Constitution Act between the Federal and a Province or a State. Provision will be made for conferring on the Federal Court powers similar to those enjoyed by High Courts, enabling the Court to grant remedies. Provision will be made enabling the Federal Legislature to establish a Supreme Court of Appeal from the High-Court in British India. The establishment of the Supreme Court would debar any appeal to the Privy Council in criminal cases and appeals in civil cases will only be allowed on special leave or permission.

**The Secretary of State's Advisers.** After the commencement of the Government of India Act (1935) the Council of India as at present constituted will cease to exist. But the Secretary of State will be empowered to appoint not less than three, but not more than six persons (of whom at least two must have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India) for the purpose of advising him.

**The Public Services.** The Secretary of State will after the commencement of the Act make appointments to the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police and the Ecclesiastical Department and the pay and allowances, pensions, and discipline and conduct of the persons thus appointed will be regulated by the rules made by the Secretary of State.

**Indian Railways.** The railway administration is to be placed in charge of a Statutory Railway Board to be mainly nominated by the Government.

**Criticism of the White Paper Proposals.** The White Paper finds no supporter in India for its disappointing recommendations, while the left wing of the Conservative Party in England considers the proposals as tantamount to abdication of British power in India. The White Paper makes no mention of the Dominion Status. On the other hand, it seems to be a document carefully and deliberately drawn up to rectify the mistakes and loop-holes of the present constitution. It abounds in safeguards and restraints even on minor points. The coming of Federation seems to be more distant than ever. The vast powers conferred upon the Governor-General and Governors amount virtually to autocracy. The system of government would perpetuate British domination and enthrone pure and unadulterated autocracy, rendering the people far more helpless to resist the despotism of the government than they are at present. Let us conclude it with the following two important passages ; "His Majesty's Government released the white Paper in 1933. It was praised by some and condemned by some, but the general view was that the scheme propounded by His Majesty's Government is, on the whole, unsatisfactory, confers but little power on the people, is hedged in by numerous limitations opposed to the interests of India, indicates sweeping changes in the present and prospective system of judicature in India, and the scheme, as a whole, needs substantial modification." "The vast majority of Indian politicians and political organizations have vehemently denounced His Majesty's Government's proposals or portions of them."

### III. THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE REPORT

**General Principles.** A joint select committee of both the Houses of British Parliament was appointed, after the deliberations of the three Round Table Con-



ferences, to submit to Parliament a report about the constitutional reforms to be introduced in India. The Committee note that the subtle ferments of education, the impact of the War and the growth of the sense of nationality have combined to create a public opinion in India which it would be a profound error for Parliament to ignore. On certain grounds the Committee held that a Constitution Act for India must seek to give statutory form to "safeguards" essential to the proper working of Parliamentary Government. The Committee proceeded on the so called safest hypothesis that the future government of India will be successful in proportion as it represents not a new creation but the natural evolution of past tendencies. It proposed to base the new constitution on the principle of provincial autonomy. The Committee endorsed several recommendations of the Statutory Commission. It is clearly noted down that responsibility of the ministers is one which no executive can share with any legislature. The Committee proposed certain safeguards which said to be essential for the successful working of the new constitution. The essential elements in the new constitutional settlement which the safeguards should be designed to supply are the need for flexibility, for strong executives, for efficient administration, and for an impartial authority to hold the scales evenly between conflicting interests. It has been emphasised in the report that provincial autonomy required a readjustment at the centre. It proposed for the unity of India, an All-India Federation. It is stated that the attraction of Federation to the States clearly depended on the fulfilment of one condition that in acceding to the Federation, they should be assured of a real voice in the determination of its policy. The Committee recommended that the Provincial autonomy should precede an All-India Federation. To fill the gap, the same Act of Parliament should lay down a constitution both for the Centre and for the Provinces. To establish Provincial Autonomy, it proposed some accidental changes in the Central Legislature and Executive.

**Provincial Autonomy.** The demarcation between the Central and Provincial subjects of administration were to be the same as given in the White Paper. The Committee agreed that the allocation of the residue should be left to the Governor-General. The White Paper plan to create new provinces of Sind and Orissa was approved.

**Provincial Executives.** The Committee endorsed the proposal of the White Paper, that over practically the whole of the provincial sphere the Governor should be amenable to the advice of non-official ministers selected from the Legislature. They proposed, as did the White Paper, that ministers should advise the Governor in all matters other than the administration of excluded areas and matters left to the Governor's discretion for example the power to withhold assent to legislation. The special powers of the Governors are recommended to secure finance and legislation.

**Law and Order.** Law and order is also proposed to be under a minister, but the Committee consider that the Governor's consent should be necessary to the amendments of Police Acts.

**Franchise.** The Committee proposed to increase the electorate from seven million including 315,000 women, to 29 million men and 6 million women, i.e., from 3 to 14 per cent. of the population.

**Legislature.** The composition of the Provincial Legislature was the same as that laid down in the White Paper. Second Chambers are proposed for Bombay, Madras, Bengal, United Provinces and Bihar. They considered that the Provincial upper houses should not be liable to dissolution and that one-third of the members should retire at fixed intervals.

**Communal Award.** The Committee are definite in their opinion that communal representation is inevitable at the present stage.

**Federation and States.** The States should have a special position in the Federation. The Committee accepted the White Paper proposal that the Federation should not come into existence until the Rulers of States representing not less than half the total population of the states and entitled to not less than half the seats allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber have signified their desire to accede. The representatives of the State should be appointed by their Rulers. The rights of Paramountcy to be exercised by the Governor-General on behalf of the Crown.



**Federal Executive.** The Committee approved the White Paper proposal that the Governor-General with the help of three Councillors should administer the Departments of Defence, External Affairs, Ecclesiastical Affairs and British Baluchistan, and that in all other departments he should be guided by the advice of ministers chosen from the Federal Legislature, subject to the powers under "special responsibilities" which would follow generally those of the Provincial Governors except that the Governor-General should have a special responsibility for the financial stability and credit of the Federation.

**Federal Legislature.** The Committee accepted the White Paper proposals regarding the size of both Houses, the ratio in each House between British Indian and States representatives and the number of seats allotted to the communities and special interests in the Lower House. It proposed that the Muslim Community should have secured to it one-third of all the British Indian seats. The Committee expressed themselves in favour of indirect election by the Provincial Lower Houses, the various communities voting separately for their own representatives. The indirect election is to be opened for review. Different electorate colleges were suggested for elections to the Council of State.

**Public Services.** The Committee recommended that the recruitment by the Secretary of State to All-India Services should cease except to the Indian Civil Service and Indian Police.

**Judicature.** The Committee approved generally the White Paper proposals for a Federal Court.

**Commercial Discrimination.** The Committee accepted the White Paper proposals that the Governor-General and Governors should have a special responsibility for the prevention of discrimination, but considered that it should be made clear in the Act that this responsibility would extend to the prevention of administrative discrimination in any of the matters in respect of which provision is made against legislative discrimination.

**Fundamental Rights.** The Committee suggested that the rights of the British Indian States' subjects for holding any office and adopting any profession irrespective of caste and creed should be secured.

**Constituent Powers.** They considered that amendments on certain points should be permissible by Order in Council to which Parliament has assented.

**Secretary of State.** The Committee considered it desirable that the Secretary of State should have a small body of advisers to whom he might turn for advice on certain matters.

**Reserve Bank.** The Committee took note of the proposed establishment of a Reserve Bank which should ensure the ability of India to maintain her financial stability and credit. But they recommended the prior sanction of the Governor-General for legislation affecting the constitution of the Bank or the coinage or currency of the Federation.

**Separation and Formation of Provinces.** Separation of Burma from India and the formation of separate provinces of Sind and Orissa are some of the other important suggestions made by the Committee.

#### IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935.

**Introduction.** The Government of India Bill was framed in strict consonance with the recommendations of the Joint Parliament Committee and read for the first time on the 5th February, 1935. The motion for the Third Reading was made on the 5th June and the Bill was placed before the Lords on the 6th. On the 24th July, the Bill was passed with changes and returned to the Commons. The House of Commons discussed and agreed to most of the Lords' amendments. The Bill received royal assent on August 2, 1935. The original Act, consisting of 478 clauses and 16 schedules has been split up into a Government of India Act of 321 Sections and 10 schedules and a Government of Burma Act with the rest.



The main features of the Act are :

**The Crown.** The Crown resumes all right, authority and jurisdiction in and over the territories of British India, whether they are at present vested in the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State-in-Council, the Governor-General-in-Council or in the Provincial Governments and their redistribution in such a manner as the Act provides between the Central Government on the one hand and the provinces on the other. In a similar manner 'any powers connected with the exercise of functions of the Crown in its relation with Indian States shall be resumed in their entirety into the hands of the Crown in so far as these powers are not distributed to the various authorities by the Act. His Majesty is free to delegate them to the Governor-General or Governors, to be exercised on his behalf. The consequence of this Act will, therefore, be that the Federal Executive and each Provincial Executive will, by direct legislation from the Crown, exercise independently on behalf of the king, the power vested in them by this Act, subject to superintendence by the Secretary of State for India. There are two groups of functions which will have to be performed on behalf of the Crown, firstly those relating to the Federation, and secondly those concerned with States' relations outside the federal sphere. The functions included in the first group are to be performed by the Governor-General and those in the group by the Viceroy. It shall be lawful for the Crown to appoint one person to fill both the said offices.

**The Secretary of State.** In order to avoid the inconsistency between the doctrine of ministerial responsibility and the existence of certain of the powers of the Secretary of State-in-Council, the Council of India shall be abolished. In its place, there shall be a small body of Advisers to whom he might turn for advice on financial and service matters and on matters concerning the Political Department. The Secretary of State shall be empowered to appoint not less than three or not more than six Advisers, of whom two at least must have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India. The Secretary of State will be free to seek their advice, either individually or collectively, on any matter as he may think fit, but will not be bound to do so save in one respect only. He must lay before his Advisers, and obtain the concurrence of a majority of them, to the draft of any rules which he proposes to make under the Act for the purpose of regulating conditions of services, which he controls. An Adviser to the Secretary of State shall hold office for five years and shall not be eligible for re-appointment and shall not be a member of Parliament. The expenses of the India Office shall be met by the British Exchequer. The Government of India, however, shall contribute a grant-in-aid corresponding to the expenses of the functions performed by the Secretary of State and his Department on behalf of India.

**The High Commissioner for India.** He will continue to perform on behalf of the Indian Federation functions regarding federal business and making contracts in England according to the instructions of the Governor-General. His appointment is to be made by the Governor-General in his individual judgment.



separated) and the States into a Federation. It will be brought into being by proclamation by his Majesty on an address by each House of Parliament, provided the Indian States representing at least half the total population of all the Indian States and entitled to at least half the total seats allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber, agree to join the Federation.

**The Federal Government.** The Federal Government's authority will be supreme over certain specified matters of general concern which have been enumerated in the Federal Legislative list. They include among others defence, foreign affairs, ecclesiastical affairs, currency and coinage, public debt of the Federation, posts and telegraphs including telephones, wireless and broadcasting, federal public services, import and export, federal railways, maritime shipping and navigation, banking and insurance, salt, income tax, etc. Besides there are certain subjects on the Concurrent Legislative list which include criminal law and procedure, civil procedure, marriages, divorce, wills, trusts, contracts, arbitration, insolvency, legal, medical and other professions, newspapers, books and printing presses, factories, labour, trade unions, etc. Both the federal and the provincial legislatures have power to make laws about these subjects, but a Federal Law prevails in the event of a conflict.

**The Federal Executive.** The head of the Federal Executive will be the Governor-General appointed by His Majesty. Besides acting as the constitutional head of a part of the administration, the Governor-General is to discharge some special responsibilities and enjoy special powers, regarding certain subjects. The Governor-General shall himself direct and control the administration of the Department of Defence, External Affairs, and Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Governor-General's responsibility with respect to them will be to the Secretary of State and thus ultimately to the Parliament. It is proposed that he should be assisted by not more than three Counsellors who will be appointed by him and whose salaries and conditions of service will be prescribed by Order-in-Council. Each Counsellor will be ex-officio an additional member of both chambers of the Legislature for all purposes, though without the right to vote. The Governor-General can also appoint a Finance Adviser who will be responsible to him but whose advice will be available to the ministers as well. He shall also appoint an Advocate-General who will perform duties of a legal character.

**A Council of Ministers.** Besides the Counsellors to help the Governor-General in Reserved Subjects, there will be a Council of not more than ten ministers, chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and holding office during his pleasure, to aid and advise him in the exercise of powers relating to Transferred Subjects. The ministers must be elected members of one or other Chamber of Legislature and are to enjoy its confidence and be responsible to it for the administration of transferred subjects.

**Powers of the Governor-General.** He will summon, prorogue (dismiss) or dissolve the Federal Legislature. His consent will be required for any Bill passed by the Legislature. He will have the veto power, the power of certification, the power of issuing ordinances and Governor-General's Acts. He will also promulgate laws when the



legislature is not in session. Such a law will remain in force for six weeks after the re-assemblage of the legislature.

**His Responsibilities.** They are (a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India; (b) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities; (c) the securing and safeguarding of the rights of the members of the public services and their dependents; (d) the securing of the peace and good government of 'partially excluded' or 'excluded' areas; (e) the protection of the rights of an Indian State and the rights and dignity of the Ruler thereof; (f) the prevention of discriminatory treatment of British subjects, goods and companies in India; (g) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government. Regarding these the Governor-General can act on his individual judgment.

**The Federal Legislature.** (a) **The Council of State.** There shall be two Houses, the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. The Council shall consist of 290 members, of whom 156 will represent British India and 104 the Federated Indian States. The representatives from British India will be directly elected by the people. Indian States' representatives will be nominated by the rulers. The House will be a permanent body, one-third of the members retiring every three years. The President and Deputy President will be elected by the members. Their salaries will be determined by a law passed by the House.

(b) **The Federal Assembly.** There shall be 375 members of the House of Assembly, of whom 250 are to represent British India and 125 the Indian States. British India seats will be filled by indirect election. States' representatives will be nominated by the rulers. The system of separate communal representation has been retained. The duration of the lower chamber will be five years unless it is sooner dissolved. The elected Speaker and the Deputy Speaker shall receive such salaries as are determined by a law passed by the House.

**Restrictions.** Certain important limitations have been put on the powers of the Federal Legislature. For certain measures the previous sanction of the Governor-General will be essential. Money Bills must first be introduced in the Lower House.

**Federal Finance.** Separate sources of revenue have been allotted to the Federal Government. These include customs duties, excise duty on tobacco and some other goods, corporation tax, salt tax, income tax, succession duties, stamp duties and terminal taxes. Finance is a transferred subject, but the Governor-General possesses certain special powers regarding it. He can appoint a Financial Adviser to himself. His Majesty is empowered to appoint an Auditor-General of India to audit the accounts of the Federation.

**The Federal Court.** A Federal Court, consisting of a Chief Justice of India and six puisne (junior) judges will be constituted at Delhi. It shall be competent to decide disputes about the interpretation of the Constitution, or of an Order-in-Council made thereunder, and of the Instrument of Accession in the case of a Federated State. It will also hear appeals against the decisions of the High Courts in British India or the Federated States under certain conditions. Section 208 provides



that an appeal may be brought to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from the decision of the Federal Court.

**The Provinces and the Abolition of Dyarchy.** The Act provides for the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy on such date as His Majesty in Council may appoint. The following shall constitute the Governor's Provinces: Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar, Assam, the Central Provinces, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa and Sind. The dyarchic form of government has been dissolved. The whole administration will be carried on by the Governor and his Ministers. The authority of the Provincial Governments extends over the subjects enumerated in the Provincial Legislative list, namely public order, the administration of justice, police, prisons, reformatories, public debt of the provinces, Provincial public services, Provincial Public Service Commission, local government, public health and sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries, education, irrigation, agriculture, land-revenue, poor-relief, unemployment, etc., etc.

**Duties and Powers.** The powers and functions of the Governor in a province are identical with those of the Governor General in the Federation. He has special responsibilities regarding the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and order of the province, safeguarding the legitimate interests of minorities and Indian Civil Service, prevention of racial or commercial discrimination, protection of the acts and dignity of an Indian State and the ruler thereof, the peace and good government of partially excluded areas, etc. He can issue ordinances, Governor's acts and laws when the legislature is not in session. He can assume to himself the function of the Government in the event of the breakdown of the constitution.

**His Ministers.** The Governor will be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature of the province. He is supposed to select his ministers in consultation with the person, who is likely to command the largest following in the Legislature. The Ministry should include, as far as possible, members of important minority communities. The Governor may or may not preside over the meetings of the Council of Ministers.

**The Provincial Legislatures, Unitary and Bicameral.** The Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Assam will have two legislative chambers called the Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assemblies. Other Provinces, including the Punjab, shall have one chamber, called the Legislative Assembly.

**Their Composition.** The maximum number (65) of members in the Council exists in Bengal and the minimum (10) in Bihar. The Governor is given the power of nominating a number of members, the maximum being 10 in the case of Madras and the minimum 2 in Assam. The Upper House is a permanent body, one-third of the members will retire every three years. The President and Deputy President will be elected by the members and will receive such salaries as are determined by a law to be passed by the House.

The maximum number of members (250) for the Assembly exist in Bengal and the minimum (50) in N. W. F. P. All members will be



